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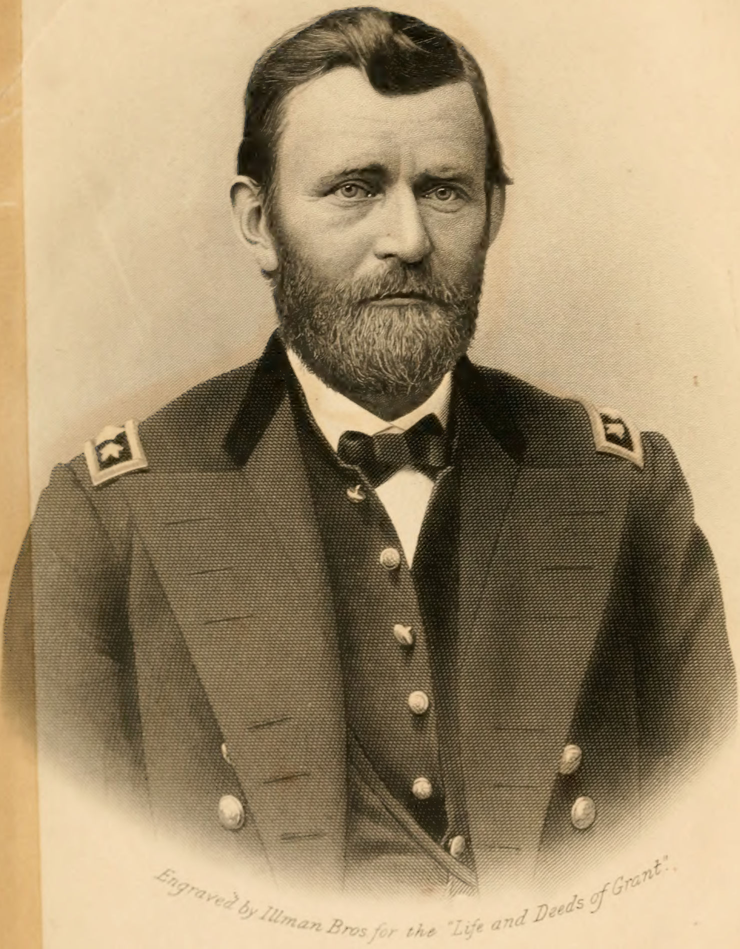

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FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY F. GUTEKUNST IN 1866.

GENL. U. S. GRANT.

AT THE AGE OF 44—AS HE APPEARED AFTER THE WAR.

MEMORIAL EDITION.

AS A MAN, THE NOBLEST AND PUREST OF HIS TIMES.
AS A SOLDIER, THE IDOL OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE.
AS A CITIZEN, THE GRANDEST OF THE NATION.

# THE MOST COMPLETE AND AUTHENTIC HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF GENERAL U. S. GRANT,

## "THE NAPOLEON OF AMERICA."

CONTAINING A FULL ACCOUNT OF HIS EARLY LIFE; HIS RECORD AS A STUDENT AT THE WEST POINT MILITARY ACADEMY; HIS GALLANTRY IN THE MEXICAN WAR; HIS HONORABLE CAREER AS A BUSINESS MAN IN ST. LOUIS AND GALENA; HIS EMINENT SERVICES TO HIS COUNTRY IN OUR GREAT CIVIL WAR; HIS ELECTION TO THE PRESIDENCY; HIS ABLE AND PATRIOTIC ADMINISTRATION; HIS TOUR AROUND THE WORLD, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT HONORS SHOWN HIM BY THE EMPERORS, KINGS AND RULERS OF ALL NATIONS; HIS HEROISM IN SUFFERING, AND PATHETIC DEATH.

BY

COLONEL HERMAN DIECK,

THE WELL-KNOWN AUTHOR.

THE RECORD OF AN HONORABLE AND BRILLIANT CAREER; A STRIKING ILLUSTRATION OF THE TRIUMPH OF GENIUS UNDER FREE INSTITUTIONS.

Embellished with nearly 200 Fine Illustrations of Scenes in the Life of the Great Soldier

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U. S. Grant

# INTRODUCTION.

THIS account of the early life of General Grant is at once full and accurate, for it was obtained from original and authentic sources. The history of his military career is written with that skill and power which, long since, secured for our author the foremost position among American historical writers. The battles in which General Grant was engaged, from that of Belmont to the final surrender of General Lee's army, are described in detail, and with that graphic power which presents the different scenes with all the brilliancy, vividness and distinctness of a painting, and with the life-like accuracy of a photograph. His two administrations as President are described with a master's pen, and his travels round the world, with the receptions and honors conferred on him, exceeding in number and brilliancy those shown to any royal potentate, are set forth with the vivid powers of description for which the author is so distinguished. The trials of his private life, his sickness, wonderful patience in suffering, and his universally lamented death are all depicted with unrivalled pathos and power.

It is the pride and boast of America that this is a country of self-made men. However humble may be the position of a man, it is within his power, in this land of equality and free institutions, to attain the highest honors within the gift of his fellow-citizens. Our history is full of the names of men who, without friends or fortune to aid them, have risen by the force of their own abilities to the proudest position in the Republic. Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Garfield, and their glorious compeers, were all self-made men, and carved out their great successes by their own unaided efforts. Their examples shine out brightly to encourage and cheer others who are struggling onward in the road by which they climbed to greatness.

No career in all our history furnishes a more brilliant example of this than that of General Ulysses S. Grant. Starting as a poor boy, he raised himself to the highest pinnacle of fame. It is but natural that his countrymen should desire to know the means by which this great success was accomplished. To meet this demand the author has prepared this volume, which relates in the most fascinating manner the life of this truly great man. The work is more interesting than a novel, for it is true. It is the story of unconquerable determination and sublime self-reliance, of lofty purpose and inflexible resolve, of incorruptible integrity and moral courage of the highest type, of noble effort and magnificent achievement, of a prolonged and determined struggle, crowned by the most brilliant triumphs.

No more truly did the great Napoleon rise from obscurity to the pinnacle of fame by herculean energy and an indomitable will that carried him over the snow-capped mountains in the piercing cold of mid-winter, than did General Grant, by the same innate, progressive energy, rise from obscurity to the highest position attainable in this the foremost nation of the world. His life, while wrapped in romance like a cloak, had its shadows, its sacrifices and its magnificent successes. It is an inspiring, captivating and thrilling story, and points such a moral as only great deeds can. The young men of the nation should read it, for it may be to them a source of

THE DEATH OF GENERAL GRANT.

inspiration. Old men should read it, for it will recall to them holy memories of the deeds of the great men of our past history.

This book differs essentially from the many so-called Lives of Grant now being published, and should not be classed with them. While recording his illustrious achievements in the field and his career as President of the United States, it is yet personal, rather than political, and free from partisan coloring, depicting not only the exploits of Grant the soldier, but the entire life of Grant the man, his daily habits and conversation, his thoughts and his motives, as evinced by his acts and words, under all the circumstances of his eventful life.

His record is clearly presented, that all men may see his life has been free from stain, his services honorable and distinguished, and that his claims to the love and confidence of the American people rest upon a solid foundation of genuine merit and faithful service honorably performed. No soldier, since Napoleon I., has accomplished such great results. It is generally admitted that the victories of General Grant saved the Union, and it is not, therefore, surprising that all the world should have done homage to the greatest military genius of the century.

## THE WORK SHOWS

How a poor boy secured a good education and fitted himself for the struggle he meant to make in after-life.

How, when the call of his country summoned him to arms, he became a great soldier; how he turned the tide of defeat, and began the series of Union victories that cheered the hearts of his countrymen and caused our brave soldiers to take fresh courage and resolve to conquer or die.

How he won a great and glorious name as a general in the service of his country; how he mounted from rank to rank until he finally attained the proud position of Commander-in-Chief of the National Armies.

How he led our brave soldiers to victory on many hard-fought fields, and finally suppressed the Rebellion.

How, without solicitation, or any effort on his part, he was nominated for the Presidency of the United States, and triumphantly elected.

How he was inaugurated President amidst the rejoicings of the people, and with the most imposing ceremonies ever witnessed in the Capitol of the nation.

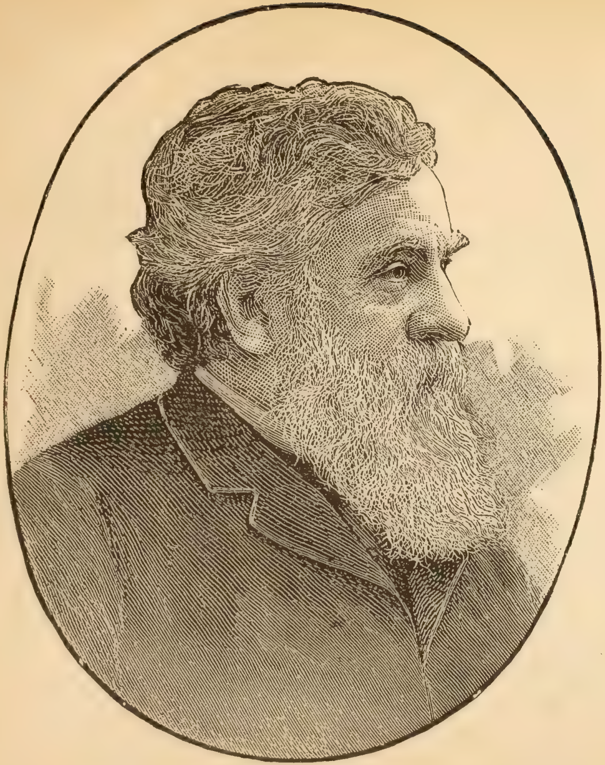
How by his able and patriotic administration of the national government he won the confidence and affection of the whole people.

How a noble and well-spent life has brought honor and fame to a true and earnest man, thus holding out one of the most glorious examples ever offered to the young men of our country.

The splendor of General Grant's reception in the many countries through which he traveled in his remarkable journey around the world was owing to his great fame as a soldier. Wherever he went he was received by people and sovereigns with royal honors, and was in all respects the most honored traveler that ever accomplished the journey around the world. The distinguished American ex-President, though traveling as a private citizen of the United States, made the most remarkable journey in history, seeing more, and being more honored and admitted to closer confidence by Emperors, Kings and Rulers, than any other person who has undertaken to seek instruction and recreation by extensive travels through foreign lands. The whole journey was like a romance, and the countries through which General Grant traveled exerted themselves to show him all they have worth seeing. Who of crowned monarchs could have made the circuit of civilization with so many distinguished marks of honor? Who of contemporary military men would have excited so much interest in all quarters of the globe?

The work not only relates the travels and experiences of General Grant, but it is full of carefully prepared descriptions of the famous cities and sights of Europe, Asia and Africa, and abounds in information respecting the people, manners and customs of the old world. It is, therefore, a work of great value, giving as it does a life-like picture of the places and people visited by the great commander in the course of his travels.

The author's intimate knowledge of the man whose life he relates has rendered him peculiarly suited to the task he has undertaken. He has embraced every means of thoroughly acquainting himself with his subject, and it is confidently asserted that he has produced a work that will win its way into every household.



DR. J. H. DOUGLAS.

REV. J. P. NEWMAN.

# LAST HOURS OF GENERAL GRANT.

BY HIS PASTOR,

REV. J. P. NEWMAN, D.D.

**In writing of the last hours and religious faith of General Grant, Rev. Dr. Newman said:**

"I arrived at Mt. McGregor Tuesday afternoon, at 6 P. M.

"While with the family at dinner, in the hotel, General Grant was removed from his sick room, wherein he had spent so many weary and suffering days and nights, into the drawing-room, which afforded purer air and more agreeable surroundings.

The change was necessary, both as a diversion to the illustrious sufferer and for the convenience of his faithful attendants. From seven till nine he sank rapidly, without any apparent signs of recovery, but retained his consciousness and the clearness of his intellect. He was surrounded with his family and physicians, and, at Mrs. Grant's request, we all bowed around the General's chair, and offered our supplications for strength and comfort in that supreme moment.

"The General indicated his appreciation of the sacredness of the ceremonies by clasping his hands as in reverential prayer. All were deeply moved. as all feared the end had come. But, to the surprise and delight of the physicians and the family, the General greatly revived by nine o'clock, and indicated his wish to write. As quickly as possible, in response to the wish, an elegant writing board, often used by the departed, was placed upon the arms of his chair. A solitary wax taper burned before him. He adjusted his glasses; and then, with a trembling hand, wrote with his pencil on the tablet before him. His face wore an expression of anguish, and his thin lips seemed to pronounce the words he wished to write. He hesitated for a moment; but he gathered up his soul in strength for the supreme effort. Having written down half the page, he traced each line with his pencil to see that each line expressed his thought, and then crossed the *t*'s and punctuated the sentences. But he had not written all that he desired. Again he called upon himself for additional strength, and finished the communication. It was addressed to his noble son, the Colonel, and contained the wish that, wherever the General might be buried, Mrs. Grant should have a resting place by his side in death.

"The writing-desk was removed; but, in a few moments he recalled it, and he wrote a short communication to his son, giving some important direction, when the Colonel replied: 'Father, I have attended to that." Again the desk was removed, and again he called for it. The family sought to persuade him not to make another effort, but he was still General, and his wishes were granted, and he wrote another family message.

"The members of the household retired to the verandah. The lights were turned down and all prayed that the Lord would give his beloved sleep. But at 11 o'clock, he sent word to us who were sitting on the porch: 'There is no earthly reason why you should sit up. Go and take your rest.' This was uttered in a husky whisper.

"All withdrew, but no one could sleep. The weary hours wore on. Wednesday came, with its fitful transitions. The illustrious sufferer was conscious and calm. As we sat around him, watching each respiration, he suddenly opened his eyes, and whispered: 'I hope no one will feel distressed on my account.' And thus he sought to direct attention away from himself in his solicitude for the comfort of those he loved. This was the grandeur of his soul. To save others was the mission of his life; and this ruling passion was strong in death.

"The day had passed, the family had gone to dinner, except the oldest son, who, noticing his father's restlessness in the chair, suggested that he might find more comfort lying upon the bed. It was evidently agreeable, and, forgetting his feebleness, true to his character, he made the effort to rise. His attendants gently lifted him and placed him on the couch from which he was never to rise. He had not then reclined for more than eight months. He was in no danger now of strangulation from the accumulation of mucus, and he quietly rested; but within an hour thereafter the end seemed imminent.

"Again we gathered around the husband, father, and friend and, at Mrs. Grant's request, all bowed in prayer while I committed his departing soul to the sheltering-arms of that Divine Redeemer in whom he trusted with a simple and beautiful faith.

"Again death relaxed his grasp. The feet were cold, and also the hands, but the brow was warm and it was evident that the brain would be the last of him to die.

"Still conscious, his intellect was unclouded. Mrs. Grant pressed his cold hand and said, 'Darling, do you know me?' and he opened his eyes and gave her the look of love. The respirations grew shorter, now forty-four. Within an hour thereafter fifty, then, as the nigh twore on, they increased to sixty-five. The pulse was too rapid to be counted. The mucus gathered in the throat, and there was neither ability to eject it or swallow it, and the respirations caused the death rattle, which was more distressing to those in attendance than to the sufferer.

"His lips were constantly moistened with ice water, now by the wife, now by the daughter, or by the faithful nurse. None of the household slept. All were keeping holy vigils: for all felt sure that as the light of another morning came would also come upon his spirit the light of the morning of his immortality.

"About four o'clock in the morning he opened his eyes in response to my question, 'General, do you know me?' and, an hour before he expired, again he opened his eyes in response to a similar question by his precious daughter Nellie. This was his last look of earthly recognition.

"At 8 o'clock on Thursday morning of July 23d, all were summoned for the final meeting. Death had conquered the noble brow, and the expressive features were calm. The breath grew shorter, and at 8.08 the dying hero opened his eyes upon the sorrowing group around him; and then, with a gentle breath, he took his flight from the scenes of earth and time.

"It was his last earthly look on those he loved, and with that farewell vision he ascended to his reward. All were deeply moved, yet all controlled their profound emotions. The beloved wife kissed the calm brow, and then I led her to the sofa, whispering a word of hope and comfort, where she soon regained her accustomed composure.

"The great warrior and statesman, patriot, and friend, died as the Christian dieth. He had said to me, 'I believe in the Holy Scriptures, and whoever follows them, will be benefited thereby.' His faith in immortality was without a doubt, and he wrote on a tablet: 'I pray that the prayers of the people, offered in my behalf, may be so far answered that we may all meet in a better world.' And when I suggested, in the month of April, that he might be restored, and accomplish much for his countrymen by his religious example, his response was, If I am spared, I shall throw all my influence in that direction.

COLONEL FRED GRANT PLACING A FAVORITE RING ON THE FINGER OF HIS FATHER.

THE

# LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
# GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT,

## THE NAPOLEON OF AMERICA.

## CHAPTER I.

### ANCESTRY.

The Ancestors of Ulysses S. Grant—Matthew Grant emigrates from Devon, England—Samuel Grant—Samuel Grant 2d—Noah Grant—Noah Grant 2d—Noah Grant 3d—Jesse R. Grant—Ulysses S. Grant—Boyhood of Ulysses—His admiration for George Washington—A leader among his companions—An excellent rider and industrious boy—Nominated for a cadetship—Changing his name.

THE biography of the great hero who saved our glorious Union will always be read with the deepest interest by his countrymen. No military man of modern times has accomplished so much as the subject of this narrative. From his boyhood his deeds and not his words have always spoken for him. Whenever he deemed it advisable to make any important military movement, he would consult his generals, and if he thought their plans good he would adopt them, and if successful give them the credit. If he failed he would take the blame upon himself. He never pushed himself into notoriety, and yet no man on this continent ever enjoyed more celebrity.

The name of Ulysses S. Grant will be remembered with veneration and gratitude as long as the United States of America exist. Among the great generals of their times, he will always be spoken of as one of the foremost. His countrymen proved to him their gratitude by raising him to the highest military position obtainable, that of General of the United States Army, then by twice electing him President of the United States by overwhelming majorities, and finally, by reinstating him to the office as full General and putting him on the retired list. The latter act of Congress was passed on the 4th day of March, 1885, the signing of which was the last official act of the then outgoing President, Chester A. Arthur.

During the latter part of the summer of 1630, or early in the fall, no less than seventeen vessels arrived in New England, bringing families, their cattle, household goods, and other worldly possessions. The "Mary and John," a ship of 400 tons, which sailed from Plymouth, England, on the 20th of March, brought 140 emigrants from "the West-country," Dorsetshire, Devon and Somerset, among them Matthew Grant and Priscilla, his wife, the earliest known ancestors of General Grant. They were both twenty-nine years of age, and brought with them an infant daughter. The ship landed at Nantasket, about nine miles from the city of Boston. The Nantasket settlers hospitably received the newcomers until they could land at Boston.

Captain Squib, master of the "Mary and John," though a good sailor, was not willing to venture his ship into the intricacies of a harbor of which he knew nothing. But he had agreed to take his immigrants to Boston ; and the colonial authorities held a prejudice, not yet altogether extinct in New England, in favor of having agreements lived up to. So Captain Squib's passengers brought suit against him, and recovered damages, for not being landed at their destined port.

Some days elapsed after the immigrants reached Nantasket before Governor Winthrop arrived at Salem, then boasting but ten buildings, where he found a frame house awaiting him. In those days milk sold for one penny a quart; and colonists wrote home glowing descriptions of the beauty and fertility of New England.

The "West-country people" settled a few miles from Boston, at Matapan. This Indian appellation they changed to Dorchester, in memory of the county town of their own English Dorsetshire, which, like most British names ending in "chester" (*castra*, camp), is the site of an old Roman encampment. So the memory of Imperial Cæsar, dead and turned to clay, invaded the domain of the Sachem of "Moschuset," and changed its nomenclature.

Dorchester is now a pleasant Boston suburb of half a dozen villages and hundreds of generous residences with exquisite grounds. As Emerson says of England, it is finished with the pencil instead of the plow. One house is still standing which was built in 1633, and at the "raising" of which, perhaps, Matthew Grant assisted.

In his day, Dorchester Plantation was a rude settlement of a few log-cabins, straggling over most of the territory now embraced in Milton, Canton, Stoughton, Sharon, and South Boston. The salt marshes afforded excellent subsistence for the famishing cattle of the immigrants, but they themselves suffered for want of food. Their first meal was of fish without any bread, and for months they endured many hardships. Says Roger Clap: "The place was a wilderness. Fish was a good help to me and to others. Bread was so scarce that I thought the very crusts from my father's table would have been sweet; and when I could have meal and salt and water boiled together, I asked, 'Who would ask for better?'"

Among the settlers of Dorchester were several elderly gentlemen of good estate in England, three men of military experience, and two stockholders of the London Company which held the Massachusetts Bay Charter. The charter had been drafted for a trading company rather than for a government, so the control of the settlement vested only in the stockholders. But the Puritans would not permit Dorchester to be governed by two men, and the Court of Massachusetts Bay bestowed freemanship upon twenty-four colonists within a month after the arrival of the "Mary and John." Freemanship was an important endowment, securing to its recipients large tracts of land and making them members of the General Court. This unique tribunal was a sort of colonial town meeting for local government, as the representative system was not yet in vogue and the colony was almost a pure democracy. The principal qualification for freemanship seems to have been piety, or at least church membership; and Matthew Grant received it, with many others, after he had lived in America for one year.

When Matthew had been four years in America, Priscilla, his wife, died, and left four children, the youngest an infant. The next year, 1635, nearly half of the first Dorchester settlers went to establish new homes in the wilderness of the Connecticut Valley, far beyond the confines of civilization. Early historians give as reasons for this second migration a "hankering after new lands," which were fertile and grassy, while those of Dorchester were rocky and heavily wooded; better opportunities for trading in furs with the Indians; and fears lest Connecticut should fall into the hands of the Dutch, who were attempting to settle it.

Matthew Grant—now restless and lonely—went with the rest. Reaching the present site of Windsor, half-way between Springfield and Hartford, and already settled by an offshoot from the Plymouth Colony, they were entertained by the pioneers, and, after examining the country, determined to stay. The settlers from Plymouth resented this as ungenerous; but the Dorchester people persisted, and even drove away another party of twenty from Massachusetts Bay, likewise desirous of remaining.

Matthew Grant and his companions spent the summer in felling trees and building log-houses. Their families remained behind in Dorchester, and in October several of the men went back for them. Sending their household goods by ship around through Long Island Sound, to come up the Connecticut, they started on their return to Windsor, by land, the babies and invalids on horseback, and men and women walking, and driving their cattle through the wilderness.

Winter set in early. By the middle of November the river was fast frozen, and the snow deep. The overland emigrants suffered much, and were obliged to leave their cattle in the woods, where many died, while the rest lived on acorns until spring. Reaching the Windsor settlement the travellers were appalled to learn that the ship, with their provisions, was imprisoned in the river below. Several of the party went back to Massachusetts Bay in despair, while those who remained subsisted chiefly on nuts and acorns. At length a party of seventy—men, women and children—started for the ship, which had frozen in twenty miles above the river's mouth, that they might live on her supplies. But before they reached her she was released by the spring thaw; so they returned to their settlement, which at first they called New Dorchester, but finally changed it to Windsor.

They carried their lives in their hands. Like all frontiermen they were reckless of their own safety, but prudent for their wives and children. As soon as their families arrived they built a palisade, a quadrangle three-quarters of a mile long, to protect them against Indians. Those who had houses or lots outside left them and moved in. Matthew Grant had cleared six acres, but abandoned it all except the little piece on which his log-dwelling stood, within the palisade, and next to the old Windsor town-house. For ninety years the colonists suffered constantly from Indians. At home, in the field, in the meeting-house, nowhere were they secure.

Matthew Grant filled quite a large place in the settlement. He was elected one of two surveyors, to overlook the construction and preservation of highways, and continued in that office for the greater part of his life. The roads and farm boundaries were very crooked and involved, and real estate plentiful and cheap. After working hard all day at surveying, Matthew used to say, "I would not accept all the land I have bounded to-day as pay for my day's work."

He served as town clerk for many years. His autograph constantly appears on the Windsor records, to authenticate public documents. In 1637 the driven-out Massachusetts people sold their tract to this colony. Appended to the deed is a long note describing the land, and signed "Matthew Grant, Recorder." He seems to have taken a just pride in his own integrity. In a land suit, in 1675, in a deposition still preserved in the State archives at Hartford, he testified in somewhat nebulous rhetoric:

"If any question my uprightness and legal acting about our town affairs, that I have been employed in a measure of land and getting out of lots of men which has been done by me from our first beginning here come next September is forty yere. I never got out any land to any man until I knew he had a grant to it from the townsmen, and town's approbation, or to recording after the book was turned. I am chose near twenty-three years since. I can say with a cleare conscience I have been careful to do nothing upon one man's desire."

A division arose in the church about the old minister, Wareham, who had come with the colonists from Dorchester, and, in his old age, was thought a little rigid and narrow even for those days. So a party of townspeople established a parish under a younger and more liberal divine named Woodbridge. They desired to have this entered upon the town records; but Matthew Grant, apparently alarmed at the degeneracy and growing impiety of the times, refused to write it. The new church people, however, seemed to have demanded the book to enter the fact themselves. At all events, the record stands in a strange handwriting, with a note appended in Matthew's well-known chirography explaining the affair, and indirectly protesting against it. The Windsor records, in the library of the Connecticut Historical Society, show that he was clerk of the church until his death.

Among the passengers by the "Mary and John" was William Rockwell, an elderly man of good estate, who brought Susannah, his wife, and eight children. He also came to Windsor, where he was first deacon of the church. In 1640 he died. Five years later, and ten years after the loss of his first wife, Matthew Grant was married to Susannah Rockwell. He was forty-four years old, and she forty-three, and they began housekeeping with the fair start of twelve children. They lived together twenty-one years. She died November 14th, 1666, and he December 16th, 1681, at the age of eighty, outliving her fifteen years, and spending the close of his life with his youngest son, John.

Samuel, Matthew's second son, was born in Dorchester, November 12th, 1631. When four years old he removed with his father to Windsor, where he lived and died. He left eight children, all bearing Biblical names.

Samuel (second), first child of the above, was born in Windsor, April 20th, 1659. On coming to manhood he moved to East Windsor, just across the river. There he lived and died, leaving nine children, of whom seven bore Biblical names.

Noah, first child of the above by a second marriage, was born in Windsor, December 16th, 1692. During his lifetime the portion of Windsor in which he resided was set off to Tolland. From his wife's family descended Samuel Huntington, one of the first Supreme Judges and afterwards Governor of Ohio.

Noah (second), eldest child of the above, was born in Tolland, July 12th, 1718. He married Susannah Delano, of the family from which Columbus Delano, late a Representative in Congress from Ohio, is descended. About 1750 Noah moved to the adjoining town of Coventry. Soon after began the final struggle between the French and English for supremacy on the American Continent, in which he and his brother Solomon both served.

Before entering the service, Solomon Grant, who was a bachelor, thirty years old, made his will, giving his real estate to Noah, or, in the event of Noah's death, to his eldest son, and so on in entail forever.

The inventory accompanying gave the property as about nine hundred pounds sterling. The brothers were both killed in an engagement near Oswego, New York, September 20th, 1756.

Noah and his brother were in different companies, Noah a captain, and Solomon a lieutenant. The original muster-roll of Noah's company is still preserved in his own handwriting, headed by his own name as captain, and dated March 26th, 1755.

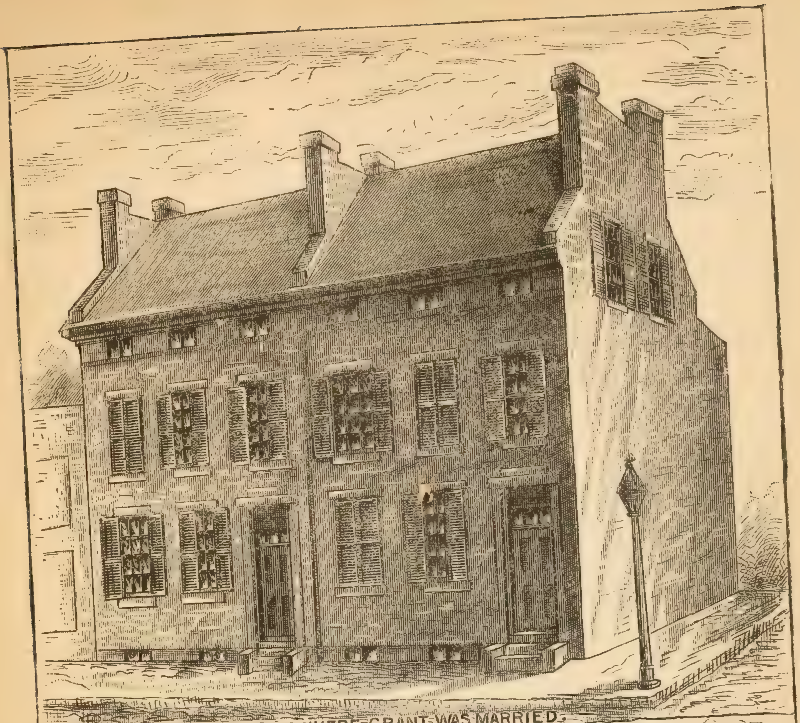
Noah (third), son of the above, was born in Coventry, Connecticut, on the 23d of June, 1748. The subsequent change in our calendar from Old Style to New brought his birthday on the 4th of July, to the keen satisfaction of Noah, who had inherited the patriotic and military tastes of his father. After marrying Anna Buell, of the family from which sprang General Don Carlos Buell, Noah went into the army at the first drum-beat of the conflict for Independence. He was a lieutenant of militia at the battle of Lexington, and served through the entire Revolutionary War, coming out with the rank of captain.

When he returned from the war, the Connecticut Valley, which, a hundred and fifty years earlier, his ancestor Matthew had found a howling wilderness, was dotted with towns, villages and farms, and filled with an industrious, thrifty people.

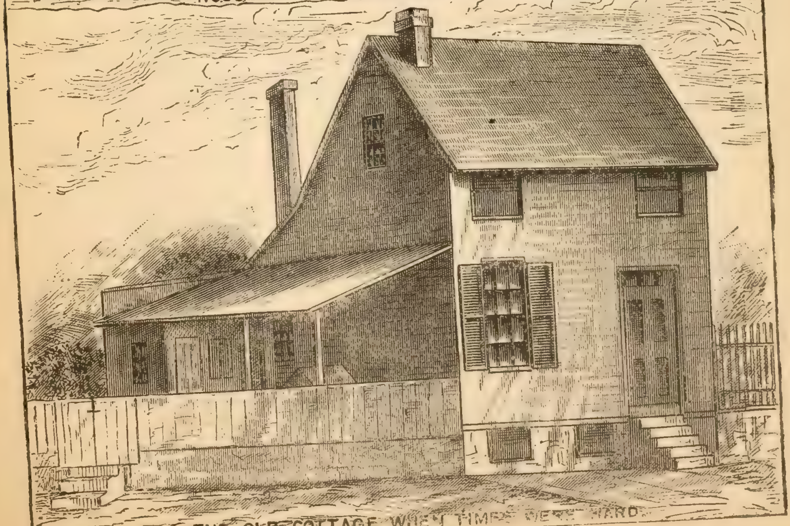
Noah Grant returned to a desolate home. His wife had died, leaving him two sons, Solomon and Peter. Under this affliction, aggravated by the restlessness which army life leaves, in 1790 he succumbed to the prevailing emigration fever, and removed to Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, settling near Greensburg, on the Monongahela river.

The people of Westmoreland lived largely upon venison and potatoes, though cattle were plentiful, and the new land produced corn abundantly. They shipped cider and beer down the river to Ohio and Kentucky, and made enormous quantities of whiskey, supplying much of the South and West. They raised flax from which the women wove clothing for their entire families. Iron mines in the vicinity of Pittsburgh were already attracting attention; glass and iron manufactories were springing up, and some oil wells had been discovered. They were not deemed valuable, however, but simply regarded as curiosities. The woods still abounded in whip-poor-wills, owls, bears and panthers, and often in hostile Indians. There was no money in the region, and its entire business was conducted through barter.

Such was the country and society in which Noah Grant settled. On the 4th of March, 1792, he married a widow named Rachael Kelly, by whom he had seven children.



HOUSE WHERE GRANT WAS MARRIED.



THE OLD COTTAGE WHEN TIMES WERE HARD.

HOUSE WHERE GRANT WAS MARRIED AND RESIDENCE WHEN TIMES WERE HARD.

Jesse Root Grant, fourth child of the above, was born January 23d, 1794. He was named for Jesse Root, many years Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Connecticut.

Noah Grant, still restless, lived only nine years in Pennsylvania. In April, 1799, again he folded his tent like the Arab, and as silently stole away—into a new wilderness. Wagons were then little used; the river, alive with travel and commerce, was the great thoroughfare. At high water crafts went from Pittsburgh to the present site of Cairo, at the mouth of the Ohio, in twenty days, but in summer the voyage sometimes consumed ten weeks.

The river vessels floated with the current, were flat-bottomed, and of two classes: trading boats, bound for Kentucky and New Orleans, and loaded with whiskey, flour, apples, cider, apple-brandy, earthenware, iron, and glass; and family boats, of emigrants, carrying farming utensils, household goods, cattle, horses, men, women, and children.

In a boat of the latter class Noah Grant and his wife embarked with their five young children, a horse, two cows, cooking utensils, and all the rest of their worldly goods. Their craft was snug, and a part of it was roofed. Bidding adieu to their old home, they floated down the Monongahela and then down the Ohio, whose banks were already dotted by a few farms.

Forty-five miles below Pittsburgh and two below the Pennsylvania line, they landed at the little settlement of Fawcettstown, now Liverpool, Columbiana county, Ohio. Noah Grant found it composed only of half a dozen log-cabins in the deep forest.

Noah Grant raised his cabin on the bank of the Ohio. Just after his arrival, an Indian called White Eyes was shot by a settler's son, in a personal altercation. This caused a few skirmishes, until the citizens united and cleared the entire region of red men.

December following, Washington died. One day Jesse, five years old, observed his mother weeping, and asked:

"What is the matter?"

"George Washington is dead," she replied, through her sobs.

The lad, upon whom a knowledge of the father of his country had never yet dawned, promptly inquired:

"Was he any relation of yours?"

Noah Grant had only established himself temporarily. The Western Reserve was not yet surveyed or open to settlement; but he looked upon it with longing eyes, for it was an admirable body of land. Its three millions of acres embraced the present site of Cleveland, and the eight northeastern counties of Ohio. It was known as New Connecticut, for it belonged to the Nutmeg State. In 1800, however, she sold it to the General Government, and from the proceeds obtained her magnificent school fund. But she retained one county for the benefit of her own citizens, who had suffered from the burning of buildings by the British during the Revolution, and these tracts were long known as the "Connecticut Fire Lands."

The whole region was settled chiefly from New England, and to this day, in pronunciations, in idioms, in social habits, and in political faith, it is like a portion of Massachusetts transplanted bodily to the West.

When Jesse was ten years old the Reserve was thrown open, and his father established his new home upon it, in Portage county, forty miles from the old home, and near the present town of Deerfield.

The next year Noah's wife died. It was a sore loss, for she was the chief dependence of the family. Noah Grant was well educated, clear-headed, a brilliant talker, and a vivid describer of battles. But he was never a provident man. On coming to his majority he inherited a life-interest in the Coventry property left by his uncle Solomon. But, little by little, he parted with it all before he was thirty years old. And in seven years of military life, a common misfortune befell him—he lost something of his self-control, and acquired the fondness for stimulants often born of army excitements. So, since the close of the war, his family had been poor, and now, the death of his wife broke it up. The younger children were adopted by neighbors, and Susan and Jesse, the two eldest, had to face life and provide for themselves.

After Jesse's mother died, he worked at several places, earning plain food and scanty clothing; but in November, 1808, the lad, now fourteen years old, went twenty-five miles from Deerfield, to Youngstown, Trumbull county, to live with Judge George Tod of the State Supreme Court. Here Jesse found a home. He was sent to school three months of the first, and three months of the second year, but that was the whole of his school education. In arithmetic he arrived at a dim perception of the single rule of three. Later in life he devoted himself to text-books, until sufficiently accomplished for the transaction of ordinary business, and even studied grammar after he was a married man. He even composed verses. One specimen of his poetry is preserved. It explains itself and reads as follows:

In eighteen hundred and forty-one
Our partnership was first begun—
We two then became as one,
To deal in leather.
Some little business we have done
While together.

A dozen years we've toiled together
In making and in vending leather
Suited to every stage of weather,
E'er dry or rain.
The time has come for us to sever,
And we are twain.

E. A. Collins is still on hand,
And occupies the former stand,
Where he has always held command,
To buy and sell.
As matters now are being planned,
May he do well.

J. R. Grant, the old off-wheel,
As quick and firm as smitten steel,
Does yet a strong desire feel
To do some more.
Then expect within the field
A brand new store.

Our hearty thanks we humbly send
To every customer and friend
Who has stood by us to the end
With free good-will;
And say in future we intend
To serve you still.

There's one thing more we have to say;
To those who owe us, we want our pay;
Then send it on without delay—
The full amount,
For still we have some debts to pay
On firm account.

The orphan lad was happy at his new home. Among his playmates was David Tod, who lived to be Governor of Ohio, while Jesse's son was leading great armies to victory.

Mush and milk was the boys' luxury. Every night they were sent to eat it for supper before the roaring log-fire of the great kitchen. On the first evening the spoons and bowls excited Jesse's wonder. He thought them a miracle of elegance.

At sixteen, Jesse left Judge Tod's, and returned to Deerfield, where he spent two years in learning the tanning business. But the yard was only large enough to employ one man; so, at eighteen, he was apprenticed to his half-brother in Maysville, Kentucky. There he remained till he had become a first-class tanner. This was during the war of 1812.

In 1815, peace being declared, Jesse, now twenty-one, returned to Deerfield, took the little tan-yard and went into business for himself. He began without capital, but being industrious and frugal, steadily accumulated property. This year he made his first trip to Cincinnati, a settlement of six thousand people.

At the end of two years the young tanner removed fifteen miles to Ravenna. In two years more he was the owner of fifteen hundred dollars, chiefly invested in his tan-yard and leather, which made him the richest citizen of the little town.

On the morning of his twenty-fifth birthday, Jesse awoke and said to a fellow-workman who slept with him:

"I always promised myself a wife at twenty-five, if I should have the means to support her. Now I have the property. but I don't know where to look. However, before going to bed I will make a start in some direction toward getting married."

So the tall young man donned his Sunday suit, put things to rights in the tan-yard, and then walked thoughtfully about the little tavern where he boarded. Tanning and Sunday clothing do not assimilate; and the landlady's curiosity was excited by his unusual garb. She asked:

"What are you thinking about so seriously?"

"About looking for a wife."

"Where are you going to look?"

"Well, I don't know—somewhere, where there are girls."

Jesse remembered one Clara Hall, whom he had never seen but once, and that fifteen months before. After dinner, he went to call on her. She received him cordially, and, true to her sex, proved an enthusiastic match-maker. He had given her no hint of his purpose, but the feminine instinct was strong within her. When he asked who lived in a neighboring house, she replied:

"My uncle Timothy, and he has a daughter who will make you a capital wife. Now I am going to send for her to come over to tea, and you must go home with her."

This was a diversion. Clara, not her cousin, had been in Jesse's mind. But the cousin, Prudence by name, came duly, and he not only took her home, as he was bid, but on the way agreed upon a correspondence with her. After keeping this up for a few months, the young couple resolved to face the perils of matrimony, and agreed that the knot should be tied immediately "after court." The Supreme Court sat in Deerfield every October, and the session brought much business to the town.

But the course of this true love did not run smooth. In August Jesse was attacked by the fever and ague.

In January, 1820, so far recovered that he could travel eight or ten miles a day, he spent a few weeks with relatives in Maysville. There his father had died a few months before. After losing his wife, Noah resided near his old Ohio home until 1811, supporting himself and aiding his younger children by shoemaking. Then he removed to Maysville, and spent the rest of his life with his youngest son, who was a prominent and successful business man.

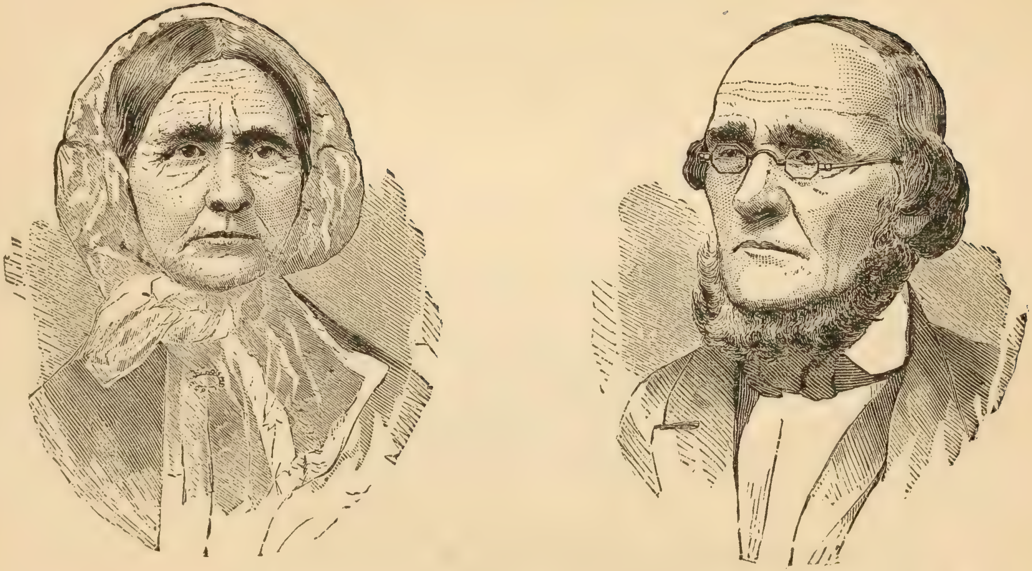
Jesse's sickness lasted over a year. When he had so far recovered as to go to work again, he settled in Clermont county, on the north bank of the Ohio river, twenty-five miles above Cincinnati. The little village, of fifteen or twenty families, was called Point Pleasant. A citizen had offered to furnish the money for setting up the tanning business, if Jesse would teach its art and mystery to his son.

In Point Pleasant he married—but the bride was not Prudence Hall. The engagement had been given up, and she was now the wife of a well-to-do Ohio farmer and the mother of his two children.

Ten miles from Point Pleasant lived another maiden, Hannah Simpson, sole daughter of the house and heart of a thrifty farmer who had moved to the West two years before. She was born and reared in Pennsylvania, twenty miles from Philadelphia. For several generations her ancestors had been American, though a family tradition alleged that originally they were Irish. Jesse describes her at this time as "an unpretending country girl, handsome but not vain." She was thoroughly accomplished in all the duties of housewifery, and to great womanly sweetness added prudence, clear judgment, piety, and a gravity and thoughtfulness beyond her years.

Never was Jesse Grant's good fortune greater than when, on the 24th of June, 1821, he married Hannah Simpson.

The young couple began housekeeping in a little frame dwelling, a hundred yards from the Ohio river. Behind the house and the hamlet rose a bold hill. In front ran a little creek. Here the Ex-President of the United States was born, on the 27th day of April, 1822. Point Pleasant is a post village of the county, and is situated on the Ohio river, about twenty-five miles above Cincinnati. Clermont county is in the southwestern part of the State of Ohio, and has an area of 462 square miles, or 295,680 acres. The Ohio river forms the county boundary on the southwest, and the Little Miami river runs along its western lines. The land of the county is well drained by the east fork of the Little Miami river, into which the creeks mostly



GENERAL GRANT'S FATHER AND MOTHER, FROM PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN IN 1865.

run. The surface of the country is of a rolling character, and is quite hilly in the vicinity of the Ohio river. The soil generally is of a rich nature, and the surface rock is formed of the blue limestone. A railroad now passes along its northern border, some distance from Grant's birthplace; but at the time when that general entered upon his career, the iron tramway was entirely unknown in that region of the country.

Soon after the birth of his first son, a discussion occurred in the family in regard to the name which should be given him. His mother and one of his aunts proposed Albert, in honor of Albert Gallatin, at that time a prominent statesman. Some one else proposed Theodore, and his grandfather Simpson suggested Hiram. His step-grandmother, being a great student of history, and an ardent admirer of Ulysses, proposed that name. After due deliberation he was christened Hiram Ulysses.

The boyhood of Ulysses, as he was commonly called, passed in a comparatively new country, did not differ materially from that of other boys surrounded by similar circumstances. He began to manifest an independent, self-reliant and venturous disposition at a very early age, and from the time he was first permitted to go out alone, he lost no opportunity of riding and breaking horses, driving teams, and helping his father in whatever work his strength and size would enable him to do. At the age of seven and a half years, during his father's absence, he harnessed a three-year-old colt to a sled, and hauled brush with him for an entire day. He became accustomed to harness horses when he was so small that he could not put the bridle or collar on without climbing into the manger, nor throw the harness over their backs without standing upon a half-bushel measure. Before he was ten years old he had got to be a skillful driver, and used to do full work in hauling wood, taking leather to Cincinnati and bringing passengers back to Georgetown, where the family then lived. He became a good rider at nine years of age, having begun, like most farmer boys, by riding the horses to water. Long before Ulysses had reached his twelfth year he could

POINT PLEASANT, OHIO, THE BIRTHPLACE OF GENERAL GRANT.

ride any horse at full speed, standing upon his back and balancing himself by the bridle reins. His quiet and gentle disposition, together with a remarkable degree of firmness, rendered him particularly successful in controlling horses, and in breaking them to the saddle and harness. This he always did for his father, but his fame soon spread beyond the family circle and caused his talent to be called into requisition by the neighbors who had troublesome horses to break. At that time pacing horses were in great demand for the saddle, and to teach a horse this gait required no slight skill and patience. Ulysses was quite an adept in this as in other things relating to horses, but from some idea of pride he would not exercise his skill for money, although not unwilling to do real work, or go on errands of business. One of his father's friends had a fine young horse which he wished to use as a riding horse, but he could not teach him to pace. Knowing Ulysses' unwillingness to set about such a task as this for hire, he engaged him to carry a letter to a neighboring town, and as the lad was riding away called out to him, "please teach that colt to pace." Ulysses returned the horse at night a perfect pacer, but having ascertained that the letter was simply sent to deceive him, he could never afterward be induced to teach a horse to pace.

It was an uneventful life in the little Ohio village. When Ulysses was three years old a second son was born to his parents, and named Simpson. The two grew up together. Their school comrades often used, after the fashion of those days, to go home with the Grant boys in winter, and spend the evening before the great log-fire, which blazed on the kitchen hearth, playing "fox and geese," "morris," and "checkers," eating apples, cracking hickory-nuts, telling stories, propounding riddles, and ending the fun by sleeping together.

Two brothers, who were their closest intimates, are still living in Georgetown. Both went through the Mexican War; one has been a Democratic Representative in Congress, and the other, as a brigadier-general of volunteers, did gallant service during our great war.

Ulysses was a very quiet but by no means a diffident boy. His father, who was fond and vain of his children, was given to putting them forward; and Ulysses was the favorite, because he would do, or at least attempt, whatever he was told. Both father and mother were members of the Methodist church, and there was a little meeting-house across the street. Methodist ministers frequently spent the night at the house. A visitor remembers one evening when Ulysses, then only seven or eight years old, at the call of his father, stepped out briskly, stood up in a corner, and recited:

"You'd scarce expect one of my age
To speak in public on the stage."

He rattled it off hurriedly and mechanically, but still with great readiness. Daniel Webster, in boyhood, could not summon composure enough to "speak his piece," but Ulysses Grant could without the least diffidence. If any wiseacre had had opportunity to compare the two, his prophetic soul would undoubtedly have seen in the farmer's son a great orator in embryo, and, perchance, in the shy New Hampshire boy, the promise of a successful general.

He accumulated a little money by carting wood, and driving passengers, who arrived in Georgetown by stage, to their homes in the adjacent country. So at nine, he bought a colt for seventeen dollars, and from that time was never without a horse of his own. He frequently traded, always had a little fund of money, and was thought to give indications of unusual business capacity, though he never manifested it in his personal affairs in after life.

He was known far and near as the best horseman "in all the country round." When nine or ten years old, he had acquired such repute for fast riding, that horse-jockeys who had steeds suffering from a distemper, which was relieved by riding them so fast as to heat them, used to bring the animals to Georgetown, for the tanner's son to try them for a few miles at the break-neck gallop, in which his heart delighted. Neighboring farmers also brought refractory horses for him to train and subdue. More than once the little fellow was seen racing around the public square upon a kicking, rearing, pitching beast, to which, with arms clasped about its neck, and fat bare feet pressed against its flanks, the lad was clinging with the same tenacity which he manifested later in life.

A favorite amusement was to stand barefoot upon a sheepskin strapped on his horse's back to keep the rider's feet from slipping, and then put the animal on a fast gallop down to the brook or up the main street. Before he was twelve he learned to ride thus, standing only upon one foot, and holding by the bridle rein. The widow of Dr. Bailey, nearest neighbor to the Grants, says:

"In general, Ulysses was exceedingly kind and amiable. Our boys never had the least dispute with him about anything except horses; but sometimes, when they galloped together down to the 'run' to water, Ulysses would laugh at our boys, and tell them our horses were getting poor. This used to trouble them, and they would ask me, with great anxiety, if ours really *were* thin and slow."

One of the sons of this lady met his death through his fondness for horses. He was riding a refractory one which became frightened, reared, rolled over, and killed the rider.

In this connection an anecdote is dropped by the paternal gossip, which deserves to be preserved as a graphic description of a scene through which many smart lads have passed, and as indicating in this particular instance some of that pluck, and tenacity of will, which distinguished the Wilderness campaign. "Once, when he was a boy, a show came along, in which there was a mischievous pony, trained to go round the ring like lightning; and he was expected to throw any boy that attempted to ride him.

"'Will any boy come forward and ride this pony?' shouted the ring-master.

"Ulysses stepped forward, and mounted the pony. The performance began. Round and round and round the ring went the pony, faster and faster, making the greatest effort to dismount the rider; but Ulysses sat as steady as if he had grown to the pony's back. Presently out came a large monkey, and sprang up behind Ulysses. The people set up a great shout of laughter, and on the pony ran; but it all produced no effect on the rider. Then the ring-master made the monkey jump up on to Ulysses' shoulders, standing with his feet on his shoulders, and with his hands holding on to his hair. At this there was another and a still louder shout; but not a muscle of Ulysses' face moved: there was not a tremor of his nerves. A few more rounds, and the ring-master gave it up: he had come across a boy that the pony and the monkey both could not dismount."

That quiet, fixed resolution, which was such a marked feature in his character, he possessed when a mere lad. His father possessed great confidence in his ability to take care of himself, and once sent him, when but twelve years of age, to Louisville, alone. We give the incident in Jesse Grant's language. He says:

"It was necessary for me to have a deposition taken there, to be used in a law-suit in which I was engaged in the State of Connecticut. I had written more than once about it to my lawyers, but could not get the business done. 'I can do it,' said Ulysses. So I sent him on the errand alone. Before he started, I gave him an open letter that he might show the captain of the boat, or any one else, if he should have occasion, stating that he was my son, and was going to Louisville on my business. Going down, he happened to meet a neighbor with whom he was acquainted; so he had no occasion to use the letter. But when he came on board a boat, to return, the captain asked him who he was. He told him; but the captain answered, 'I cannot take you; you may be running away.' Ulysses then produced my letter, which put everything right; and the captain not only treated him with great kindness, but took so much interest in him as to invite him to go as far as Maysville with him, where he had relatives living, free of expense. He brought back the deposition with him, and that enabled me to succeed in making a satisfactory adjustment of my suit."

The father remembers also the following incident, of which doubtless similar may be related of hundreds of others who never reached any eminence, yet it has a peculiar interest in the light of after events. He says, "I will relate another circumstance which I have never mentioned before, which you may use as you think proper. He was always regarded as extremely apt in figures. When he was ten years old a distinguished phrenologist came along and stayed several days in the place. He was frequently asked to examine heads blindfolded. Among others, Ulysses was placed in the chair. The phrenologist felt his head for several minutes without saying anything; at length, a noted doctor asked him if the boy had a capacity for mathematics. The phrenologist, after some further examination, said, 'You need not be surprised if you see this boy fill the *presidential chair* some time.'"

Now, whether the opinion of the phrenologist was worth anything or not, or whether it was a mere piece of flattery, or a scientific opinion, may not, perhaps, be of much consequence; but one thing is certain, if he had not been different from the ordinary class of boys of his age he never would have been selected as a subject for public examination. This fact alone shows that he was a marked lad, possessing certain positive, distinct qualities which distinguished him from others. If it were not so, the examination of his head would have been without significance. Many anecdotes are told of him when a little older, showing that great self-reliance which also formed so remarkable a trait of his manhood.

The means for securing that mental discipline and culture necessary to fit him for any position of eminence were wanting in the little town where he resided. His moral training, however, was excellent. Though his parents were not the old rigid Scotch Covenanters, they had the Scotch probity and prudence, and inculcated right principles into the boy, and it is said of him what can be said of few lads, that he was never known to tell a lie or use a profane word.

He devoted himself to his father's business of tanning leather with reluctance, preferring to drive a team instead.

But while he was thus growing a strong, broad-shouldered young man in an obscure western village, he was not satisfied with his lot. Besides, his father felt that he ought to have the benefit of a better education than could be obtained at home. It was a subject of much anxious thought with him, for he believed that his son had capacity for a more important position than that which the trade of a tanner would give him. But his means were limited—the want of money, which chains so many gifted minds to the mere effort to obtain a livelihood in the dull routine in which they have been brought up, stood sadly in the way of young Grant being placed in the more enlarged sphere for which he seemed to be fitted.

Young Grant had a very keen sense of justice. One day, playing with the Bailey boys, he knocked the ball through a window of their house. Rushing in, with his round face blushing scarlet, he said earnestly to their mother:

"Mrs. Bailey, I have broken your window, but I am going right up town to get another pane of glass for you, and have it put in at once."

But he was too great a favorite with the lady, and, indeed, with all her family, for them to exact such a measure of justice from him.

A little brook ran beside the tan-yard. During a June freshet, when the lad was ten years old, it overflowed all the vats, and sent the leather and bark floating away. But the leather caught in thick willows, and the stream was soon full of men and delighted boys swimming in to bring it back. All was reclaimed, without serious injury, and Jesse's only loss was the valuable bark—that which was dry and unused floating off, but the old and water-soaked remaining.

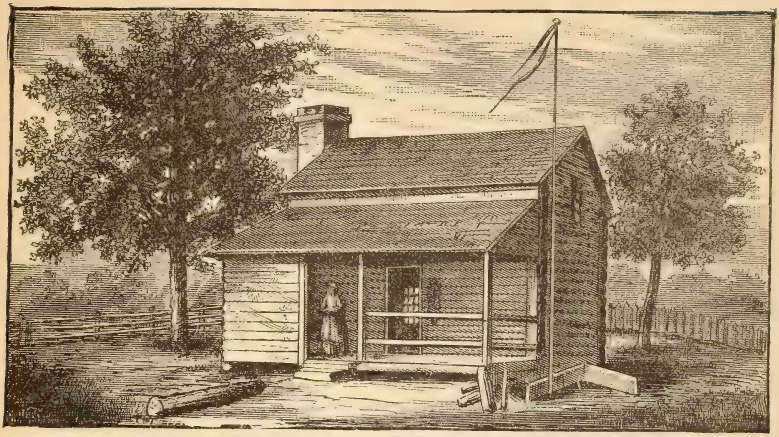
He was extremely fond of skating, and learned it while very young. When nine or ten years old, he froze his feet from tight straps. Mrs. Grant, a physician on instinct, was on terms of intimacy with every conceivable malady that juvenile flesh is heir to, and had a remedy for it duly put away and labeled in some corner of her memory. Of course, such a mother is worth all the physicians in the world for little invalids, despite her harmless idiosyncrasies, one of which in her case found vent in administering salts to the children regularly, sick or well, at certain seasons of the year. This time she smoked the frozen feet of the young sufferer with hay, and then bound on slices of bacon to take out the frost.

Ulysses and his comrades, when very young, used to sit barefooted on the bank of the little brook beside the tanyard, fishing for "chubs" and "shiners," with hooks of bent pins. As they grew older they angled for larger members of the finny tribe a mile west of the town, in a considerable stream, which was there called White Oak Creek, but in New England would be dignified into a river. Here, too, was excellent bathing-ground. Ulysses was a capital swimmer and an expert diver, with unusual endurance in remaining under water.

Hunting was a common amusement among the boys of the neighborhood. By day they pursued rabbits, gray squirrels, and partridges in the woods; at night they had the more exciting sport of treeing raccoons with dogs, and then felling the trees. In these diversions Ulysses seldom joined. While his comrades were playing, he was hauling loads for neighbors, or driving stage passengers home. Thus he was enabled to be a profitable customer for the village confectionery, whose treasures he lavished with a free hand upon his playmates and young ragamuffins generally.

A month before Ulysses was eleven, an uncle by marriage, who was named Marshall, died near Deerfield, Ohio, the old home of the Grant family. Jesse immediately went to settle the affairs of his bereaved sister, and bring her and her five orphan children to Georgetown. Ulysses accompanied him, and it was his first considerable journey.

Taking steamer from Ripley to Wellsville, and stage thence to New Lisbon thirty-five miles, father and son made the last fifteen miles on horseback. They spent two or three weeks with Mrs. Marshall, selling at public auction all the family effects, except bedding, crockery, and other articles easy of transportation. Then, with the widow and children, they turned their faces homeward. One of the cousins,



GRANT'S HEAD-QUARTERS NEAR FORT DONELSON.

GRANT'S HEAD-QUARTERS NEAR VICKSBURG.

James Marshall, was near the age of Ulysses; and the two boys, riding on the coupling-pole behind the wagon, were delighted with the trip.

Starting on a Monday afternoon, the party reached Deerfield, six miles distant, that night, and on Tuesday night, New Lisbon, where they "put up" at the village tavern. On Wednesday, finding their team overloaded, they chartered a two-horse wagon, and evening found them at Wellsville. There they took the steamer "Lady Byron," taking their horses and wagon on board, and descending the river. A broken wheel compelled the boat to stop at Wheeling for several hours. Ulysses and James strolled up through the streets, less sleepy then than now. While they were loitering about the City Hotel, a traveller asked young Grant:

"What will you take this trunk down to the steamer for?"

"A fi'-penny bit," replied the lad.

The five-penny bit, usually contracted to "fip" in Western mouths, was worth six and a quarter cents, an outlay which the extravagant traveller fancied he could afford. So Ulysses at one end, and James at the other, bore the heavy trunk down to the boat half a mile away, and earned their reward. It is to be hoped that they never in after-life did so much hard work for so little money.

There was no wharf at Wheeling. The water was nearly level with the top of the stone wall, from which a staging extended to the boat. The steamer had on board many German emigrants, going to Louisville and Cincinnati. With genuine boyish fondness for mischief, the two lads so arranged the planks that the first person venturing upon them would tumble in. The first happened to be a little German boy habited in a red flannel dress, and not more than three years old. As he stepped upon it the staging gave way, and "*chuck*" he fell into the water. The alarm was shouted, and, as he came up to the surface for the second time, some of his people caught him by the hair and lifted him out.

The thoughtless boys were sadly frightened, but cautious enough to hold their peace, and unspeakably relieved to see the streaming young Teuton saved from drowning.

The "Lady Byron" finally started again, and on Saturday the travellers reached Maysville, where they remained several days with relatives, before riding to their home, twenty miles farther. Ulysses, on his return from this long journey, was looked up to by his playmates on account of the marvellous stories he had to tell of what he had seen.

As Jesse Grant prospered, and his family increased in numbers, they required more room than the little family dwelling afforded, so after his return from Deerfield he added a spacious two-story house to the old one, which he left standing as an L. Ulysses drove the horses for hauling all the brick, stone, and sand. In a few months was completed the Grant homestead shown in our picture, and still unchanged. It stands on low ground, a hundred yards east of the Georgetown public square, a sober brick house, its front very near the street; and one side shaded by tall locusts, and overlooking a smaller roadway which leads up past the old Methodist meeting-house and the Bailey residence. In a hollow, on the opposite side of the main street, stood, and yet stands, the little brick currier shop. Behind it was the tan-yard. Beside it, for a hundred feet, stretched a low shed—a mere roof supported by a skeleton of poles. Under this were piled many cords of oak bark, in the midst of which stood the bark-mill, with a hopper like an old-fashioned cider-mill.

The bark, peeled from standing trees, is brought to the tan-yard in strips three feet long. In grinding, a boy stands holding one in his left hand, and, with a hammer in his right, breaks it into the hopper in pieces four or five inches long. Meanwhile, a horse trudging around a circle, and leading himself by means of a pole attached to the sweep which he draws, grinds the bark to powder.

Not only is the work confining, but every time the beam comes around the boy must "duck," or it will strike his head. Ulysses heartily disliked all labor about the tan-yard, and had a tendency to make himself invisible whenever he suspected there was any to be done. But when his father left him to attend the bark mill, he would hire some other boy to take his place for twelve or fifteen cents a day, while

GRANT'S BOYHOOD DAYS IN OHIO.

he, by driving a stage passenger or hauling a load, earned a dollar or a dollar and a half. The young speculator accumulated money easily, and in the use of it was free, though not wasteful.

Just before the lad was twelve, his father contracted to build a county jail. The job would require much hauling of stone, of bricks, and particularly of logs. The tanner had one very large horse, and Ulysses said:

"Father, if you will buy Paul Devore's horse to work beside ours, I can haul these logs for you."

So Jesse purchased the animal for fifty-five dollars. Ulysses was proud of his fine-looking black horses, and named the new one "Dave," in irreverent compliment to David Devore, a Georgetown attorney. With them the lad did all the hauling. It was two miles from the woods to the site of the jail. The logs were a foot square and fourteen feet long, and required a great deal of hewing, as all the "sap" had to be cut off. It took eleven men to do the hewing, but only one to "score." The hewers loaded the logs, while the lad simply drove the team.

One cloudy April morning when rain was threatened, Ulysses went as usual for his load. After a long trip, he came back with his logs, and as Jesse and the hired man were unloading them at the jail, he remarked:

"Father, I reckon it's hardly worth while for me to go again to-day; none of the hewers are in the woods. There is only one load left; if I get that now, there will be none for me to haul to-morrow morning."

"Where are the hewers?"

"At home, I suppose. They haven't been in the woods this morning."

"Who loaded these logs?"

"Dave and me."

"What do you mean by telling me such a story?" asked the clear-headed, indignant father.

"It is the truth; I loaded the logs with no help but Dave's."

It *was* the truth. For this hauling, the body of the wagon had been removed, and the logs were carried upon the axles. It was a hard job for several men to load. They would take the wheels off on one side, let the axles down to the ground, lift on the squared logs with handspikes, then pry the axles up with levers, and put the wheels on again. That a boy could do this alone was incredible; and Jesse inquired:

"How in the world did you load the wagon?"

"Well, father, you know that sugar-tree we saw yesterday, which is half fallen, and lies slanting, with the top caught in another tree. I hitched Dave to the logs and drew them up on that; then I backed the wagon up to it, and hitched Dave to them again, and, one at a time, snaked them forward upon the axles."

The ingenious lad had used the trunk of the fallen maple as an inclined plane, and after hauling the logs upon it, so that they nearly balanced, had drawn them endwise upon his wagon underneath with little difficulty. The feat made him quite famous in the neighborhood. Did it not involve as much inventiveness, patience, and fertility of resource as the wonderful campaign which ended in the capture of Vicksburg?

The jail was finished by the 1st of December, and then Jesse sold his wagon to a citizen of Aberdeen, twenty-one miles away. Ulysses was sent to take it there, with two horses, one which the purchaser had left, and a beautiful bright bay, not yet four years old, which he himself had owned only a few weeks, and had never tried in harness.

For the first ten miles the team went well; but then, near Ripley, passing a farmhouse where the butchering of hogs was going on, the sight and smell of it made the colt quite frantic. In a twinkling he kicked himself out of the harness, tearing it to shreds. Ulysses sprang from the wagon, and firmly held the frightened beast by the bit until he was quiet. Then, knowing that he was, at least, an admirable riding-horse, Ulysses put on his saddle, brought for the return trip, and galloped into Ripley. There he asked of the first acquaintance he met:

"Are there any horse-buyers in town?"

"Yes, there is one collecting horses for New Orleans; he is to leave with them in a few days. I reckon he is over there at the stable."

To the stable Ulysses rode, and, finding his man, accosted him:

"My horse is for sale; are you buying?"

"Yes; what do you ask for him?"

"Sixty-five dollars, and the use of him or some other horse to take my wagon to Aberdeen."

The beauty of the little steed interested the buyer, and he answered:

"I will give you sixty dollars."

"I can't take that; he is worth more."

"Well, I will split the difference with you, and give you sixty-two dollars and fifty cents."

"All right."

The bargain was closed, the horse delivered, and the money paid. But then the buyer, looking again at the chubby lad, whose gravity of demeanor had prevented his diminutiveness from being noticed, added:

"You are a very small boy; I am afraid it is hardly safe to buy of you."

"Oh, if that is all, I can satisfy you," replied Ulysses. And he went and brought Captain Knight, an old family friend, who testified:

"It is all right; any trade you make with this boy is just as sound as if you made it with his father."

The buyer, determined not to lose sight of his new pony, furnished Ulysses with an old safe horse to Aberdeen, which the boy left in Ripley on his return, and thence went by stage.

The next year, a roving New York journeyman, with a weakness for whiskey, worked in the tan-yard. Once, having exhausted all his money, he took six calfskins belonging to his employer. Not daring to offer them for sale, he consulted a little shoemaker, who betrayed him. Jesse found the hidden plunder, and soon after, meeting his speculating workman in the village tavern, ordered him to leave town. But the journeyman was obstinate, would not go, and even drew a knife upon Jesse. The broad-shouldered, powerful tanner took the weapon away from him, sent Ulysses for his cowhide, and laid it over the culprit's back half a dozen times with all his power. But the victim, neither frightened nor hurt, stood his ground till some village "roughs" marched him out of town, with warning never to come back. He never did.

While Grant was at school, his companions used to tell a story about a horse-trade that he was once engaged in. It appears that when he was about twelve years of age, his father sent him to purchase a horse of a farmer named Ralston, who resided some short distance in the country. The elder Grant wanted the horse, but still desired to get it as cheaply as possible. Before starting, the old gentleman impressed upon young Grant's mind that fact in these words:

"Ulysses, when you see Mr. Ralston, tell him I have sent you to buy his horse, and offer him fifty dollars for it. If he will not take that, offer him fifty-five dollars, and rather than you should come away without the horse, you had better give him sixty dollars."

Off started the boy, and in due course of time arrived at Ralston's farm-house. He had carefully studied over in his mind his father's instructions, and of course intended to do as his parent had told him. Mr. Ralston, however, threw him off his balance by putting the following direct but natural question to him:

"How much did your father tell you to give for him?"

Young Ulysses had always had it impressed upon his mind by his mother that the truth must be spoken at all times, and therefore he replied:

"Why, father told me to offer you fifty dollars at first; and if that would not do, to give you fifty-five dollars; and rather than come away without the horse I was to pay sixty dollars."

Of course, Ralston could not sell the horse for less than sixty dollars.

"I am sorry for that," returned Grant, "for, on looking at the horse, I have determined not to give more than fifty dollars for it, although father said I might give sixty. You may take fifty if you like, or you may keep the horse."

Ulysses rode the horse home.

Young Grant had been brought up to revere and esteem the character of Washington as the redeemer of his country, and so great an impression did the teachings of his friends have upon him, that, even as a boy, he would never allow that name or memory to be insulted in his presence.

It so happened that the brother of General Grant's father had settled in Canada, and was impressed with a strong antipathy to the government of the United States. Notwithstanding this fact, the Canadian Grant did not object to send his son John to the same school where young Ulysses was studying, so that he might be able to gain a better education than he could at that time obtain in Canada.

John had been brought up with the same feelings as his parents, and it was very natural for him occasionally to loosen his tongue in a disparaging manner upon American affairs, to the praise and glory of the "old country." While it was confined to remarks about Great Britain, young Grant would listen, and argue all in good part; but on one occasion the following conversation ensued, after one of their debates on the merits of the two styles of government, the love of country, and duty to rulers.

"Ulysses," said John, "you talk a great deal about Washington. He was nothing better than a rebel. He fought against his king."

"Now, look here, Jack," returned Grant quickly, "you must stop that, or I will give you a thrashing. Mother says I must not fight, but must forgive my enemies. You may abuse me as much as you please; but if you abuse Washington, I'll off coat and let into you, if you were ten times my cousin, and then mother may afterwards whip me as much as she likes."

Jack was determined not to give way in his assertion, and Grant was as firm in his defence of his country's idol, until, at last, from words, they came to hard blows.

During the contest Jack got the worst of it, but still Grant did not escape scot free—his face betraying evidences of the struggle—and on reaching home his mother cried out:

"So, young man, you have been fighting, notwithstanding all I have said to you about it!"

SCENE DURING THE BATTLE OF COLD HARBOR.

Ulysses explained the whole of the circumstances of the case in a straightforward manner, without either addition or detraction. The good and worthy matron, with the determination that her son should respect her admonitions, began making preparations to give young Ulysses the promised castigation, when her husband interfered to prevent the boy being flogged:

"I tell thee what it is, wife," said the old gentleman, "the boy does not deserve to be punished. He has only stood up for his country, and he, that, as a boy, will stand up and fight in defence of the honor and integrity of the name of Washington, will rise, if God spares his life, to be a man and a Christian too."

At about the age of twelve he displayed, in a remarkable manner, that calmness and presence of mind which has so eminently characterized his career as a soldier and general. Having been sent with a light wagon and pair of horses to the village of Augusta, in Kentucky, twelve miles from Georgetown, he permitted himself to be persuaded to remain all night, in order to take back two young women who could not be ready to start before morning. The Ohio river had swollen rapidly in the meantime, and the back-water in White Oak Creek, across which his route lay, had risen so much that when he reached it in returning he was surprised to find, after the first few steps, that his horses and wagon were swimming. The young women, finding themselves in water up to their waists, became badly frightened, and began at once to cry for help. In the midst of this exciting scene Ulysses, who was on the front seat, coolly guiding his horses towards the opposite bank, turned to the women, and with an air of perfect assurance, said: "Keep quiet; I'll take you through safe!"

He was fond of all the games and sports of boyhood. His resolute spirit and cool temper made him a leader among his companions; but his disposition inclined him to seek the society of persons older than himself. Those who have had the good fortune to know him in manhood, will readily perceive that he must have been an exceedingly good-natured, amiable, patient, cheerful, modest, light-hearted boy; full of courage, good sense, and self-reliance. He could read by the time he was seven years old, and was fond of going to school, learning easily and rapidly whatever was taught, but showing particular aptitude in mathematics.

He had always a peaceable and even disposition, without any inclination to quarrel, and yet he would never permit himself to be imposed upon, neither would he stand by and see a little boy abused by a larger one. His sense of justice and fair play would always cause him to join the weaker side, and fight it through on that line at every hazard. He never used a profane or obscene word, no matter how great his anger or provocation. "Confound it" is the hardest phrase he ever gave utterance to.

Ulysses inherited many of his best traits from his mother. The old residents of Georgetown speak of her with extraordinary enthusiasm and affection. She was amiable, serene, even-tempered, thoroughly self-forgetful, kind and considerate to all, and speaking ill of none. Her children she governed with tender affection, and without the rod; and in return they were tractable and well behaved, never boisterous nor rude in the family circle. She was exceedingly reticent and exceedingly modest. Whatever she thought of her boys and girls in her mother-heart, she never praised them before others. Even now, though feeling high and just pride in her illustrious son, and fond of reading all that is said of him, she not only refrains from boasting of him, but sometimes blushes like a girl, and leaves the room when his praises are sounded in her ears; for it seems akin to hearing self-praise, which she regards with unmitigated horror. In her old age she has calm. winning manners, and a face still sweet and still young in the nicest sense of Holmes:

"For him in vain the envious seasons roll,
Who bears eternal summer in his soul."

Ulysses was sent to school before he was four years old; but he began so young to drive a team and make himself useful to his father, that his education was sadly neglected. After he was eleven he went only in the winter term, averaging about three months. Even then his attendance was irregular whenever he could find passengers to drive home, or neighbors who wanted to visit Cincinnati. The plain, one-story brick building, baldly fronting the street, without any pleasant surroundings, where the village youth first quaffed from the "Pierian Spring," is faithfully shown in our picture. Its exterior is still unchanged; but no more emerge "the playful children just let loose from school," for it is now occupied as a dwelling by a family of negroes.

He was not deemed a brilliant scholar except in arithmetic, in which he excelled his class. In other branches he was about the average. But no one in the school could draw such horses upon his slate as young Grant, and in this exercise he was exceedingly diligent. He would sit, too, and reflect for hours with his slate or book hugged up against his breast, and his head a little cast down. His ordinary nickname was "Ulyss," or simply "Lyss;" but some of his comrades called him "Texas," because his father had visited that province and published a long account of his trip. Others called him "Hug," from his initials, H. U. G., and others still travestied his name to "Useless."

Notwithstanding his expertness at skating, swimming, and riding, he was awkward in other out-door sports. But he had unusual fortitude, and though at ball-playing he was a very poor dodger, no ball could hit him hard enough to make him cry, or even wince.

He attended frequent evening spelling-schools, and also a juvenile debating club, at which, however, he never spoke. Though seeming to care little for amusements, he went with the rest to the evening gatherings of boys and girls, playing his part creditably at riddles, puzzles, and other games, and not shrinking from the endless juvenile kissing involved in forfeits, though he had no special fondness for the society of the opposite sex. One little girl only was a particular favorite, and she continued so until he grew to manhood. But she became a staid settled matron, and lived near Georgetown, Ohio.

In brief, Ulysses was a sober, thoughtful boy, who preferred the society of men to that of younger companions, but always as a modest and quiet listener rather than a talker. He was temperate—much less inclined to whiskey than most young men in that convivial region, for whoever had grown virtuous, Brown county willed that there *should* be cakes and ale.

Military traditions were among the familiar things of his childhood: stories of Samuel and Noah Grant in the old French war, and of his grandfather's exploits in the eight years of the Revolution. The military spirit also was fervent in the vicinity; he saw much of company drill, and never missed the general muster in August. On this grand occasion as many as three thousand citizen-soldiers were sometimes drilled by their officers through the long summer day, with more than ordinary zeal and diligence. Even the local names betokened an admiration of military heroes. Ripley was so called in honor of General Ripley; Scott township, of Winfield Scott; and Brown county, of Ethan Allen Brown, all famous in the war of 1812.

A Philadelphia journalist, who was a native of the same village—a little boy, who, in his own phrase, "used to hang around the skirts of Grant's 'wamus,'" writes:

"A brother of the General was a fellow-'devil' in the printing-office in which we were then the younger imp. And through him we became acquainted with Ulysses, or 'Lyss," as he was called by the boys. He was then a stumpy, freckle-faced, big-headed country lad of fifteen or thereabouts, working in his father's tan-yard; and we often stood by his side and exercised our amateur hand, under his direction, in breaking bark for the old bark-mill down in the hollow. Though sneered at for his awkwardness by the scions of noble Kentucky, who honored Georgetown with their presence, Ulysses was a favorite with the smaller boys of the village, who had learned to look up to him as a sort of a protector.

"We well remember the stir created by the appointment of the tanner's son to a cadetship at West Point. The surprise among the sons of our doctors, lawyers, and store-keepers was something wonderful. Indeed, none of us boys, high or low, rich or poor, could clearly imagine how Uncle Sam's schoolmasters were going to transform our somewhat *outre*-looking comrade into our *beau ideal* of dandyism—a West Pointer. But the rude exterior of the bark-grinder covered a wealth of intellect, which, of course, we youngsters were not expected to be cognizant of. Modest and unassuming, though determined, self-reliant and decisive then, as he still seems to be, we mistook his shy, retiring disposition for slowness, and, looked up to as he was by us all, we must confess there was much joking at his expense as we gathered of evenings in the court-house square."

Besides Ulysses there were in due season five other children—Simpson, Clara, Virginia, Orvil L., and Mary Frances.

When Ulysses was nearly fourteen, his life was varied by a winter at Maysville, Kentucky. The schools there were better than in Georgetown, and to their advantages he was bid by the widow of his uncle, Peter Grant, who resided there. Two years later he was sent for a few months to the Presbyterian Academy at Ripley, where he boarded with Marion Johnson.

He was a plant of slow growth; looking little like his father, but much like his aunt, Mrs. Rachael Tompkins, of Charlestown, West Virginia, and inheriting the "Grant face," with its Scotch look of strength, spirit, and determination, and, when smiling, its peculiar twist of the under lip.

Thus the boy grew up in a pleasant, well-ordered family, trained by a thoughtful father of great energy and integrity, and by a mother so tender, so faithful, so calm, so heavenly tempered, that former neighbors speak of her as men are wont to speak only of their own mothers. In this home he was surrounded by pure influences only—a religious household, the frugality and simplicity of working people in humble life, the hospitality and open-handed kindness of a new country. On the other hand, schools were poor and infrequent, the standard of public morality none of the highest, and the temptations to excess in drink many and powerful.

With him the home influence proved the stronger, and at seventeen years of age he was noted as an honorable, trustworthy youth, above all meanness, incapable of any crooked ways.

Fortunately for the country his father did not fancy the plan of allowing his son to be a farmer or trader, but sagaciously suggested the idea of sending him to West Point. Fortunately, too, no great difficulty was encountered in securing a cadet's warrant, through the kind offices of Senator Morris, and the Hon. Thomas L. Hamar. The last official act of the latter as member of Congress was to make the nomination of Ulysses S. Grant to the Secretary of War as a suitable person to receive the appointment of cadet at the United States Military Academy.

It seems that when his father solicited his appointment as cadet, he designated him as Ulysses, and that the member of Congress who made the nomination, knowing that his mother's maiden name was Simpson, and perhaps that she had a son also named Simpson, sent in the name as Ulysses S. Grant instead of Hiram Ulysses Grant. As a matter of course, the cadet warrant was made out in the exact name of the person nominated, and although the young candidate might have written his true name on the register when he presented himself for admission it would have probably resulted in his suspension till the warrant of appointment could be corrected. Foreseeing this trouble and wishing to avoid it he entered the academy as Ulysses S. Grant, and trusted to getting his name set right at some future day. This, however, he did not succeed in accomplishing, but in order that there should be nothing lost on that score, his classmates and comrades, looking about for a suitable nickname, gave him the familiar appellation of Sam, which was often expanded into Uncle Sam. Since arriving at the age of manhood, he has not regarded the S. in his name as having any signification whatever.

# CHAPTER II.

## WEST POINT AND THE MEXICAN WAR.

Ulysses S. Grant enters West Point—Submits readily to Discipline—His Class-mates—He Graduates Twenty-first in his Class—Appointed Brevet Second-Lieutenant—Reports for Duty—Jefferson Barracks—Second Lieutenant in Seventh Infantry—Mexico—The Siege of Vera Cruz—Cerro Gordo—His Bravery at El Molino del Rey—First Lieutenant—Capture of the City of Mexico—Brevet Captain—Married at St. Louis—Accompanies his Regiment to California—Serves in Oregon—Promoted Captain—Resigns and Returns to St. Louis.

On the first day of July, 1839, Ulysses S. Grant, then about seventeen years of age and slightly above five feet in height, was regularly enrolled amongst the cadets at the Military Academy.

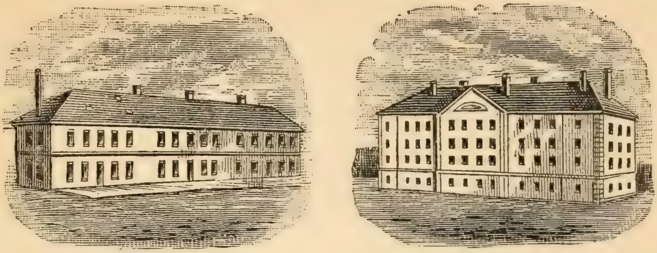
When the young cadet entered the West Point Institution, he had to submit to a thorough physical and mental examination, to see whether he was fit to enter upon the life of a soldier, and was possessed of the proper mental talents, to make him competent to be trained as an officer. He passed the examination successfully and was admitted into the fourth class, where his studies consisted of mathematics, English grammar, including etymological and rhetorical exercises, composition, declamation, geography of the United States, French, and the use of small arms. In the camp, for the cadets have to live part of the summer months in tents as if in the field, he ranked as a private of the battalion, and had to submit to all the inconveniences that privates in camp have to suffer.

The battalion of cadets having removed from barracks to the usual summer encampment, young Grant soon found himself, in common with his class-mates, rapidly inducted into all the mysteries of cadet life. Under the skillful hand of a third classman, who had already been thoroughly "set up as a soldier," he was rapidly taught the military position, squad drill, and manual of arms. Guard duty, field artillery, and academic exercises followed in their turn. Having satisfactorily passed the semi-annual January examination, which is usually fatal to the hopes of dull and incorrigible candidates, he subscribed to the oath of allegiance to the United States, and bound himself to serve the nation honestly and faithfully against all its enemies and opposers whatsoever. Grant did not take a high position in his class, except in mathematics and the kindred studies, —engineering and military science. He excelled in all military exercises, and as might have been supposed, surpassed nearly all of his class-mates in horsemanship, and the cavalry drill. He had the good luck to escape much of the playful hazing usually inflicted upon the new cadets of that day, though he doubtless received enough of it to give him a relish when he got to be a third classman for running it judiciously upon those who came after him.

During the year 1840 he was advanced into the third class of the West Point Academy. Here he ranked as corporal in the cadet battalion, and his studies consisted of higher mathematics, French, drawing, and the duties of a cavalry soldier. In this last study he received practical instructions for sixteen weeks, so as to make him a good horseman. He progressed steadily, but not rapidly. He however did not fall back from any advance he had made, and if he only gained one seat at a time, he held on to that, with the intention of never again going below the cadet sitting next lower in his class.

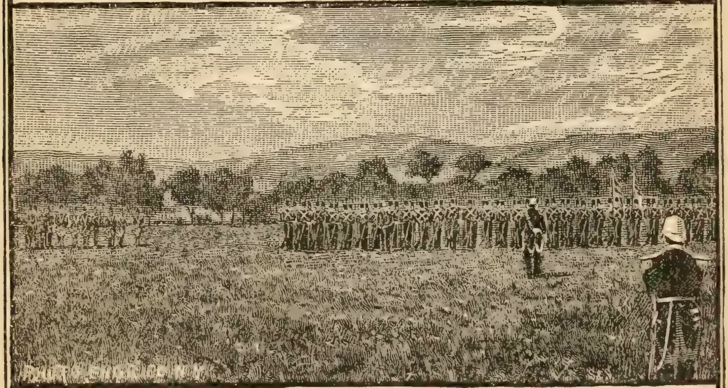
At the end of his second year he was granted the usual furlough of two months, and, after a visit to his home, returned to his studies, with renewed vigor and determination, heightened by the approaching prospect of honorable graduation, at the end of his term.

The daily routine of cadet-life is somewhat monotonous. Drill and study are the accustomed order, relieved only by the evening dress-parade, the inviting ramble through scenery charming alike by natural beauty and historic interest, the "Board of Visitors," annual encampments, graduations, and hops. Martial law governs this military post;

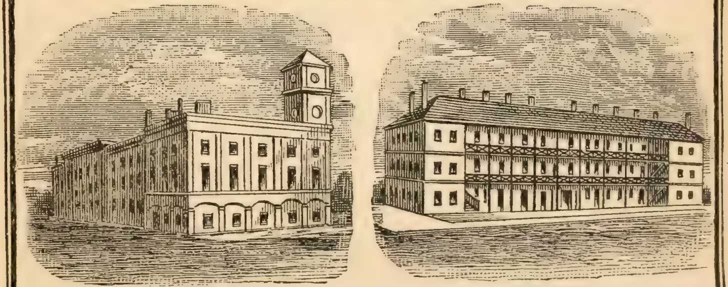


MESS HALL.

NORTH BARRACKS.



PARADE GROUND.



ACADEMY BUILDING

BARRACKS.

BUILDINGS AND PARADE GROUND AT WEST POINT.

and it is an efficient curb upon habits of irregularity and dissipation. Temperance and continence, within its jurisdiction, forfeit their place as virtues; for they are enforced upon the young soldier by inexorable necessity. Even a stolen visit to Benny Havens, a rollicking song by stealth, the smuggling-in per steamer of contraband packages, under the pains and penalties of a court-martial, are too excruciating substitutes for genuine sport to be very seductive.

Grant encountered the severe exactions of the West Point course with no preparatory education worthy of the name. "Hasten slowly" was written on his forehead early in life; and those who knew him best expected from him a persistent rather than a brilliant scholarship in the intellectual exercises of the institution, and decided superiority only in the practical departments of military instruction. Both expectations were justified by his career as a cadet. Abstract mathematics, topographical engineering, and the science of war, were conquered by his characteristic tenacity of will. Practical engineering succumbed with less difficulty; while infantry, artillery, and cavalry tactics were easily mastered.

He passed with honors the first examination, and all the subsequent ones with no dishonor; earning successively the rank of corporal, sergeant, and commissioned officer of cadets.

Cadet Grant, during 1841, entered the second class of the United States Military School at West Point, obtaining with this change the rank of a sergeant of cadets. His studies now were somewhat more laborious; but still Grant persevered, and gradually mastered them. From September, 1841, to June, 1842, he was engaged in the study of natural and experimental philosophy, chemistry, and drawing, and in receiving practical instruction in horsemanship. During the summer months he was again encamped, and was well drilled, in both infantry and artillery tactics. He passed out of this class with credit.

During the year 1842 the young soldier passed into the first and concluding class of instruction of the academy; acquired a practical knowledge of the use of the rifled musket, the field-piece, mortar, siege, and seacoast guns, small sword and bayonet, as well as of the construction of field-works, and the fabrication of all munitions and *material* of war.

The cadet who graduated first in young Grant's class was William Benjamin Franklin, who entered the Topographical Engineer Corps; and having passed through a series of adventures under various commanders, was, in 1864, the general commanding the Nineteenth Army Corps, in the Department of the Gulf, under General Banks.

The names of the next three graduates do not now appear in the Army List of the United States.

Wm. F. Reynolds graduated fifth in the class, entered the infantry service, and was appointed an aid on the staff of General Fremont, commanding the Mountain Department, with the rank of colonel, from the 31st day of March, 1862.

The next graduate was Isaac F. Quimby. He had entered the artillery service, and had been professor at West Point, but had retired to civil life. The rebellion, however, brought him from his retirement, and he went to the field at the head of a regiment of New York volunteers. He afterwards became a brigadier-general in the Army of the Potomac.

Roswell S. Ripley, the author of "The War with Mexico," graduated seventh; but his name does not now appear in the official Army Register of the United States, as he had attached himself to the Confederate cause.

The next graduate was John James Peck, who entered the artillery service, and was, on January 1st, 1864, the commander of the district of and army in North Carolina, which then formed a portion of General Butler's department.

John P. Johnstone, the daring artillery lieutenant, who fell gallantly at Contreras, Mexico, was the next graduate.

General Joseph Jones Reynolds was the next in grade. This officer had gained great credit while in the army, as a professor of sciences; but had resigned some time, when the rebellion broke out. He was, however, in 1861, again brought forward as a general of three months' volunteers, under General McClellan, in Western Virginia; was afterwards commissioned by the President; and latterly became attached to the Army of the Cumberland. He served on the staff of the general commanding that army, with the rank of major-general, until General Grant assumed command of the military division embracing the Departments of Ohio, Tennessee, and Cumberland, when he was transferred to New Orleans.

The eleventh graduate was James Allen Hardie, who during the war of the rebellion became an assistant adjutant-general of the Army of the Potomac, with the rank of colonel.

Henry F. Clarke graduated twelfth, entered the artillery service, gained brevets in Mexico, and became chief commissary of the Army of the Potomac, during the war of the rebellion, with the rank of colonel.

Lieutenant Booker, the next in grade, died while in service at San Antonio, Texas, on June 26th, 1849.

The fourteenth graduate might have been a prominent officer of the United States army, had he not deserted the cause of his country, and attached himself to the enemy. He had not even the excuse of "going with his State," for he was a native of New Jersey, and was appointed to the army from that State. His name is Samuel G. French, major-general of the Confederate army.

The next graduate was Lieutenant Theodore L. Chadbourne, who was killed in the battle of Resaca de la Palma, on May 9th, 1846, after distinguishing himself for his bravery at the head of his command.

Christopher Colon Augur, one of the commanders of the Department of Washington, and major-general of volunteers, was the next in grade.

Franklin Gardner, a native of New York, and an appointee from the State of Iowa, graduated seventeenth in General Grant's class. At the time of the rebellion he deserted the cause of the United States and joined the enemy. He was disgracefully dropped from the rolls of the United States army, on May 7th, 1861, became a major-general in the Confederate service and had to surrender his garrison at Port

Hudson, July 9th, 1863, through the reduction of Vicksburg by his junior graduate, U. S. Grant.

Lieutenant George Stevens, who was drowned in the passage of the Rio Grande, May 18th, 1846, was the next graduate.

The nineteenth graduate was Edmund B. Holloway, of Kentucky, who obtained a brevet at Contreras, and was a captain of infantry in the United States regular army at the commencement of the rebellion. Although his State remained in the Union, he threw up his commission on May 14th, 1861, and joined the Confederates.

The graduate that immediately preceded General Grant was Lieutenant Lewis Neill, who died on January 13th, 1850, while in service at Fort Croghan, Texas.

Joseph H. Potter, of New Hampshire, graduated next after the hero of Vicksburg. During the war of the rebellion he became a colonel of volunteers, retaining his rank as captain in the regular army.

Lieutenant Robert Hazlitt, who was killed in the storming of Monterey, September 21st, 1846, and Lieutenant Edwin Howe, who died while in service at Fort Leavenworth, March 31st, 1850, were the next two graduates.

Lafayette Boyer Wood, of Virginia, was the twenty-fifth graduate. He is no longer connected with the service, having resigned several years before the rebellion.

The next graduate was Charles S. Hamilton, who for some time commanded, as major-general of volunteers, a district under General Grant, who at that time was chief of the Department of the Tennessee.

Captain William K. Van Bokkelen, of New York, who was cashiered for Confederate proclivities, on May 8th, 1861, was the next graduate, and was followed by Alfred St. Amand Crozet, of New York, who had resigned the service several years before the breaking out of the civil war, and Lieutenant Charles E. James, who died at Sonoma, Cal., on June 8th, 1849.

The thirtieth graduate was the gallant General Frederick Steele, who participated in the Vicksburg and Mississippi campaigns, as division and corps commander under General Grant, and afterwards commanded the Army of Arkansas.

The next graduate was Captain Henry R. Selden, of Vermont, and of the Fifth United States Infantry.

General Rufus Ingalls, quartermaster-general of the Army of the Potomac, graduated No. 32, and entered the mounted rifle regiment, but was found more valuable in the Quartermaster's Department, in which he held the rank of major from January 12th, 1862, with a local rank of brigadier-general of volunteers from May 23, 1863.

Major Frederick T. Dent, of the Fourth United States Infantry, and Major J. C. McFerran, of the Quartermaster's Department, were the next two graduates.

The thirty-fifth graduate was General Henry Moses Judah, who commanded a division of the Twenty-third Army Corps during its operations after the Confederate cavalry general, John H. Morgan, and in East Tennessee, during the fall of 1863.

The remaining four graduates were Norman Elting, who resigned the service on October 29th, 1846; Cave J. Couts, who was a member of the State Constitutional Convention of California during the year 1849; Charles G. Merchant, of New York; and George C. McClelland, of Pennsylvania, no one of whom is now connected with the United States service.

It is very interesting to look over the above list to see how the twenty-first graduate has outstripped all his seniors in grade, showing plainly that true talent will ultimately make its way, no matter how modest the possessor may be, and notwithstanding all the opposition that may be placed in its way by others.

With a head stuffed with the learning of the school; with ambition kindled, and patriotism exalted, by the genius of the place; with a mind skilled to manœuvre, attack, and defend; a hand adroit in piling up redoubts and stockades, and in digging rifle-pits and intrenchments, and apt in constructing fascines, hurdles, and sap-rollers; with all his sensibilities vivid, all his senses keen, intent, animated, the model of physical power and activity, Cadet Grant is launched into the stormy ocean of life.

LIEUT. GRANT AT THE AGE OF TWENTY-TWO.

Leaving the Academy, Grant went as far as Philadelphia with his classmate, Frederick T. Dent, of St. Louis, thence to Washington, and thence to his home in Ohio. At the final examination, his chief achievement was with his favorite horse, York. In presence of the board of visitors he made the famous leap of six feet and two or three inches.

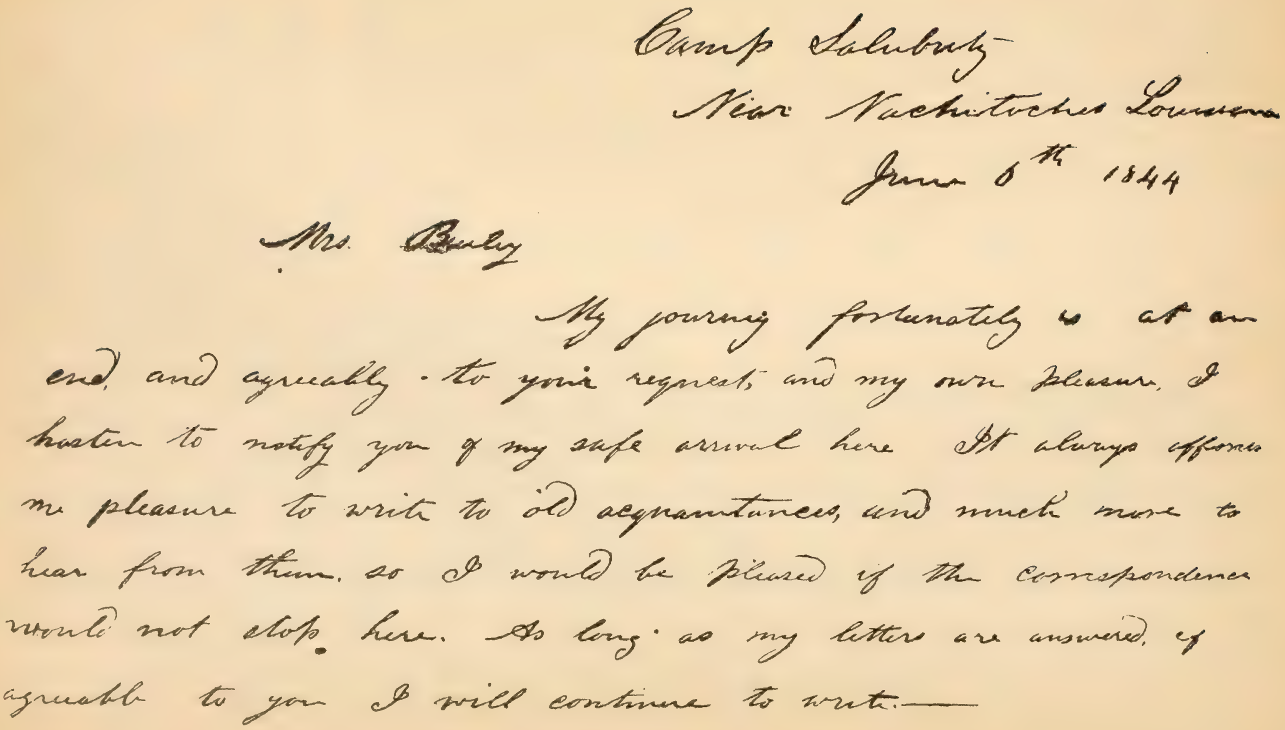
His career at West Point had been altogether unnoticeable. His scholastic standing was about the average. His reputation for integrity and fairness was high, and his observance of the truth so strict that he never indulged in the slightest exaggeration. But neither classmates nor professors fancied that he was born great, or going to achieve greatness, or likely to have greatness thrust upon him.

In 1843 the army was only 7,500 men strong, and scattered in small squads over our immense area of territory. Garrison-life at this time was languid beyond all expression, and was chiefly occupied with expedients for killing time.

To subject a man for four or five years to the incessant application required by the West Point *curriculum*, to sharpen up all the powers of his mind to their keenest edge, to prepare him by every mental and athletic drill for unflagging labor, and then forthwith send him to mildew and to rust at some desolate post garrisoned only by a sergeant's command, is to condemn him at once to self-torment. And yet this was the uniform habit of the Government some forty-five years ago: this was the process to which the brevetted second-lieutenants of 1843 were subjected.

On the day subsequent to his graduating, the 1st of July, 1843, he entered the United States army as a Brevet Second-Lieutenant of infantry, and his name was entered upon the roll of the Fourth regiment of regular infantry, then stationed in Missouri and Missouri Territory, with its head-quarters partly at Camp Salubrity, La., and partly at Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis.

Early in November, after the three months' leave of absence usually granted to the graduating class of cadets, which he spent among his friends and relatives in Ohio, he

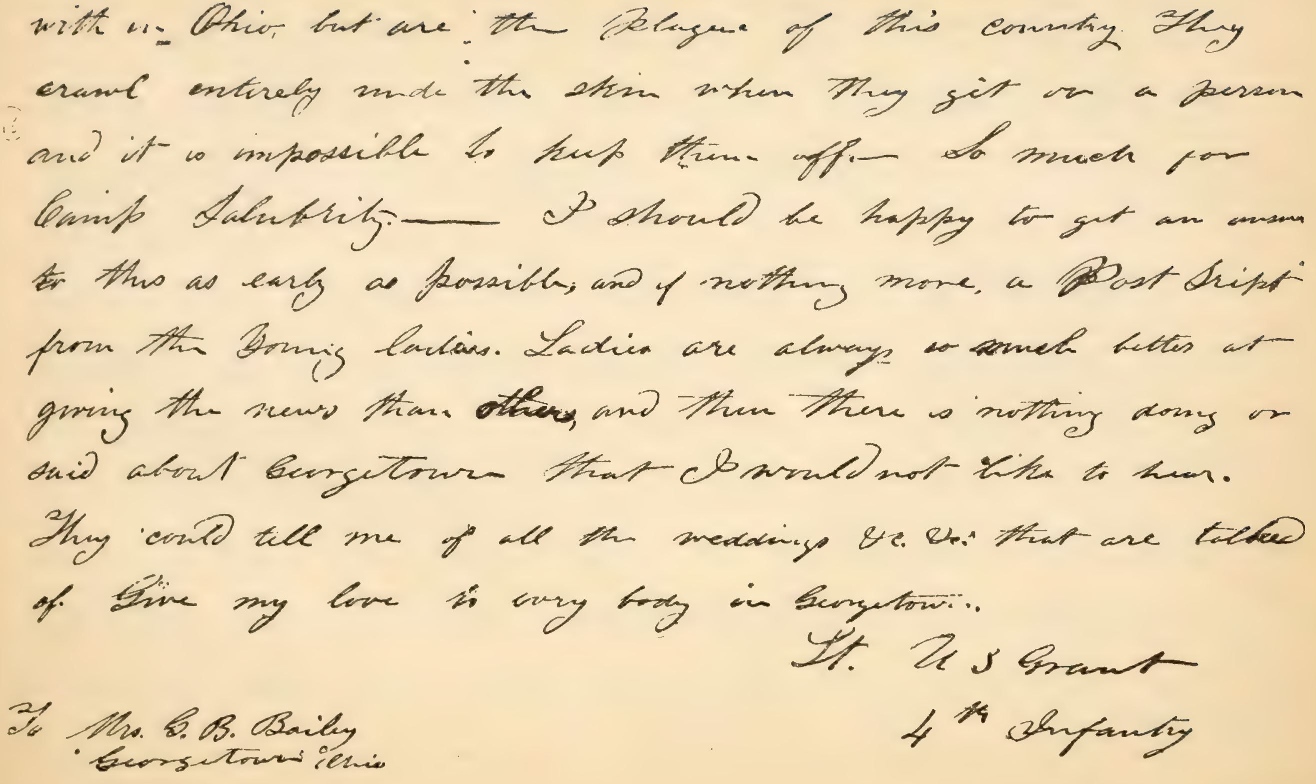


Camp Salubrity
Near Natchitoches Louisiana
June 6th 1844

Mrs. Bailey

My journey fortunately is at an end, and agreeably to your request, and my own pleasure, I hasten to notify you of my safe arrival here. It always affords me pleasure to write to old acquaintances, and much more to hear from them, so I would be pleased if the correspondence would not stop here. As long as my letters are answered, if agreeable to you I will continue to write.—

My trip to: this place "forty days journey in the "wilderness" was marked with no incident, save one, worth relating and that one is *laughable*, *curious*, *important*; *surprising* &c. &c. but I cant tell it now. It is for the present a secret, but I will tell it to you some time. You must not guess what it is for you will go wrong. On my route I called around by the way of St Louis and Jefferson Barracks where I spent four or five days very pleasantly among my newly made acquaintances From St Louis to N Orleans I had a very pleasant trip on a large and splendid boat, with pleasant passengers and not much crowded. As we approached the South the Sun. become sensibly warmer. and the Musquetoes decidedly more numerous By the time we got to N Orleans my hands and face bore the strongest evidence of the number and size of this insect in a Southern Climate I was but one day in Orleans which was spent in running over the City just fast enough to tire myself out and get but little good of my visit But from what I saw I think it would be a pleasant place to live and it is now contemplated that my Regiment will go in that neighborhood in case Texas should not be annexed to the U States, but in case of the annexation we will probably have to go much farther West than we are now. Probably to the Rio Colorado. From N. Orleans to Natchitoches I had the bad fortune to travel on a small boat considerably crowded through a hot country, with gambling going on day and night. Some of the passengers had very cut throat appearances. From Nachitoches I had to walk (to pay an extravagant price for a conveyance) three miles through the hotest sun I think I ever felt. I found my Regiment camping out in small linen tents on the top of a high sandy ridge and in the midst of a pine forest. The great elevation of our situation and the fact that one of the best springs of water in the State puts out here are the only recommendations the place has. We are about three miles from any place, there is no conveyance to take us from one place to another, and every thing is so high that we cant afford to keep a horse or other conveyance of ~~[illegible]~~ our own. I could walk myself but for the intensity of the heat. As for lodgings I have a small tent that the rain runs through as it would through a seive. For a bedstead I have four short pine sticks set upright and planks running from the two at one end to the other. For chairs I use my trunk and bed, and as to a floor we have no such a luxury yet. Our meals are cooked in the woods by Servants that know no more about Culinary matters than I do myself. But with all these disadvantages my appetite is becoming extravigant. I would like to have our old West Point board again that you may have heard so much about. As for the troublesome insects of creation they abound here. The Swamps are full of Aligators, and the woods full of Red bugs and ticks; insects tho you are not trouble

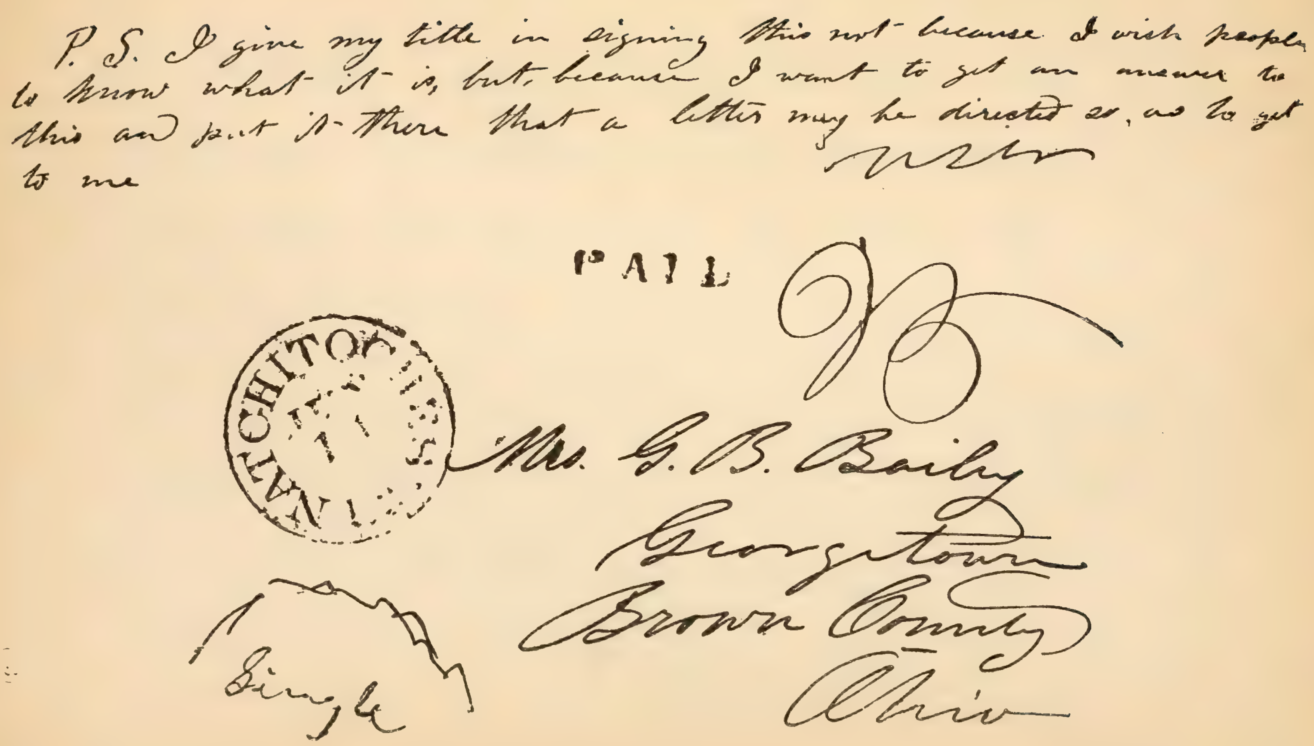


with us in Ohio, but are the Plague of this country. They
crawl entirely under the skin when they get on a person
and it is impossible to keep them off. — So much for
Camp Salubrity. —— I should be happy to get an answer
to this as early as possible, and if nothing more, a Post Script
from the Young ladies. Ladies are always so much better at
giving the news than others, and then there is nothing doing or
said about Georgetown that I would not like to hear.
They could tell me of all the weddings &c. &c. that are talked
of. Give my love to every body in Georgetown.

Lt. U S Grant

4th Infantry

To Mrs. G. B. Bailey
Georgetown Ohio



P. S. I give my title in signing this not because I wish people to know what it is, but because I want to get an answer to this and put it there that a letter may be directed so, as to get to me

NATCHITOCHES

PAID

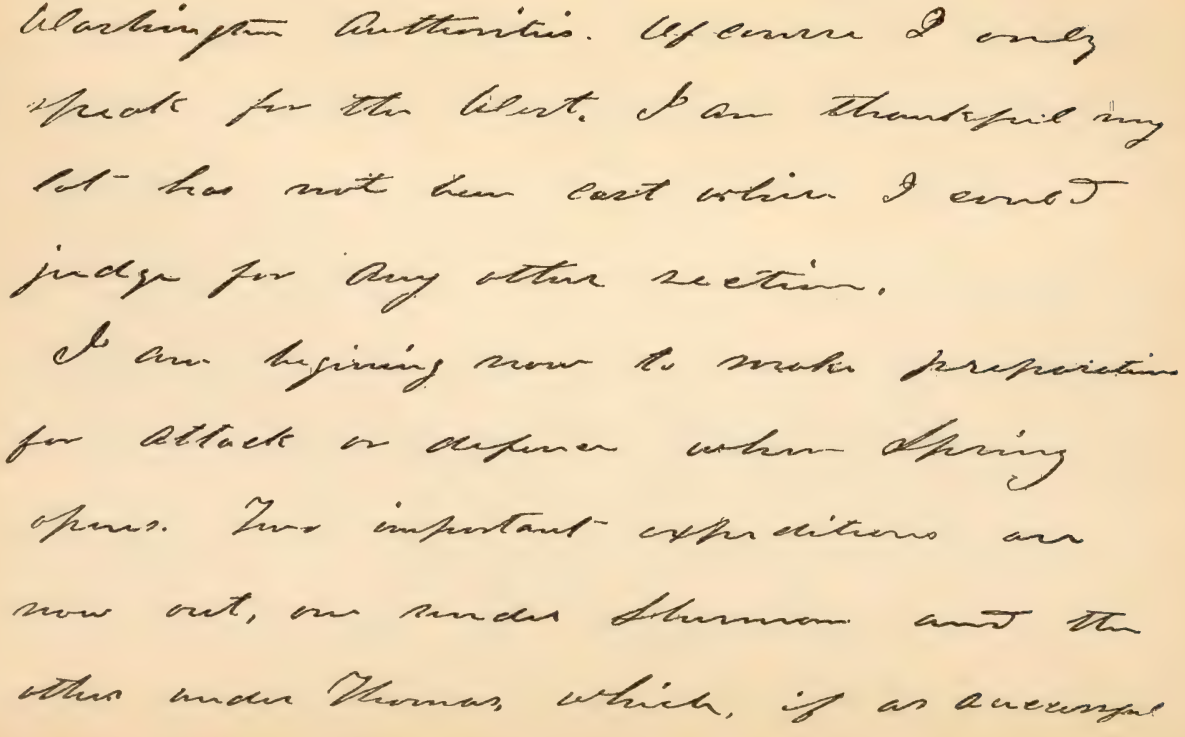
Mrs. G. B. Bailey
Georgetown
Brown County
Ohio

Single

Nashville. Ten.
Feb.y 16th 1864.

Dear Ruf,

Your very welcome letter was received by due course of Mail and read with great interest and full intention to answer it right off. But since that time I have been moving about so much that I have neglected it. I have often wished that I could have you here to see the machinery of your department. This was on account of old acquaintance however. The Quartermaster's Dept. here has been well and satisfactorily managed so far as the heads are concerned. I did once apply to have you sent here as Chief but it was thought you could not be spared from where you are. I have never had any cause of complaint either on account of deficiency in the Staff departments or embarrassments thrown in the way by the Authorities at Washington. The fact is I believe complaints are generally made to shift responsibility of inaction from Commanders to Staff departments or



Washington Authorities. Of course I only speak for the West. I am thankful my lot has not been cast where I could judge for any other section.

I am begining now to make preparation for attack or defence when Spring opens. Two important expeditions are now out, one under Sherman and the other under Thomas, which, if as successful as I expect them to be will have an important bearing on the Spring Campaign.

This war has developed some of our old acquaintances much differently from what we would have expected. Fred. Steele a good fellow always but you would have supposed not much more, is really a splendid officer and would be fully capable of the management of the Army of the Potomac or any of the departments. Some who much would have been expected from have proven rather failures. This class I do not like to mention by name.

I believe Prof. you are still leading a bachelor's life! Don't you regret it? Now I have four Children, three boys and one girl, in whose society I feel more enjoyment than I possibly can with any other company. They are a responsibility — giving much

more pleasure than anxiety. It may not
be too late for you yet.
My respects to such old acquaintances as are
with you.

Yours Truly

U. S. Grant

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NASHVILLE, TENN., *February 16th*, 1864.

DEAR RUF:—Your very welcome letter was received by due course of mail, and read with great interest and full intention to answer it right off. But since that time I have been moving about so much that I have neglected it. I have often wished that I could have you here to run the machinery of your department. This was on account of old acquaintance, however. The Quartermaster's Dept. here has been well and satisfactorily managed, so far as the heads are concerned. I did once apply to have you sent here as chief, but it was thought you could not be spared from where you are. I have never had any cause of complaint, either on account of deficiency in the staff departments or embarrassments thrown in the way by the authorities at Washington. The fact is, I believe complaints are generally made to shift responsibility of inaction from commanders to Staff Departments or Washington authorities. Of course, I only speak for the West. I am thankful my lot has not been cast where I could judge for any other section.

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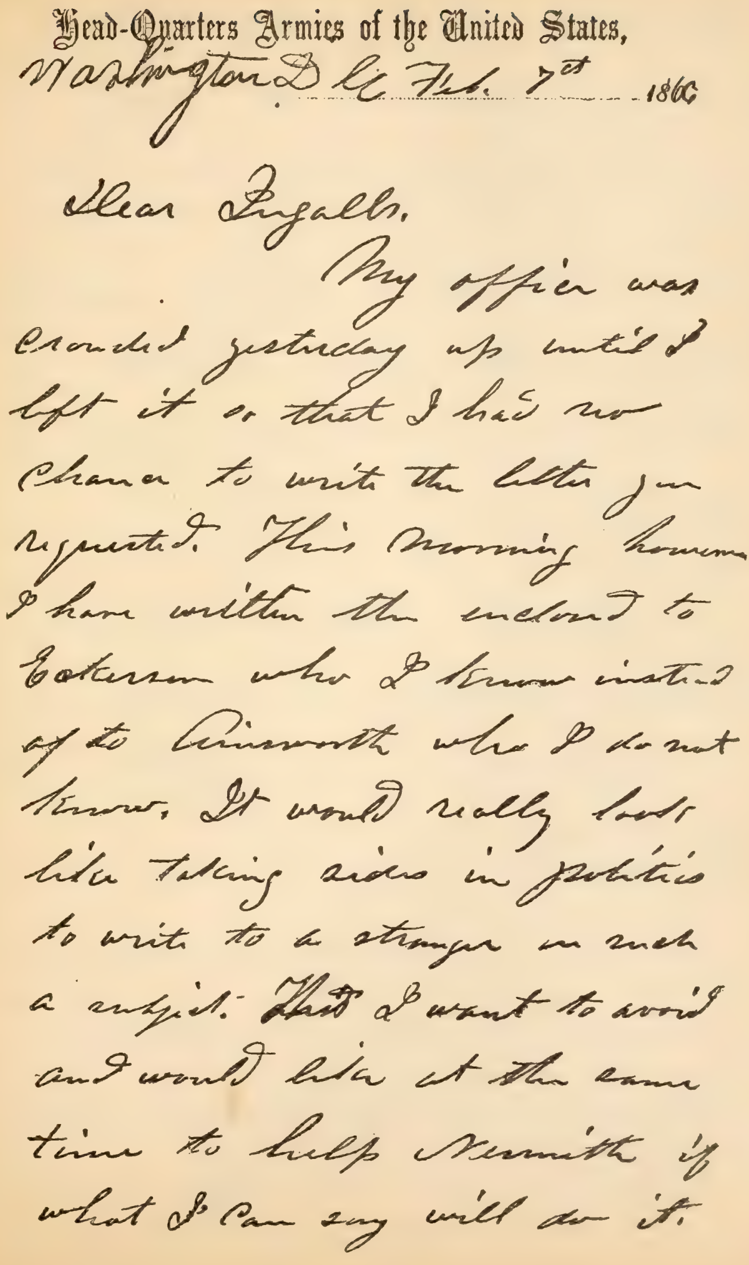
Yours truly,

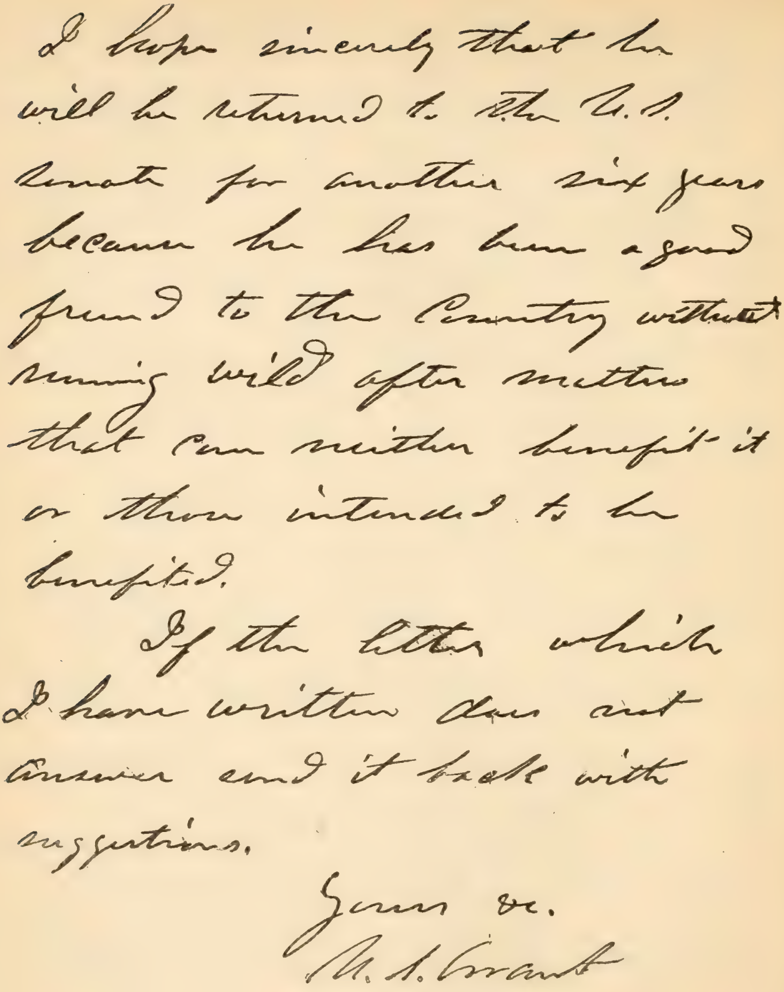
U. S. GRANT.



Head-Quarters Armies of the United States,
Washington D.C. Feb. 7th 1866

Dear Ingalls,

My office was crowded yesterday up until I left it so that I had no chance to write the letter you requested. This morning however I have written the enclosed to Eckerson who I know instead of to Ainsworth who I do not know. It would really look like taking sides in politics to write to a stranger on such a subject. That I want to avoid and would like at the same time to help Nesmith if what I can say will do it.



I hope sincerely that he will be returned to the U. S. Senate for another six years because he has been a good friend to the Country without running wild after matters that can neither benefit it or those intended to be benefited.

If the letter which I have written does not answer send it back with suggestions.

Yours &c.

U. S. Grant

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HEAD-QUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *Feb. 7th*, 1866.

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Yours, &c., U. S. GRANT.

reported for duty with his regiment. From Camp Salubrity, Lieutenant Grant wrote to Mrs. G. B. Bailey, a friend, who resided at Georgetown, Ohio, the following letter:

CAMP SALUBRITY, NEAR NATCHITOCHES, LA., *June 6th*, 1844.

MRS. BAILEY:—My journey, fortunately, is at an end, and agreeably to your request and my own pleasure I hasten to notify you of my safe arrival here. It always affords me pleasure to write to old acquaintances, and much more to hear from them; so I would be pleased if the correspondence would not stop here. As long as my letters are answered, if agreeable to you, I will continue to write.

My trip to this place, "forty days' journey in the wilderness," was marked with no incident, save one, worth relating, and that one is *laughable*, *curious*, *important*, *surprising*, *etc.*, *etc.*, but I can't tell it now. It is, for the present, a secret, but I will tell it to you some time. You must not guess what it is, for you will go wrong. On my route I called around by the way of St. Louis and Jefferson Barracks, where I spent four or five days very pleasantly among newly-made acquaintances. From St. Louis to New Orleans I had a very pleasant trip on a large and splendid boat, with pleasant passengers, and not much crowded. As we approached the South the sun became sensibly warmer and the mosquitoes decidedly more numerous. By the time we got to New Orleans my hands and face bore the strongest evidence of the number and size of this insect in a Southern climate. I was but one day in New Orleans, which was spent in running over the city just fast enough to tire myself out and get but little good of my visit. But from what I saw I think it would be a pleasant place to live, and it is now contemplated that my regiment will go in that neighborhood in case Texas should not be annexed to the United States; but in case of the annexation, we will probably have to go much farther west than we are now; probably to the Rio Colorado. From New Orleans to Natchitoches I had the bad fortune to travel on a small boat, considerably crowded, through a hot country, with gambling going on day and night. Some of the passengers had very cutthroat appearances. From Natchitoches I had to walk (or pay an extravagant price for a conveyance) three miles through the hottest sun I think I ever felt. I found my regiment camping out in small linen tents on the top of a high sandy ridge and in the midst of a pine forest. The great elevation of our situation, and the fact that one of the best springs of water in the State puts out here, are the only recommendations the place has. We are about three miles from any place; there is no conveyance to take us from one place to another, and everything is so high that we can't afford to keep a horse or other conveyance of our own. I could walk myself but for the intensity of the heat. As for lodgings, I have a small tent that the rain runs through as it would through a sieve. For a bedstead I have four short pine sticks set upright, and plank running from the two at one end to the other. For chairs I use my trunk and bed, and as to a floor we have no such luxury, yet our meals are cooked in the woods by servants that know no more about culinary matters than I do myself. But with all these disadvantages, my appetite is becoming extravagant. I would like to have our old West Point board again that you may have heard so much about. As for the troublesome insects of creation, they abound here. The swamps are full of alligators, and the woods full of bedbugs and ticks, insects that you are not troubled with in Ohio, but are the plague of this country. They crawl entirely under the skin when they get on a person, and it is impossible to keep them off. So much for Camp Salubrity.

I should be happy to get an answer from this as early as possible, and, if nothing more, a postscript from the young ladies. Ladies are always so much better at giving the news than others, and then there is nothing done or said about Georgetown that I would not like to hear. They could tell me of all the weddings, etc., etc., that are talked of. Give my love to everybody in Georgetown.

LIEUTENANT U. S. GRANT,
Fourth Infantry.

TO MRS. G. B. BAILEY, *Georgetown, Ohio.*

P. S.—I give my title in signing this, not because I wish people to know what it is, but because I want to get an answer to this, and put it there that a letter may be directed so as to get to me. U. S. G.

At the time Grant entered the army, the United States were at peace with all the world, and very few vacancies then occurred in the rolls of army officers. He was, therefore, attached as a supernumerary lieutenant to the Fourth regiment of Regular United States Infantry, then stationed on the frontier, and engaged in keeping down the Indian tribes, that at that time were very annoying and dangerous to the early settlers of Missouri Territory, which, forty years ago, was almost a wilderness, except on the immediate banks of the great rivers.

While in this part of the West, Brevet Second-Lieutenant Grant assisted his military companions in superintending the opening up of the country, as well as in maintaining the peace and safety of those who had settled and were settling in that region.

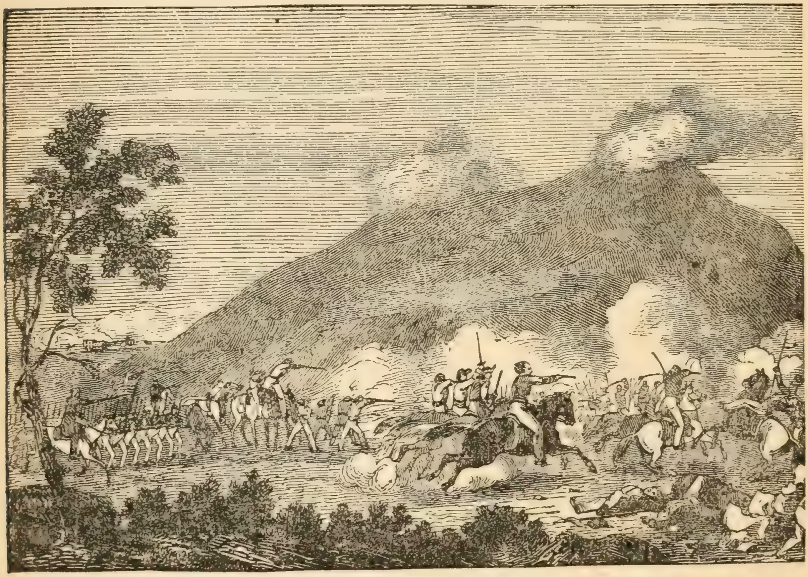
The young officer had not been many months in the West before he was ordered, with his regiment, into Texas, to join the army of General Taylor, who had been appointed to the command of the United States troops then concentrating in that republic. This army occupation was made during the year 1845. The Mexicans and Americans had for some time held an imaginary line of boundary within what is now known as the State of Texas. As all imaginary lines become more or less subjects of dispute, it was quite natural that two armies of distinct races, and with great personal animosities daily arising, should at last find, or imagine they had found, the other overstepping its proper limits, and, as a natural sequel, quarrels would take place, supposed wrongs would have to be revenged, and bloodshed would be the ultimate result. Such was certainly the origin of the actual hostilities which ripened into the American war with Mexico.

Corpus Christi, an important port on the Texan shore, was soon taken possession of by the Americans as a base of operations, and Grant was stationed at this place when he received his commission as full second-lieutenant of infantry. This commission was dated from the 30th day of September, 1845, and was made out for a vacancy in the Seventh regiment of United States Regular Infantry. He had, however, become so attached to the members of the Fourth regiment, that a request was sent to Washington to allow him to be retained with that force, and in the following November a commission was handed to him, appointing him a full second-lieutenant in the Fourth regiment of United States Regular Infantry.

Some time before the declaration by Congress of a war with Mexico, the struggle commenced in Texas. The primary cause of the actual commencement of hostilities was a trifle; but the spark was no sooner applied than the conflagration began to make its rapid way, drawing the whole within its fearful grasp. Several petty struggles ensued, until at last General Taylor learned that an immense force of Mexicans were marching with the intention of crossing the Rio Grande into Texas, to drive the Americans from that region of territory. Promptly General Taylor moved; but, in the meantime, Fort Brown, on the Texas shore of the Rio Grande, was besieged. The gallant American garrison defended the position with great bravery; but, unless relief could have been sent them, it must have fallen. To relieve the besieged was General

Taylor's duty; and, under his command, Lieutenant Grant marched to his first battle-ground.

On the 8th day of May, 1846, Grant participated in the battle of Palo Alto, and, although not mentioned in the official reports, he is spoken of by his companions to have acted with gallantry; several officers of his regiment obtaining brevets for their gallant and meritorious conduct. With his characteristic modesty, the young lieutenant kept himself in the back-ground, while his seniors gained the reward.



RESACA DE LA PALMA. LIEUTENANT GRANT WAS RECOGNIZED AS BEING FOREMOST IN THE BATTLE.

The battle of Resaca de la Palma was fought the next day, and here again Lieutenant Grant acted with praiseworthy gallantry. As before, his seniors in the regiment gained the brevets, while he quietly remained behind, perfectly satisfied that he had done his duty, and that time would ultimately bring to him his recompense.

Fort Brown was relieved, and the Mexicans felt the weight of its metal as they, in disorder, rushed across the

Rio Grande in full retreat from the battle so bravely fought and won by General Taylor, on May 9th, 1846.

The American army then advanced to and up the Rio Grande, and Texas was relieved from the jurisdiction of the Mexicans. Lieutenant Grant also participated in the subsequent brilliant operations of General Taylor along the banks of that historic stream, and advanced into the Mexican territory, at a point over a hundred miles above the mouth of the river, in the Republic of New Leon.

On the 23d of September, 1846, Lieutenant Grant took part in the splendid operation of General Taylor against Monterey, which place the Mexicans had strongly fortified. In these works were posted a far superior force of Mexicans; but General Taylor was determined to drive them out of their intrenchments, and succeeded.

The American campaign in Mexico was now about to assume a different phase of character. War had been regularly declared, and a systematized plan of attack was made out. The advance by the northern route was to be made secondary to the grand movement by way of Vera Cruz; and the army and navy, as in the present war, were both to be brought into active use.

"In every battle of General Scott's, from Vera Cruz to Mexico; in every battle of General Taylor's, from Palo Alto to Monterey,"—is Grant's creditable record in the Mexican war. He fleshed the sword, which the government had taught him to wield, when Ringgold's battery first struck the staggering line of Mexicans in that prairie-thicket which gives to the earliest action in the war its name. When, the next day, the stricken but undemoralized enemy rallied with reinforcements on a stronger position, and it became apparent, as the sun was declining, that cannon could not, as on the previous day, decide the contest, he deployed as a skirmisher, with his regimental comrades, towards the natural ditch in which the foe was intrenched; and was on the lead when the gallant Fourth leaped into the ravine of palms, and cleared it of every hostile bayonet. When the Mexicans rallied again, Grant charged with that unwavering line of steel, which finally broke them into fragments, and scattered them on the river. He crossed the Rio Grande, and occupied Matamoras with General Taylor's column, while the haggard and sullen remnant of the hostile army was creeping slowly southward.

Before the end of August Taylor started for Monterey with six thousand effectives, half of whom were volunteers. Transportation was scarce, and many officers bought pack-mules for their personal comforts. On the march the soldiers attended fandangoes almost every night; for the Mexicans, though ready enough to fight on the field, were equally ready to dance with the invaders of their country.

Monterey, with seventeen thousand people, is the most important city of northern Mexico. It is built of limestone, the streets paved and clean, and fringed with beautiful gardens, orchards, and vineyards. The town is two or three miles long, and its natural position very strong. When our army approached it was well fortified, and held by ten thousand Mexican troops.

After ten days of reconnoitring, Taylor attacked it on the 21st of September. Grant's regiment was in Garland's brigade of regulars, on the extreme left of our line. The troops assaulted the city vigorously, and were vigorously opposed from forts, intrenched streets, and barricaded houses. One detachment reached the roof of a house near a Mexican redoubt, but was driven out. Two companies of the Fourth advanced to storm a fortification, and had a severe fight, in which Grant's friends and messmates, Hoskins and Wood, both fell mortally wounded while cheering on their men. More than one-third of the command was disabled, and it was finally driven back. Another party of the Fourth had a lively fight in the streets—loading behind buildings, stepping out to fire, and then hiding again. Once they lay upon the ground under a hot fire for half an hour, watching the shells which flew over them from Worth's command on the other side of the town. Before night they had lost very heavily.

It was said that during this fight the daughter of a former Mexican governor, her whole soul aroused at the invasion of her native soil, led a company of lancers in three successful charges. After the battle, the native Joan of Arc retired from and the town, and was seen no more.

During the day, a private of the Third infantry, mortally wounded, said to a passing sergeant:

"I am dying. I wish you would take this musket back to my captain. I have had it ever since I enlisted, and *I want to leave it to the old regiment.*"

Another, struck in the thigh by a bullet, exclaimed: "I have got my ticket," and limped gayly off to camp on his uninjured leg. In similar phrase, during the rebellion, would our soldiers sometimes say of a dead comrade, "He has handed in his checks."

In the rear, Worth's division had carried several important points, but the attack in front was a failure. Our forces were driven back, but held one important redoubt which they had gained. The Fourth remained to guard this, the men lying in the mud and rain through the cold night, though they had eaten nothing for twenty-four hours.

Just at dawn, the next morning, Worth's men stormed and captured, at the point of the bayonet, a height commanding the Citadel and the Bishop's Palace, and thus got the key of the city. The Mexican general then concentrated his troops in the streets, which so changed positions that there was little fighting during the day. The shattered Fourth was relieved by volunteers, and sent back to camp.

On the third and last day there was hard fighting from morning until night. Hand to hand and face to face, the Mexicans defended their homes with great obstinacy, from house-tops and narrow streets and around the grand plaza. Our artillerists sent grape and canister plowing through the town, and, in return, musket-balls rattled about them like hickory-nuts. As Taylor was standing recklessly in a very hot place, a lieutenant begged him not to expose himself so much. His only reply was:

"Take this axe, and knock down that door."

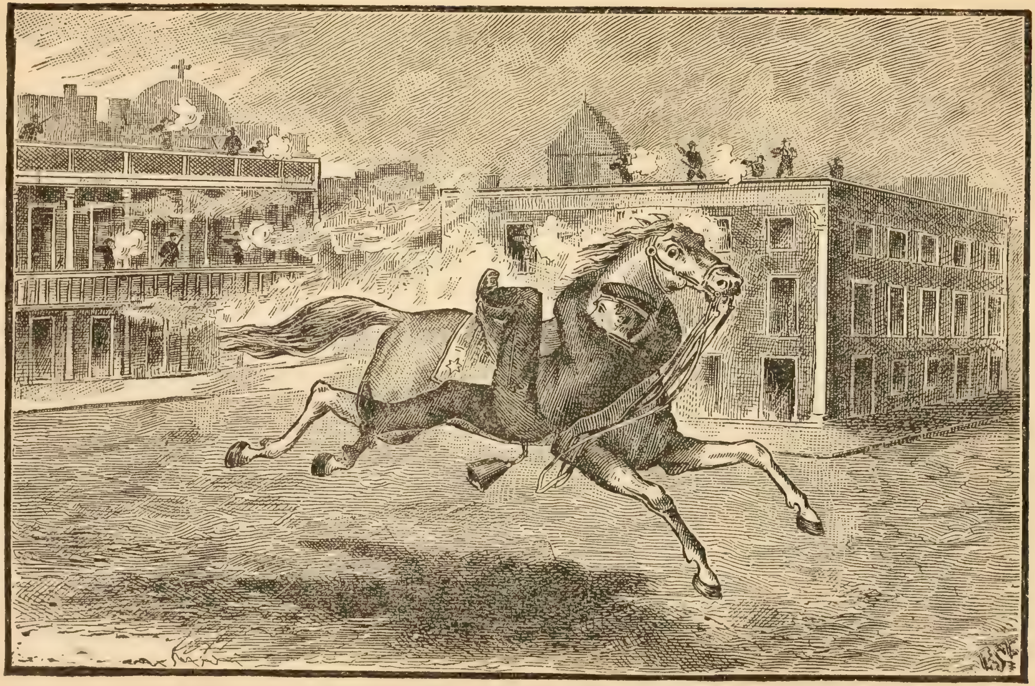
Everywhere our men were breaking into buildings, while terrified women and children fell on their knees and begged for mercy. But the troops were well disciplined, and behaved admirably, while digging their way persistently from house to house.

Toward night, as very hard fighting was going on near the plaza, it was suddenly discovered that the detachment engaged was almost out of ammunition. The men were under a hot fire, and could not hold their ground for a moment without cartridges. Taylor's head-quarters were a mile back, outside of the town, at "Fort Number One," a captured redoubt. Grant, who had been with his regiment from the firing of the first musket, volunteered to go and find him or Twiggs, and order up ammunition.

He prepared for his ride behind a house, and then dashed out. The moment he emerged from cover he was under a sweeping artillery and musketry fire from forts and houses. But he was probably the best horseman in the army, and his skill did him good service. Before running the hot gauntlet, he had adopted the posture of the Comanche Indians in similar peril—lying against the side of his horse, with one foot thrown over the saddle and his hand clutched in the mane. Being on the opposite side from the enemy, any shots to harm him must first pass through the steed.

His horse was well trained, and with Grant clinging to him in that awkward position, and "bobbing" up and down with his motion, he started at a quick run. On the way he had to jump an earth wall nearly four feet high. He made the leap splendidly, and though balls whistled and shells exploded all around him, Grant had the good fortune to reach the fort safely. He found Twiggs, who gave the order to forward the ammunition, but before it could start our troops came pouring back. With great, but fruitless, gallantry they had got into a place in which they could not stay. As Grant himself afterward described it, they were like the man who caught a wild boar. When friends came up with congratulations, he replied:

"Yes, I did pretty well in catching him, but now I wish somebody would come and help me let him go!"



LIEUTENANT GRANT GOING FOR AMMUNITION AT MONTEREY.

That night ended the fighting. The Fourth had lost five officers and many men. Grant's duties as quartermaster of course excused him from going into battle, but he was not the man to avail himself of any such privilege. His gallantry and skill in riding for the ammunition were the theme of general admiration throughout the army.

Adjutant Hoskins being killed, Grant was now made adjutant of the Fourth, and afterward performed the duties of that position in addition to those of quartermaster.

"Onward!" is the word; and, with his eye on the cloud-capped and towering line of Sierra Madre, he joins the wearisome march to the stronghold of Northern Mexico. On the 20th of August, 1846, Grant finds himself on that abrupt eminence which commands a prospect of Monterey from the east. At his feet lies a cultivated valley, tessellated with the varied green and yellow of orange and acacia groves, and waving fields of corn and sugar-cane, which stretch up to the very bastions of the easternmost works of defence. Beyond the forts, the sunbeams glance on the marble-like stucco of the cathedral and dwellings of the city, which seems to be veiled even from the profane gaze of the northern barbarians by the luxuriant foliage of flowering tropical trees.

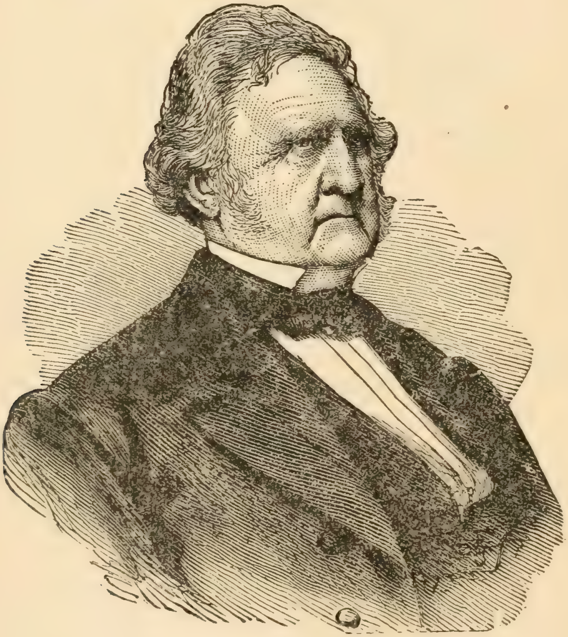
Behind all, rise heavenward the Saddle and Mitre mountains, with their tremendous peaks, aptly compared to "giants guarding the lovely bower at their feet, and prepared to roll enormous rocks from their summits upon the adventurous assailants."

Fort Teneria was right in front of the advancing army. The morning of the 21st breaks clear and resplendent; and Major Mansfield, who is in the front, reconnoitring, sends back word that he has discovered a point where that foremost fort is assailable. Colonel Garland, with two infantry regiments, Bragg's battery, and the Baltimore battalion, is descending the slope. Before they had reached the point designated by Mansfield, the citadel enfilades them with its fire, and a masked battery in front showers them with shot and shell. Fort Teneria is still silent, but frowns like grim death. Meanwhile the Fourth infantry, to which Grant was attached, had been ordered to march by the left flank towards the point of attack; but, ignorant of the fate of their comrades, they moved directly against the fort, when a destructive fire sweeps from the earth two-thirds of their number, and scatters the survivors in dismay. Fortunately for the success of the day, two companies of Colonel Garland's discomfited storming-party find shelter on the roof of a tannery, within musket-range of Teneria, and, with the sure aim of the rested rifle, pick off, one by one, the Mexican gunners. Under the cover of repeated volleys, the Tennessee and the Mississippi volunteers rush across an intervening space of a hundred yards, and storm up the slope, over the parapet, and through the embrasure. The work at the east end is over for the day, and the Fourth infantry bivouac in Teneria for the night. This was Grant's first encounter with war "in all its terrors clad."

Grant discovers in the morning that Fort Diablo has been evacuated during the night, and is now occupied by the Mississippi Volunteers; and the cheering news reaches him at breakfast that General Worth has carried every fortified position on the western acclivities. The guns of the Bishop's Palace are now turned upon the town from the west, and those of Teneria and Diablo from the east; and, simultaneously from each of these directions, the riflemen are penetrating the suburbs, and gradually approaching each other and the central plaza. The assailants find every street barricaded with mason-work, every wall pierced for musketry, and on every second roof a sand-bag battery. Crawling from roof to roof, burrowing from house to house, literally tunnelling covered ways through the solid walls of the dwelling, the sharp-shooters, from opposite directions, have arrived within four blocks of each other; and between the two, huddled around the cathedral, is the Mexican garrison. The cathedral is their powder-magazine; and it is no addition to their serenity of mind that Major Monroe is dropping into it explosive shells from a mortar battery on Federation Hill. The final onslaught on the besieged at bay is arrested by a bugle, with a flag of truce; and, on the 24th of September, Ampudia capitulates.

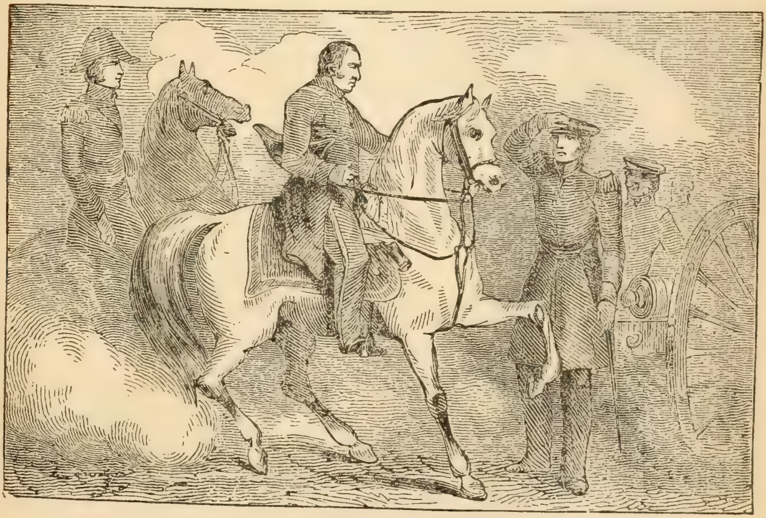
Speedily there comes from General Scott a requisition for Worth's and Twiggs's division to join him in the grand advance upon the city of Mexico. Grant's regiment is included in this demand. He parted from his disheartened companions when they were struggling on towards Buena Vista. there to win imperishable laurels.

To Grant it was a half-year of enchantment. War assumed her most comely guise, and wove round the entranced young warrior all her fascinating spells. It is impossible to describe the exhilaration with which he participated in that series of hard-fought engagements which bore triumphantly the flag of the young republic from the shores of the gulf to the lake-encircled metropolis of the ancient Aztecs, in the footprints of previous conquerors, whose names recalled the palmiest days of the proudest monarchy; through scenery grand and picturesque beyond all



GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT.

example; along the base of volcanoes once crowned with fire, now lifting eternal snow far into the azure depths of air; amid the ruins of temples which once smoked with human sacrifice; and along the majestic front of colossal pyramids, which carry the mind back to a primeval race and an extinct civilization. Nor was it any drawback to his enjoyment, that, with every step of this exciting campaign, he was advancing in military knowledge and capacity, and also in professional reputation and rank. He was favorably noticed for his skill in gunnery, when that cordon of earthworks was tightening round Vera Cruz the "Invincible." He was complimented for his gallantry at Churubusco, when the *tête de pont* was carried by the bayonet alone

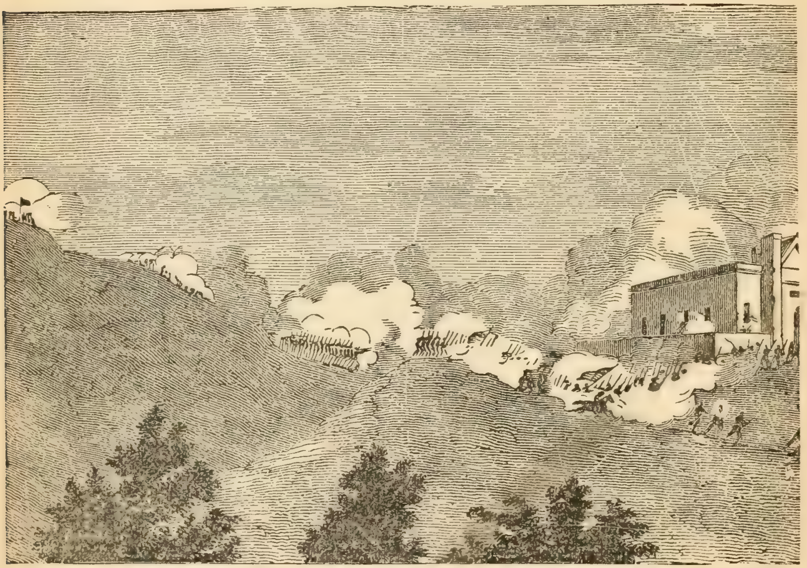


LIEUTENANT GRANT IS COMPLIMENTED FOR HIS GALLANTRY.

At the battle of Molino del Rey his conduct was so distinguished that he was appointed a brevet first-lieutenant to date from the day of the battle, but the honor was declined, only however to be increased in its importance by a commission being made out as full first-lieutenant. At Chapultepec, and in fact in every engagement which took place during the remainder of the campaign, he equally distinguished himself.

Captain Horace Brooks, of the Second artillery, in his report of the battle of Chapultepec, says:

"I succeeded in reaching the fort with a few men. Here Lieutenant U. S. Grant, and a few more men of the Fourth infantry, found me, and, by a joint movement, after an obstinate resistance, a strong field-work was carried, and the enemy's right was completely turned."



STORMING OF CHAPULTEPEC, IN WHICH LIEUT. GRANT DID NOBLE SERVICE.

The report of Major Francis Lee, commanding the Fourth infantry, at the same battle, says:

"At the first barrier the enemy was in strong force, which rendered it necessary to advance with caution. This was done, and when the head of the battalion was within short musket range of the barrier, Lieutenant Grant, Fourth infantry, and Captain Brooks, Second artillery, with a few men of their respective regiments, by a handsome movement to the left, turned the right flank of the enemy, and the barrier was carried.

Brevet-Colonel John Garland, commanding the First brigade, in his report of the battle of Chapultepec, says:

"The rear of the enemy had made a stand behind a breast-work, from which they were driven by detachments of the Second artillery, under Captain Brooks, and the Fourth infantry, under Lieutenant Grant, supported by other regiments of the division, after a short but sharp conflict. I recognized the command as it came up, mounted a howitzer on the top of a convent, which, under the direction of Lieutenant Grant, Quartermaster of the Fourth infantry, and Lieutenant Ledrum, Third artillery, annoyed the enemy considerably. I must not omit to call attention to Lieutenant Grant, Fourth infantry, who acquitted himself most nobly upon several occasions under my own observation."

This particular mention was made the more complimentary by the fact that, exclusive of the officers of his own staff, Colonel Garland names but one other officer besides Lieutenant Grant out of his whole brigade.

General Worth's report, September 16th, 1847, also speaks highly of Lieutenant Grant.

His bravery was not without its reward, and he subsequently received the brevet of captain, the appointment to date from September 13th, 1847, the day on which the battle was fought.

Among other gallant officers who were connected with the Fourth regiment at the time of which we write, were General George Archibald McCall, the late commander of the Pennsylvania Reserve corps, Brigadier-General Benjamin Alvord, Major-General C. C. Augur, Brigadier-General H. M. Judah, the late Brigadier-General Alexander Hays, and Brigadier-General David A. Russell.

Scott's campaign in Mexico was to Grant a second military school, which rounded off and completed the education he had acquired at first. It was a practical illustration, upon a grand scale and with sublime accompaniments, of the principles of military art with which he had already been imbued. Engineering, which he had studied at West Point, teaches, among other things, the modes in which walled cities are approached and captured. On the 9th of March, 1847, Grant found himself before one of the two walled cities in North America. Vera Cruz is surrounded by a line of solidly built bastions and redans, with curtains between, and terminating at one extremity with Fort San Iago, and at the other with Fort Conception. The harbor is commanded by the famous fortification of San Juan d'Ulloa, impregnable to assault, but which yielded once to a bombardment after a resistance which was merely contemptible. The siege of Vera Cruz, though of short duration, illustrated many of the most important practical principles of engineering. The first parallel was drawn at a distance of eleven hundred yards, from which a battery of three thirty-two pounders, and as many Paixhans, finally succeeded in demolishing the curtain, and shattering the redans and bastions, and destroying half the houses on the land side. The bombs of the mortar batteries destroyed all the combustible houses. The flag of truce appeared on the third day; and negotiations were opened, which terminated in the surrender of Vera Cruz and San Juan d'Ulloa. This was the first siege in which Grant was engaged.

Where the national road crosses the Rio del Plan, you instantly rise from the *tierra caliente* into a more elevated region, and, after an hour's march, the entrance of one of the defiles. Here, on the left, rises a ridge, extending the whole length of the pass; and behind it rolls the rapid but shallow river through a canon a hundred feet in depth. Upon its acclivities, facing the road and in advantageous positions, the Mexicans have planted their heavy batteries, one above the other; and the superior commanding all the approaches to the inferior. Here, on your right, are elongated mountain spurs, basing upon the road their slopes, covered with impenetrable chaparral. They forbid any diversion to the right. Still farther west stand two conical mounts,—Atalaya, masked from the road by one of the spurs; and Cerro Gordo, lifting itself eight hundred feet above the plain, and presenting to you an eastern face, rugged, difficult of access, and strengthened by two tiers of

BOMBARDMENT OF VERA CRUZ—GRANT'S FIRST SIEGE EXPERIENCE.

breastworks and abatis. Its summit is crowned by a tower, mounting nine guns, which sweeps the defile and the road beyond it. As if this were not enough to guard the pass at the foot of Cerro Gordo, a battery of six guns is planted directly on the road.

Grant sees in an instant that here is no merely engineering question. It needs but a glance at his left to show him that no skill and courage can turn the enemy's right. To the left of his line alone a flanking movement can be aimed: and here on his right are these spurs; and the resources of reconnoissance have been tasked in vain to find a pathway through them.

BATTLE OF CERRO GORDO.

When Scott reaches the ground, his experienced eye speedily detects the sole expedient which can remove this great obstruction from his path. "Let Pillow's brigade seriously threaten, and if practicable carry, these batteries of the enemy on the left of the road. Let Twiggs' division before it reaches the defile, wheel sharp to the right into this forest of chapparal, and cutting a pathway behind those elongated ridges, and encircling all the Mexican works, debouch beyond them all into the national road. Assail Cerro Gordo, the key of the whole position, in the rear; and at the same time cut off the retreat of the enemy to Jalapa." This was Scott's preliminary order of battle, omitting only his directions to the artillery and cavalry reserve, to Worth—to follow and support the operations of Twiggs, and the directions for the vigorous pursuit of the foe after his intrenchments were carried.

The performance corresponds with the programme, except that Twiggs, being annoyed by a party of skirmishers in executing his movement, throws off to his left a detachment to scatter them, which unexpectedly carries the cone-shaped Atalaya, and encouraged thereby, scales Cerro Gordo in front, and turns to flight one division of Santa Anna's Mexican army before Twiggs' left, on the march, has reached the Jalapa road to intercept it. Such was Grant's first participation in a flanking movement. There is another man in this army who will one day recall it. Robert E. Lee is serving on Scott's staff as captain of engineers.

"The plan of attack," says Scott in his report, "was finely executed by this gallant army before two o'clock P. M. yesterday. About 3,000 men laid down their arms, with the usual proportion of field and company officers, besides five generals, several of them of great distinction—Pinson, Jarrero, La Vega, Noriega, and Obando. A sixth general, Vasquez, was killed in defending the battery tower in the rear of the line of defence, the capture of which gave us those glorious results."

Worth's division of 4,000 men, to which Grant's regiment was attached, is immediately pushed on to the fortress of Perote, which was captured without a struggle; and from thence they quietly march upon Puebla, and stack their arms in the Grand Plaza of a city of 80,000 inhabitants. Here, at an elevation of 7,000 feet above the sea, which tempers the climate to a perpetual summer, in the centre of a valley of unrivalled fertility and beauty, which annually produces two abundant crops, Grant passes the months of July and August in the year 1847.

On the 7th of August the order is given to advance, and the troops, overloaded with their arms and knapsacks, begin to climb the Cordilleras. Ten thousand feet higher than the summit on which they stand, "the hill which smokes" seems near enough to be touched by hand. "Stretching far away at their feet were seen noble forests of oak, sycamore, and cedar; and beyond, yellow fields of maize, and the towering maguey, intermingled with orchards and blooming gardens. In the centre of the great basin were beheld the lakes, occupying then a much larger portion of its surface than at present; their borders thickly studded with towns and hamlets, and in their midst—like some Indian empress with her coronal of pearls—the fair city of Mexico, with her white towers and pyramidal temples, reposing, as it were, on the bosom of waters, the far-famed 'Venice of the Aztecs.' High over all rose the royal hill of Chapultepec, the residence of the Mexican monarchs, crowned with the same grove of gigantic cypresses which at this day fling their broad shadows over the land. In the distance, beyond the blue waters of the lake, and nearly screened by intervening foliage, was seen a shining speck, the rival capital Tezcuco; and still farther on, the dark belt of porphyry, girding the valley around like a rich setting which Nature has devised for the fairest of her jewels."

Descending from this loftiest point of roadway between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, Grant encamped with the rest of the army at Chalco in the valley of Mexico, and advanced the next day to San Augustin, where, on the 18th of September, 1847, Scott concentrated all his troops, and established his hospitals, depots, baggage and siege trains. All the garrisons, except a small one at Peubla, had been drawn in; all communication with Vera Cruz and home abandoned.

When the resolution is adopted to advance by the southern route, the entrance to the San Antonio causeway is immediately occupied by Worth's division. It consists of two brigades. The Fourth infantry, the Second and Third artillery, with Duncan's field-battery, constitute the first, or

Colonel Garland's brigade. The Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth regiments of infantry, with a light battery, constitute the second, or Colonel Clarke's brigade.

The general of division under whom it was Grant's good fortune to serve was Scott's right arm during the campaign: wherever hard work was to be done, or perils encountered, or glory won, Worth was in the van. Garland and Clarke were the right and left arms of Worth. Of Colonel Garland, Worth himself says, that "he was conspicuous on many fields of the Mexican war; and by his skill, conduct, and courage in the last great combats, greatly added to an already established reputation for patriotism and soldiership."

On the 20th day of September Grant was standing with his brigade comrades in an angle of the San Antonio causeway. They propose by this route to make an excursion to the city of Mexico, and enter it by the San Antonio gate. They possess some exciting information, which it is desirable that the reader shall also learn in order to enter into the spirit of their adventure. They know that some opposition is to be anticipated to their jaunt. They can see, that, half a mile ahead, the villagers of San Antonio have thrown impediments across the causeway, which may prematurely arrest their project. They know that some three miles ahead, where this causeway crosses the Churubusco rivulet, still more formal preparations are made for their reception; that a *tête de pont* has been erected with bastions, connecting-curtains, wet ditch, everything in the most approved engineering style and finish, even to the four guns run directly upon their narrow path; and that, if the Mexicans having them in charge are mischievously disposed, quite serious consequences may there ensue. They know that a breastwork of some 400 yards front connects this *tête de pont* with the convent church of San Pablo in the hamlet of Churubusco; and that, strange to say, a redoubt and abatis obstruct the entrance into the sacred edifice, which, moreover, mounts seven cannon on its consecrated walls, crenelled also for musketry. They know, also, that Santa Anna, with a following of 27,000 soldiers, has come forth from his palace to this interesting locality for the purpose of greeting them upon their arrival. They know that beyond the river and the bridge some 8,000 Mexican reserves are drawn up in line awaiting their advent. They know that General Twiggs, with quite a large retinue, went through the Pedregal, some five miles to the west, for the purpose of visiting the fortified camp of General Valencia, who, with a concourse of friends, has also emerged from the city with hospitable intent. They know that it is the plan of General Twiggs' party, after paying their respects to the Mexican general, to pursue a circuitous path for the purpose of avoiding the parade and ceremonies at Churubusco, and to join Garland beyond the river in his attack on the city.

Grant, with the brigade, is awaiting the signal which shall announce that Clarke has reached his point of destination. His guns at length are heard. Garland's men rush impetuously upon the San-Antonio intrenchments, and drive out the enemy in a long straggling column, which Clarke, now charging from the meadows on its flank, cuts near the centre; hurling the rear upon the village of Dolores as unworthy of further notice, but uniting with Garland in scourging the severed head to the compatriot embrace of Churubusco. But the Sixth infantry, which is on the lead, suddenly comes to a halt. They discover the Convent of San Pablo, with its formidable defences, on the left of the causeway, the *tête de pont* garnished with heavy guns and crowded with troops, the continuous line of infantry between the two; and beyond the river, far as the eye can reach, stretch away the glittering bayonets of the reserves. A tremendous raking volley from the *tête de pont*, and enfilading fire from the convent, rendered this exposed highway untenable; and both brigades deploy through the cornfields on their right, to strike the bridge-head on the flank.

Meanwhile, the division of Twiggs, having but six hours ago annihilated the army of Valencia at Contreras, has pushed on to its promised rendezvous here, and is now hammering the convent, and the intrenchments which the enemy presents on the right. Shields' and Pierce's brigades have forded the river, and fallen on the enemy's reserves in the marshes beyond it. The battle rages at three points at once—on the left, the right, the rear. Victory wavers, and it is doubtful upon which banner she will perch. Garland's and Clarke's brigades are stunned in their onslaught upon the flank of the *tête de pont.* The Sixth infantry stagger back, decimated, from their furious leap upon its front. Duncan's battery is obliged to mask itself before the heavier metal of its guns. Taylor's battery, operating with Twiggs upon the right, crippled in men and horses, is driven from its position by the expert gunnery of San Pablo; while the assailing infantry there are terribly galled by the sharpshooters of its tower and roof; and Shields, on the meadows, is outflanked by the Mexican cavalry.

One daring exploit redeems the fortunes of the day—Lieutenant Longstreet, bearing the colors of the Eighth infantry, and leading the regiment which he inspirits both by exhortation and example, leaps with it into the dry-ditch of the *tête de pont*, escalades the curtain without ladder or scaling-implement, and, with the cold steel alone, clears its bastions of defenders, and drives them over the bridge upon their reserve. Quicker than thought, he turns its captured guns upon San Pablo, which is still slaughtering the columns of Twiggs upon the right. Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan gallops forward with his battery. He opens, at a distance of two hundred yards, upon the walls around the convent, and drives the artillery-men from the guns in that quarter, and the infantry from their intrenchments; and then turns his battery upon the convent-tower. While its garrison are half demoralized by this overwhelming attack of Duncan from the left, the stormers upon the right capture the nearest salient which confronts them in that direction; the light artillery advance rapidly within effective range; San Pablo slackens fire; and a dozen white flags appear just as Captain Alexander of the Third infantry is entering it, sword in hand. The whole fortified position of Churubusco is taken.

When the *tête de pont*, which had so long withstood

Worth's division, gives way, with resistless power, it sweeps across the bridge, over the ditch, overflowing the fugitives from the works and the unbroken battalions of the foe upon the meadows. Shields, who is sorely beset by the reserves, feels their ranks waver before the tide of victory, until they are borne away in dismay. Garland, with deafening shout; Ayres, with a captured Mexican gun; Hoffman, with a remnant of the gallant Sixth; Harney, with his dragoons—while goring the retreating Mexicans, intersect the now exulting lines of Shields.

Head-quarters are established at Tacubaya, the army is cantoned there and in the neighboring villages; and then ensues for a fortnight that ill-advised armistice and futile attempt of Commissioner Trist to conquer a peace from Santa Anna in the field of diplomacy.

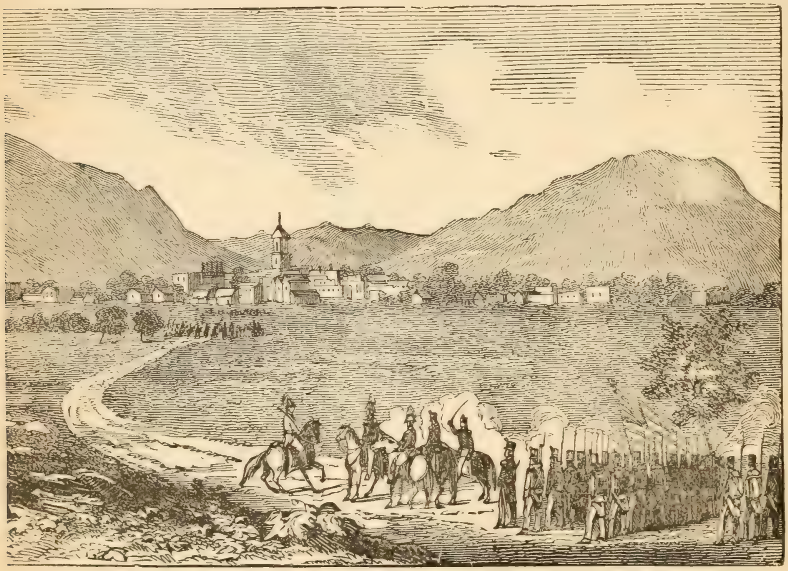
It is yet dark on the morning of the 8th of September, when Grant, in regimental battle-line, confronts the last fortified position upon which depends the fate of the enemy's capital. Directly in his front rise the solid walls of Molino del Rey, five hundred feet in length. On its right the Casa Mata, or arsenal, presents a forbidding mass of heavy masonry, pierced for musketry, and enveloped by a quadrangular field-work. Between the two is the station of the enemy's field-battery and of the infantry deployed on either side for its protection. On its left, wrapped in the solemn shade of gigantic cypresses, towers from the summit of a porphyritic rock the royal castle of Chapultepec.

The co-operating forces for the single movement in which Grant is personally concerned are all in position. Garland is on the plain, staring directly into the eyes of the Molino; and on the Tacubaya ridge, within five hundred yards of it, Huger, with his matches lighted; Wright, with his forlorn hope in leash; Cadwallader and Kirby Smith, as reserves against mishaps—all awaiting the opening of an exciting drama. Morn has hardly purpled the east, before the heavy missiles of Huger's battering train pound the walls and penetrate the roof of the Molino; and bugles sound, shouts run, along the line of the enemy's defences, as the roused garrison begird themselves for action. At the first indication that the mason-work is yielding Wright, with his half-legion of stormers, advances at double-quick down the Tacubaya slope; and unchecked by the ditch which environs the structure, unshaken by the sheet of flame which flashes from the light battery, by the musketry which showers upon them, by the canister and grape which enfilade every approach, in spite of its supports, captures the enemy's field-battery between the Casa Mata and the Molino.

Garland now rapidly moves forward with Drum's section of artillery, and carries an apparently impregnable position under the guns of Chapultepec. The Fourth joins the onslaught of all arms which have closed in upon the Molino, firing into its apertures, climbing to its roof, and striving, with the butts of muskets and extemporized battering-rams, to burst its doors. Major Buchanan of the Fourth, with Alden and Grant, are forcing the southern gate. Ayres and Anderson vault through an embrasure at the northwest angle. A hand-to-hand fight ensues, from room to room, from floor to floor, from roof to roof. In the main apartment of the building, a stalwart Mexican gathers his straggling comrades into a line which threatens to clear the Molino of every assailant; but the southern gate has yielded, Buchanan and Grant appear with a file of the Fourth infantry, and the Molino is finally captured beyond peradventure. It is thus that Grant wins his first brevet. Before noon, the Casa Mata is blown up, the Molino dismantled, and the fatigued survivors of this desperate contest reposing on their laurels at head-quarters.

The next three days are devoted to a close and daring reconnoissance of the southern avenues to the city by the staff of Scott. The Mexicans have, accordingly, fortified these approaches with superior strength. In a personal survey, he saw reason to change his direction; but, in order that the preconceived impression of Santa Anna may remain undisturbed, he leaves Colonel Riley's brigade to threaten and manœuvre here, but hastens himself to organize the real advance upon the west and southwest causeways.

The first step in the inverted plan is to carry that isolated mound, strongly defended, and all surmounted by the Castle of Chapultepec. Heavy batteries, within easy range, are established. Pillow's and Quitman's division, reinforced by storming parties from Worth and Twiggs, are held under cover for assault. Bombardment and cannonade are commenced on the morning of the 12th, and continued until nightfall. The signal for assault is given by nine o'clock on the morning of the 13th; and the two assailing columns move forward with an alacrity which betokens success.



LIEUTENANT GRANT'S REGIMENT ENTERING PUEBLA.

Pillow's approach lies through that open grove of stately cypresses, gray with the moss of ages, through a wilderness of wild shrub which marks the site of Montezuma's garden, until he emerges upon the cleared and levelled area at the foot of the rocky acclivity. Quitman's approach is along the Tacubaya Road flanked with deep ditches, in the face of crosscuts, obstructions, and batteries, defended by an army of men. After a succession of desperate struggles, which upon any other day would have been gazetted as a pitched battle, he enters the outer enclosure of Chapultepec in time to co-operate with Pillow in the final assault of the west.

The broken acclivity was still to be ascended, and a strong redoubt midway to be carried, before reaching the castle on the heights. It yielded to valor, and the shouts that followed announced to the castle the fate that impended. The enemy were steadily driven from shelter to shelter. The retreat allowed not time to fire a single mine, without the certainty of the blowing up friend and foe. At length the ditch and wall of the main work were reached; the scaling-ladders were brought up and planted by the storming parties. Some of the daring spirits first in the assault were cast down, killed or wounded; but a lodgement was soon made; streams of heroes followed; all opposition was overcome; and several of our regimental colors flung out from the upper walls, amidst long-continued shouts and cheers, which sent dismay into the capital. No scene could have been more animating or glorious.

While these grand events are transpiring, Worth's division, stripped of its first brigade by Pillow's requisition, is awaiting at the Molino its predestined occupation. The order at length arrives; and Garland leads cautiously around the northern base of that consecrated hill. Grant is with him, and wins an additional grade on this immortal afternoon. When they reach the embankment, they perceive that it is no place for organized operations. The brigade is broken into detachments: a part are thrown out, right and left, into the marsh, advancing behind every natural obstacle and cover; a part rush stealthily from arch to arch. Garland is now approaching the first breastwork. Behind it is the enemy in force, with his centre resting upon it and his wings expanded. "When the head of the battalion was in short musket-range of this barrier," writes Major Lee, commander of the Fourth, "Lieutenant Grant and Captain Brooks, with a few men of their respective regiments, by a handsome movement to the left, turned the right of the enemy, and the barrier was carried." The soldiers display their habitual firmness and audacity. Worth directs the movement with tactical exactness—massing his scattered detachments upon the enemy in front, while carefully guarding his own flank; throwing off artillery and infantry into the marsh upon the left to turn an abatis, into the marsh upon the right to clear his own and Quitman's front, who is pursuing a divergent march to the capital. Worth pushes his troops through a withering fire. They capture a second battery; they silence and dismantle a third, which enfilades their path. They have reached Campo Santo, where the causeway wheels into the inhabited streets of the city.

"We here came in front of another battery," writes General Worth in his report, "beyond which was the last defence, or the *garita* of San Cosme. The approach to these two defences was in a right line; and the whole space was literally swept by grape, canister, and shells, from a heavy gun and howitzer; added to which, severe fires of musketry were delivered from the tops of the adjacent houses and churches. Garland's brigade was thrown to the right, within and masked by the aqueduct, and instructed to dislodge the enemy from the buildings in his front, and endeavor to reach and turn the left of the *garita*. Clarke's brigade was ordered to take the buildings on the left of the road, and carry the right of the *garita*. A mountain-howitzer was placed on the top of a commanding building on the left, and another on the Church of San Cosme on the right; both of which opened with great effect. The work of the troops was tedious, and necessarily slow, but was favored by the fire of the howitzers. I recognized the command as it came up," writes Colonel Garland in his report of the action, "mounted a howitzer on the top of a convent, which, under the direction of Lieutenant Grant, quartermaster of the Fourth infantry, and Lieutenant Lendrum, Third artillery, annoyed the enemy considerably. I must not omit to call attention to Lieutenant Grant, who acquitted himself most nobly upon several occasions under my observation."

While Grant is showering the roofs with his howitzer,

LIEUT. GRANT ACCOMPANYING GENERAL SCOTT WHILE ENTERING THE CITY OF MEXICO.

Garland is bush-fighting on one side of the street, and Clarke burrowing on the other. General Quitman was preparing to storm the citadel, when the city council, at four o'clock in the morning, waited upon the commanding general with a proposition which resulted in the capitulation of Mexico upon terms imposed by General Scott. After dismissing the deputation, he communicated orders both to Quitman and to Worth to feel their way cautiously toward the centre of the city, and to occupy respectively the Grand Plaza and the Alameda. Worth occupies the beautiful park assigned to him, within three blocks of the national palace; there to encounter the assassin-like fire of the convicts, which the fugitive government had released from the prisons, and distributed into every advantageous position for the massacre of the United States troops, be it church, convent, or even hospital. Heroic Garland is struck down, wounded by the first fire.

Grant was a spectator of that splendid pageant on the 14th of September, the culminating felicity of Scott's long military career—his ceremonious entrance, with all the honors, into the city of Mexico.

After the assault and capture of the city of Mexico, in which his bravery was again conspicuous, Grant for a while became absorbed in the duties of regimental quartermaster. His station being in the city, he made the acquaintance of many of the officers of the United States army; and after the declaration of peace organized several excursions into the neighboring country for the purpose of gathering information. He lost no opportunity to become acquainted with the Mexican people and their institutions. He was at this time only twenty-five years old, had served two years in camp and garrison under the best officers of the army, had accompanied Taylor in his brilliant campaign from Corpus Christi to Monterey, and finally, in the double capacity of staff and company officer, had shared in the labor and honor of Scott's memorable conquest. He took part in every battle of the war except Buena Vista, and by zeal, energy and courage, distinguished himself above most of his companions holding the same rank.

The following were the officers of the Fourth regiment of United States regular infantry during the war with Mexico:

### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL

John Garland, who participated in the whole of the Mexican war, and commanded a brigade, received a brevet colonelcy from Resaca de la Palma, and a brevet as brigadier-general from Churubusco. He was severely wounded in the capture of the city of Mexico, was made colonel of the Eighth regular infantry regiment in May, 1849, and died in the city of New York June 5th, 1861.

### MAJOR

Francis Lee, who had entered upon the campaign as captain in the Seventh regiment United States regular infantry, was brevetted lieutenant-colonel from Churubusco, and colonel from El Molino del Rey. He became colonel of the Second regiment of regular infantry October 18th, 1855, and died at St. Louis, Missouri, January 19th, 1859.

### CAPTAINS.

George W. Allen (who had been brevetted major from Florida) was further brevetted lieutenant-colonel from Resaca de la Palma. He was next promoted to be a major of the Second regiment regular infantry, and died at Vera Cruz on March 15th, 1848.

John Page was mortally wounded in the first battle, Palo Alto, and died on the 12th of July, 1846.

William M. Graham (who had been brevetted major from Florida) continued with the regiment until February, 1847, was promoted major of the Second regiment of regular infantry on February 16th, 1847, and afterwards to lieutenant-colonel of the Eleventh United States infantry, a regiment especially organized for the Mexican war. He was several times wounded during the campaign, and was finally killed at El Molino del Rey on September 8th, 1847.

Pitcairn Morrison was brevetted major from Resaca de la Palma, became major of the Eighth regiment of United States infantry on September 26th, 1847, lieutenant-colonel of the Seventh regular infantry on June 9th, 1853, and colonel of the Eighth regular infantry June 6th, 1861, with which rank he retired from the service during the fall of 1863.

George A. McCall was brevetted major and lieutenant-colonel from Resaca de la Palma, and afterwards appointed to the Adjutant-General's Department as inspector-general. He resigned the service on April 29th, 1853, and came in as a volunteer at the commencement of the rebellion.

Gouverneur Morris was brevetted major from Resaca de la Palma, promoted to major of the Third infantry on January 31st, 1850, and lieutenant-colonel of the First infantry May 31st, 1857. He was retired from the service on September 9th, 1861.

Robert C. Buchanan was brevetted major from Resaca de la Palma, and lieutenant-colonel from El Molino del Rey. He served through the whole of the Mexican war with great credit, and was, in 1848, appointed acting inspector-general. He resumed his regimental position, and was promoted major of the regiment on February 3d, 1855, and lieutenant-colonel on the 9th of September, 1861, which rank he held at the commencement of 1864, when he was employed as Superintendent of Volunteer Recruiting in the State of New Jersey.

Charles H. Larnard was brevetted major from Resaca de la Palma, and was drowned in Puget's Sound, near Fort Madison, Washington Territory, on the 27th of March, 1854.

Benjamin Alvord was brevetted captain from Resaca de la Palma, and major from the National Bridge. He became a paymaster, with the rank of major, from June 22d, 1854, and during the rebellion was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers.

Henry L. Scott was appointed aide and acting adjutant-general to General Scott, gained the brevet of major from Churubusco, and lieutenant-colonel from Chapultepec. He became special aide to General Scott on March 7th, 1855, and retired from the service on the 30th of October, 1861.

### FIRST-LIEUTENANTS.

Henry Prince, the adjutant of the regiment, was brevetted captain from Churubusco, and was severely wounded at, and brevetted major from, El Molino del Rey. He was appointed paymaster May 23d, 1855, and brigadier-general of volunteers during the war of the rebellion.

Charles Hoskins, the former adjutant of the regiment, was killed at Monterey September 21st, 1846.

Richard H. Graham was mortally wounded at Monterey September 21st, 1846, and died on October 12th, 1846.

John H. Gore was brevetted captain from Churubusco, and major from El Molino del Rey. He died August 1st, 1852, in the Bay of Panama, New Grenada.

Richard E. Cochran was killed in the second battle of the war, Resaca de la Palma, on May 9th, 1846.

Theodore H. Porter was killed in a skirmish near the Rio Grande on April 19th, 1846.

Sidney Smith was wounded at El Molino del Rey, and was mortally wounded in the attack upon the city of Mexico on September 14th, 1847, and died on September 16th, 1847.

Granville O. Haller served through the whole of the Mexican war, was brevetted captain from El Molino del Rey, and major from Chapultepec; became captain in January, 1848, and major of the Seventh infantry September 25th, 1861; and was summarily dismissed from the service during the summer of 1863.

Henry D. Wallen was wounded at Palo Alto May 8th, 1846, became adjutant from February, 1849, to May, 1850, captain from January 31st, 1850, and major of the Seventh infantry from November 25th, 1861. He held this position at the beginning of 1864.

Henderson Ridgeley was acting assistant adjutant-general to Brigadier-

General Lane, and was killed at the Pass of Guadalaxara on the 24th of November, 1847.

Jenks Beaman participated in the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, commanded his company in the battle of El Molino del Rey, and died at Tampico on the 6th of May, 1848.

### Second-Lieutenants.

Christopher R. Perry, after participating in part of the campaign, died at sea, on his return home, October 8th, 1848.

Christopher C. Augur was aide to General Hopping, and, after the war in Mexico, remained in the United States army. During the war of the rebellion he became a major-general of volunteers.

Ulysses S. Grant.

Henry M. Judah was brevetted a first lieutenant from El Molino del Rey, and captain from Chapultepec. During the war of the rebellion he commanded a division in General Grant's Military Division of the Mississippi.

James S. Woods was brevetted first lieutenant from Resaca de la Palma, and was killed at Monterey September 21st, 1846.

Alexander Hays was brevetted first lieutenant from Resaca de la Palma, and became acting assistant adjutant-general to Brigadier-General Lane. He resigned the service on April 12th, 1848, and volunteered during the war of the rebellion.

Abram B. Lincoln was wounded at, and brevetted first lieutenant from, El Molino del Rey, and died at Pilatka, Florida, April 15th, 1852.

Thomas J. Montgomery commanded his company at the battles of Churubusco and El Molino del Rey, became first lieutenant during December, 1847, and captain in March, 1854, and died at Fort Steilacoom, Washington Territory, November 22d, 1854.

David A. Russell was brevetted first lieutenant from the National Bridge, and, remaining in the regular army after the war, became a brigadier-general of volunteers during the war of the rebellion.

Alexander P. Rodgers was wounded, and afterwards killed, at Chapultepec September 13th, 1847.

Delancey Floyd Jones was brevetted first lieutenant from El Molino del Rey, but is no longer on the roll of army officers.

Maurice Maloney was brevetted first lieutenant from El Molino del Rey, and captain from Chapultepec; was wounded at the San Cosme Gate on September 13th, 1847; became first lieutenant during May, 1848, captain in November, 1854, and major of the First infantry September 16th, 1862, which rank he held at the beginning of 1864.

Archibald B. Botts died on the 1st of January, 1847, at Camargo, Mexico.

Thomas R. McConnell was brevetted first lieutenant at El Molino del Rey, and captain from Chapultepec; became captain in February, 1855, and resigned the service on March 11th, 1856.

Edmund Russell was wounded at Churubusco, was brevetted first lieutenant from El Molino del Rey, and was killed by the Indians near Red Bluff, California, March 24th, 1853.

Of the foregoing, the following only have occupied prominent positions during the war of the rebellion:

Captain George Archibald McCall was appointed the commander of the division of troops known as the "Pennsylvania Reserve Corps," which consisted of three brigades and fifteen regiments, and fought with the Army of the Potomac, with the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers, from May 17th, 1861. He resigned his connection with the United States service on March 31st, 1863.

Captain Robert C. Buchanan was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Fourth infantry on September 9th, 1861, and afterwards nominated for a volunteer brigadier-general's commission; but being too far advanced in years to endure the fatigues and laborious marches in the field during the civil war, he was principally kept in command of posts and garrisons within the Union lines.

Captain Benjamin Alvord became a brigadier-general of volunteers during the war of the rebellion.

Lieutenant and Adjutant Henry Prince obtained a commission as brigadier-general of volunteers, dating from April 28th, 1862, and participated in the campaigns in North Carolina and Virginia. At the beginning of 1864 he was in command of the Second division of the Third army corps.

Lieutenant Christopher C. Augur distinguished himself during the rebellion in the various capacities of brigade, division, and corps commander, and, on January 1st, 1864, held the command of the Department of Washington, and of the Twenty-second army corps, with head-quarters at the national capital. Rank, major-general of volunteers, from August 9th, 1862.

Lieutenant Henry M. Judah was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers on the 21st of March, 1862; distinguished himself in the pursuit of the rebel guerilla chief, General John H. Morgan, and in the Eastern Tennessee campaign of 1863. On January 1st, 1864, he held the command of a division in the Twenty-third army corps, which formed a part of General Grant's Military Division of the Mississippi.

Lieutenant Alexander Hays was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers from September 29th, 1862, he having previously held the command of a company of the Sixteenth regiment of United States regular infantry. At the beginning of 1864 he was in command of a division in the Second army corps, then with the Army of the Potomac.

Lieutenant David A. Russell, having held the rank of major of the Eighth regiment of regular infantry, was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers, on November 29th, 1862, and distinguished himself during 1863, while in command of a brigade, and afterwards of a division of the Second army corps, then with the Army of the Potomac.

It will thus be seen that the young second lieutenant, of the Mexican war, has far outstripped all his regimental companions—many of whom then outranked him; and he has done so by his military merit alone.

The struggles in Mexico having at last settled down into the mere brigandage which always follows large wars, the various volunteer troops of the United States army were disbanded, and the regular regiments ordered back to the United States. Lieutenant Grant came home with his regiment—the Fourth regular infantry—and disembarked within the harbor of New York. The regiment was then distributed in companies and sections among the various northern frontier defences, along the borders of the States of Michigan and New York; and in one of these forts the young brevet captain commanded his company.

In 1848 he was married to Julia T. Dent, eldest daughter of Mr. Frederick Dent, a successful and widely known merchant of St. Louis, and after a short leave of absence returned with his wife to Sackett's Harbor, where his regiment was then stationed. He remained at Sackett's Harbor till 1849, and in September of that year he was again appointed regimental quartermaster, which he held till 1853.

In the fall of 1849 his regiment moved to Fort Brady, near Detroit, where it rested two years and then returned to Sackett's Harbor.

In June, 1851, the head-quarters of the Fourth were removed to Sackett's Harbor, New York, a village of a thou·

sand people. The spot was not far off where, a hundred years before, in the old French war, Grant's grand-uncle, and his great-grandfather, were killed. In the war of 1812, too, Sackett's was a point of great importance, and the rendezvous of the American fleet on the lake. Here Henry Eckford made himself famous by building one man-of-war in forty-five days from the time the first tree was cut for her hull, and getting another hundred-gun frigate, one hundred and eighty-four feet long, and of thirty-two hundred tons burden, almost ready for launching in thirty-six days. The unexpected declaration of peace caused work upon her to be suspended. So the government built a wooden house over her, and she perches now, looking just as Eckford left her half a century ago, but with her huge timbers a mass of powder post, and as soft as cork. Hard by stands an old stone house, erected at the same time as a hotel, and then the largest building between the Hudson and the Pacific.

When Grant went to Sackett's Harbor it contained several old block-houses, built for Indian fighting. One still stands, and by doing duty as a stable, shows to what base uses we may return. The railroad has reduced Sackett's to an uneasy urban ghost. It has a custom-house, but no imports; and a naval station, commanded by an admiral who manifests the utmost efficiency compatible with the fact that there is not a war vessel of any kind within his entire department.

The Fourth was established in the pleasant Madison Barracks, of stone, half a mile from the lake, which afforded agreeable residences for the officers and their wives.

Grant, who still retained his capable and trustworthy quartermaster-sergeant, had comparatively little to do but sign his name to official documents and draw his pay. An enthusiastic friend in the village now has hanging in his parlor, framed and glazed, a notice dated July 2d, 1851, inviting sealed proposals for supplying the garrison for one year with fresh beef, "of good, wholesome quality, necks and shanks to be excluded," and signed, "U. S. Grant, Brevet-Captain, and A. A. C. S., Fourth Infantry."

In this quiet hamlet the quartermaster won his usual reputation.

"I can't see," said the collector of customs to one of his clerks, who had become much attached to Grant, "what you find in that man to be so fond of his company."

The friend insisted that there was a great deal more in "that man" than he had credit for; that he was full of knowledge, not only of affairs, but even of mechanics, and could give much curious information about machinery.

He always seemed careless and at leisure, but close observers noticed that his eye took in much of which his tongue gave no report. Then, as now, he would quietly scrutinize a new visitor from head to foot, as if to read his character through and through. Though by inclination a worshipper with the Methodists, here he was a frequent, and his wife a regular, attendant at the Episcopal church, and when money was raised to erect a new house he joined in a subscription paper, still preserved because it bears his autograph.

Having seen the evil effects of liquor on brother officers in peace times, he became a Son of Temperance soon after reaching Sackett's and drank no spirits whatever during his residence there. He also joined the Odd-Fellows, attending all their weekly meetings, though not taking any active part. But once chancing to be put upon a committee, he dissented from the majority report which was made by Messrs. Ford and Dana, one a lawyer, the other a bank cashier, and both leading citizens. At first it was thought a little presuming that a minority report, signed simply "U. S. Grant," should undertake to combat the views of men of such prominence and capacity. But the document proved so able as to kindle a suspicion that after all the quartermaster was quite competent to say his say when occasion demanded.

A citizen of Sackett's Harbor relates that one quarrel excited a mild approach to profanity. "I tell the tale as it was told to me." Naturally, a horse was at the bottom of it. Two acquaintances, Phillips and De Wolf, were on the ice of the lake to "time" a horse they had just bought.

The first half-mile was done in one twelve. De Wolf shouted to urge the racer on to higher speed, at which the animal showed a little restiveness. Phillips, expecting that the next thing would be his heels through the dasher, incontinently rolled out on the ice, taking the reins with him. De Wolf dropped to the bottom of the sleigh, and only recovered the lines after the frightened horse had run two miles, at the imminent risk of his own and his driver's neck. Grant saw the whole scene and bitterly upbraided Phillips for deserting his friend; but Phillips alleged that it was involuntary, as he had been thrown from the sleigh. Grant hotly replied:

"It's a lie! How could he fling you out and not De Wolf? You are a coward. Never speak to me again. If you do I'll kick you."

Petty races, and even contests between a soldiers' fire company and a citizens' fire company interested the officers. In sooth these military heroes, deprived of the spirit-stirring drum, the ear-piercing fife, and other fascinations of the big wars, that make ambition virtue, found themselves also deprived of the tranquil mind. They were sadly at a loss for amusement and caught at anything. One writes me:

"Grant's life as an army officer was a very quiet, uneventful one. I was in the regiment with him during a portion of the Mexican war, and afterward on the frontier, but really can say nothing of his sayings or doings worth mentioning. He went about a good deal with horse-fanciers, took his drinks, smoked his pipe incessantly, played loo, and at length, after going to Sackett's Harbor, joined the 'Sons,' all in a very prosy, commonplace sort of fashion. He read little, though I remember his expressing some liking for Reynolds' writings.

"During his whole connection with the regiment he would have been considered, both by his brother officers and himself, about as likely to reach the position of Pope of Rome, as General-in-chief, or President of the United States. He was regarded as a restless, energetic man, who must have occupation, and plenty of it, for his own good, but sincere and true and an amiable, good fellow. He was modest and unambitious—such a man as in our land of pretension and bluster could not be expected to go far.

"It required just such opportunities, events, and good luck to bring out the strong qualities and soldierly merits of Grant's character. Had he remained in the regular service, I think he would have jogged on quietly, doing duty with his regiment. But if circumstances had placed him in the cavalry, I believe he would have made his mark as a cavalry leader. He had all the requisite qualities, the *physique* and the *morale*."

The Fourth infantry was sent to Fort Columbus in the harbor of New York, preparatory to sailing for the Pacific coast, where a rush of emigration was then setting in toward the newly discovered gold-fields, and troops were needed to protect the growing settlements from the depredations of Indians. The regiment proceeded by way of Panama, but the Panama railroad had not then been built, and the transit of the isthmus was attended with great difficulty, and much exposure to the hurtful influences of the tropical climate. During the passage, and after they had reached the Pacific side, many of the officers and men fell sick and died of fever and cholera, but Grant's constitution defied the malaria, and enabled him to be of great assistance to his less fortunate companions. The cholera became so general that the regiment could not continue its voyage but was compelled to encamp on one of the islands in the bay of Panama, where it remained for several weeks. After it reached Oregon, decimated in numbers, one battalion, including Grant's company, was ordered to take post at Columbia Barracks, near the Dalles of the Columbia river, where it remained for some time, making occasional expeditions against the hostile Indians, in all of which Grant took an active part, adding to his varied experience, and gaining useful information in regard to the Indian character and the reserves of the neighboring country. He soon was ordered to Fort Vancouver, Oregon.

Grant departed with his regiment to this forlorn spot, isolated from civilization on the east by an intervening wilderness more than 2,000 miles in breadth, and from civilization. Vancouver is eighty miles from the sea, enveloped in the melancholy shade of primitive forests. When Grant reached it, he found it still retained as one of the central seats of traffic and distribution by the Hudson's Bay Company, which, as everybody knows, is one of those gigantic monopolies which were freely granted by Charles II. to his favorites. Its charter gave it the exclusive right to trade with the Indians around that great northern gulf. Step by step has its jurisdiction marched to the southward, extending these same engrossing privileges over all British North America. During the era of conflicting claims between the United States and Great Britain upon Oregon, it had pushed these pretensions into that territory, wove over it a network of chief and subordinate establishments, and now exercised unlimited control over the nomadic Indians whom the Fourth infantry had been despatched to quell. The station of the company, in the centre of the clearing, wore all the aspects of a military post. An imposing stockade enclosed an area of about seven acres, with mounted bastions at two of its angles; within were the governor's residence, two small buildings for clerks, and a range of dwellings for families; without was another storehouse, under lease to the government; and a few hundred yards farther to the east, rising from a plain upon the very edge of immemorial woods, were the log-houses known as the Columbia Barracks; and within an arrow's flight of our flag-staff is a group of hovels, occupied by Indians, servants, and Kanackas. Four companies of the Fourth are here, with Grant still quartermaster: one company is at Fort Dallas, higher up the Columbia, and the remainder are so distributed as to guard and keep open communication between Oregon and California, with assistant quartermasters for their respective stations.

At this desolate station Grant vegetated for one year. To his active mind it was inexpressibly irksome. With the exception of quarterly and annual returns his office is a sinecure, for supplies are all sent by steamer.

As he had to receive and ship supplies, his residence was on the bank of the river, in a large two-story dwelling. It was sawed and framed in Boston, and carried around the Horn to California; but in 1850 lumber grew so cheap in San Francisco that Quartermaster Robert Allen bought it for $1,000, and shipped it to Ingalls. After paying for its transportation, it was the cheapest as it was the best house at the post. It was known as "Quartermaster's Ranch."

Here in April, 1853, arrived Lieutenant George B. McClellan, of the engineers, to survey the west end of a proposed Northern Pacific Railway. Grant was kept busy for some weeks in fitting out the expedition, and McClellan was his guest. The two young officers, who had known each other in Mexico, were thrown much together, eating at the same table, and sleeping under the same roof, for nearly three months. Did any suspicion ever stir their hearts of the high place which one was just to miss, and the other easily to gain?

The former drum-major of the Fourth relates that he was indebted to Grant for the unromantic but utilitarian gift of a sow. Pigs were pigs in that market, thanks to the wonderful development of California, and the recipient soon found himself the possessor of a small fortune obtained by selling a dozen at forty dollars apiece. An officer states that he and the quartermaster shipped potatoes and other produce to San Francisco, and sometimes obtained rich returns.

Grant cared nothing for dancing, and very little for hunting. But he bought one of the finest horses in the Territory, and found his daily recreation in galloping through the beautiful woods. A brother officer writes:

"One morning while sitting with some comrades in front of the officers' quarters, we observed Grant riding on his fine horse toward Major Hathaway's battery, which was in park about 250 yards distant. As Grant drew near the guns, and we were observing the motions of his fine animal, we saw him gather the reins, take a tighter grip on his cigar, pull down his hat firmly on his head, and seat himself securely in his saddle. 'Grant is going to leap the battery,' cried two or three of the officers, and we all stood up to see him do it. He ran his horse at the pieces, and put him over the four guns one after another as easily and gracefully as a circus rider."

He remained at Fort Vancouver for more than a year, widely known and liked. His quarters were the temporary home of all visitors. He was an admirable host, and made his guests thoroughly welcome. There was always quiet enjoyment, and sometimes boisterous hilarity at the quartermaster's hearth, when old army friends or favorite civilians were there for a night. His comrades did not fail to notice the singular vividness and comprehensiveness with which he narrated the stirring engagements of the war, and how accurately his memory like an open book reproduced not detached incidents, but the action of the whole army as a unit—what it tried to do, what it accomplished or failed in, and what errors weakened its plan. After one of these talks they would remark:

"How clear-headed Sam Grant is in describing a battle! He seems to have the whole thing in his head."

In August, 1853, he was promoted from a brevet captain to a full captain in his regiment, to fill a vacancy caused by the death of Captain Bliss, famous as Taylor's adjutant-general during the Mexican war. Early in October he started for Fort Humboldt, California, to take command of his company, F. Shortly after, during a visit to San Francisco, in conjunction with three other officers, he leased the Union Hotel on Kearny street—now a part of the City Hotel—for a sort of club billiard-room, at $500 per month. Subscriptions were obtained, and the enterprise might have been successful had the officers been better business men. Grant could not give it his personal attention, agents were derelict or dishonest, and the rents did not come in. After advancing a good deal of money, he suffered as usual for believing other men as just and honest as himself, and the house was given up. The old lease is still preserved as one of the curiosities of San Francisco.

Grant's commission as captain reached him after he had been a year at Vancouver; and he is forthwith ordered to Humboldt Bay in California, where his company is now stationed. The Indians had been active in Humboldt county, and the same kind of alarms which for a season relieved the inactivity of Vancouver had furnished the company at Humboldt Bay with busy idleness; but the quiet of an uninhabited island is not more serene than that of Humboldt Bay when Grant reached it.

Grant spent several months commanding his company at Humboldt, a post 240 miles north of San Francisco, and seventy south of the Oregon line, built for protection against the Indians. The barracks and officers' quarters were of hewn timber, plastered within, and adorned with outside chimneys of stone. They stood on a plateau, surrounded by pleasant prairies and dark woods of spruce and pine, and affording a splendid view of Humboldt Bay.

The only town in the vicinity was Eureka, three miles from the fort. It was originally and accurately surveyed by James T. Ryan, with an instrument improvised of two vials and a bit of wood. Ryan had all the versatility which new countries bring to the surface. He wanted to build a saw-mill, but labor was high and machinery scarce. So he bought the old steamer Santa Clara, and took her up the dangerous coast to the new city of Eureka. Just before starting his compass was stolen. He found a little river-compass with the glass broken, and taking a pane from his pilot-house window, cut out a circular piece with a pair of scissors while holding it under water, and fitted it into the top of his instrument, by the aid of which he ran his steamer safely into Humboldt Bay. Then raising her upon the ground without moving the machinery, he used her power to drive a saw-mill beside her, in which he employed sixty men and cut out 80,000 feet of lumber per day. This ingenious and typical pioneer was afterwards elected a brigadier-general of militia and a member of the California Senate. In 1861 Senator McDougall thus introduced him to Abraham Lincoln:

"Mr. President, this is General Ryan, a loyal neighbor of mine, who can build a cathedral and preach in it, a ship and sail it, or an engine and run it."

When Grant was at Fort Humboldt, Eureka consisted of Ryan's mill and twenty houses. It was a pleasant situation, and its hospitality made it a favorite resort for the officers. Ryan kept a barrel of whiskey always on tap, and his well-furnished table was supplied with venison, ducks, geese, snipe, grouse, chicken, sweet milk, and biscuits of Genesee flour; for in those days California obtained wheat from New York instead of shipping her own to Gotham and even to London, China, and Japan.

Communication with San Francisco was solely by water, and ships were from ten days to six weeks on the way. They brought mails without the least regularity. The officers looked out anxiously every morning for a sail, and when one appeared, galloped down to Eureka for their letters or a stray newspaper. A number of Indians employed about the mill gave picturesqueness to the little town. Sometimes an evening was enlivened with a dance, when the few women of the neighborhood were in great demand.

Among Ryan's possessions was a horse called Eclipse, for which our captain had a special admiration. Twelve years later, when Grant was at City Point, just before his final campaign, Ryan called on him, and found him with Sheridan and Sherman, their heads bent over a map. Grant, who never forgets an old acquaintance, instantly recognized him, inquired for his family, for the old sawmill, and particularly for Eclipse, saying:

"He was the finest horse I ever saw west of the Rocky Mountains."

An officer remembers that, asked how he liked the clams which abound there, Grant pronounced them "a first-rate substitute for gutta-percha oysters."

He frequently visited his brother-in-law, Lewis Dent, who was running a ferry-boat at Knight's Ferry, on the Stanislaus river, and was at one time interested in that enterprise. There are traditions in the neighborhood of Grant's helping to run the boat, and once, when in a peculiarly jovial mood, of his appearing on the road driving three horses tandem at a spanking pace, with three buggies in long procession whirling after, to the amazement of the villagers.

In truth, *some* relief seemed necessary, for life at Humboldt was insufferably dull. The line captain's duties were fewer and less onerous than the quartermaster's had been, and the discipline was far more rigid and irksome. No greater misfortune could have happened to him than this enforced idleness. He had little work, no family with him, took no pleasure in the amusements of his brother officers —dancing, billiards, hunting, fishing, and the like—and riding alone, however inspiriting, may grow monotonous after several months of it!

The buildings of the post erected by Quartermaster Rufus Ingalls consisted of two-story barracks of lumber for the soldiers, and one-story log quarters, with balconies looking out upon the river, for the officers.

The nearest civilization was not many miles away at Portland, Oregon, then a little settlement in the woods with a single street of one-story frame houses. Thither went our martial heroes for dancing parties and other amusements, though through the winter they had clever theatricals at the garrison.

The neighboring land afforded excellent hunting of deer, elk, bears, and blue grouse, and the clear lakes abounded in ducks, geese, swans, and delicious trout. These luxuries, and the finest salmon in the world, caught in the Columbia, enabled the officers to fare sumptuously every day.

Grant disliked this life, and was anxious to be once more with his family. He therefore sent in his resignation, to take effect July 31st, 1854, remarking to a friend: "Whoever hears of me in ten years will hear of a well-to-do old Missouri farmer."

At a period when his country was in perfect repose, when there was no call for army service, when the special mission upon which he was exiled into the wilderness had been fully performed, and there was nothing to resist the paramount claim of the wife and children upon his protection, he resigned his commission in the army, and, having obtained a leave of absence, joined his family at St. Louis.

During the following seven years we find Grant as farmer and collector at St. Louis, and leather dealer at Galena. In a period of profound national peace, he discards his epaulets, that he may enjoy domestic life. He throws up his captain's pay, with the certain knowledge that he must earn a livelihood for himself and family by the labor of his hands and the sweat of his brow.

With no fortune of his own and with few acquaintances, Grant was thrown at once upon his own resources. He settled upon a small farm near St. Louis, which had been presented to Mrs. Grant by her father. He threw aside completely the habits of army life and went to work bravely with his own hands to better his fortune. His first labor was to assist in hewing the logs, and building a house upon his farm. As soon as it was finished he occupied it with his family, so that he might be entirely independent of the world, as well as close to the fields he intended to cultivate. Grant worked hard himself and displayed excellent judgment in all that he did. To be sure his profits were not large, at any time, but they were his only dependence.

He took great interest in his stock, and being fond of his new occupation, he devoted himself to it with a will. During the winter season he employed men to clear land, and chop wood, and hauled it to St. Louis for sale, driving one team in person, while his little son drove another, thus saving the expense of two extra hands. He ploughed and planted in the spring, and when the summer had ripened his crops he was the foremost hand in the harvest-field.

Several years before the war began, one of his friends, happening to be at St. Louis, heard that Grant was living near by, and drove out for the purpose of seeing him. Calling at the house, he inquired for Captain Grant. The servant who answered his summons at the door informed him that the Captain would probably be found in the meadow, harvesting. The officer walked down to the field, as the servant suggested, but not discovering the Captain, sat down in the shade of a tree for the purpose of waiting for the approach of four men whom he saw mowing at a distance. After a short time the mowers came abreast of him, and going out to meet them he was surprised to find that the leading mower, covered with perspiration, and in his shirt-sleeves, was the friend for whom he was seeking.

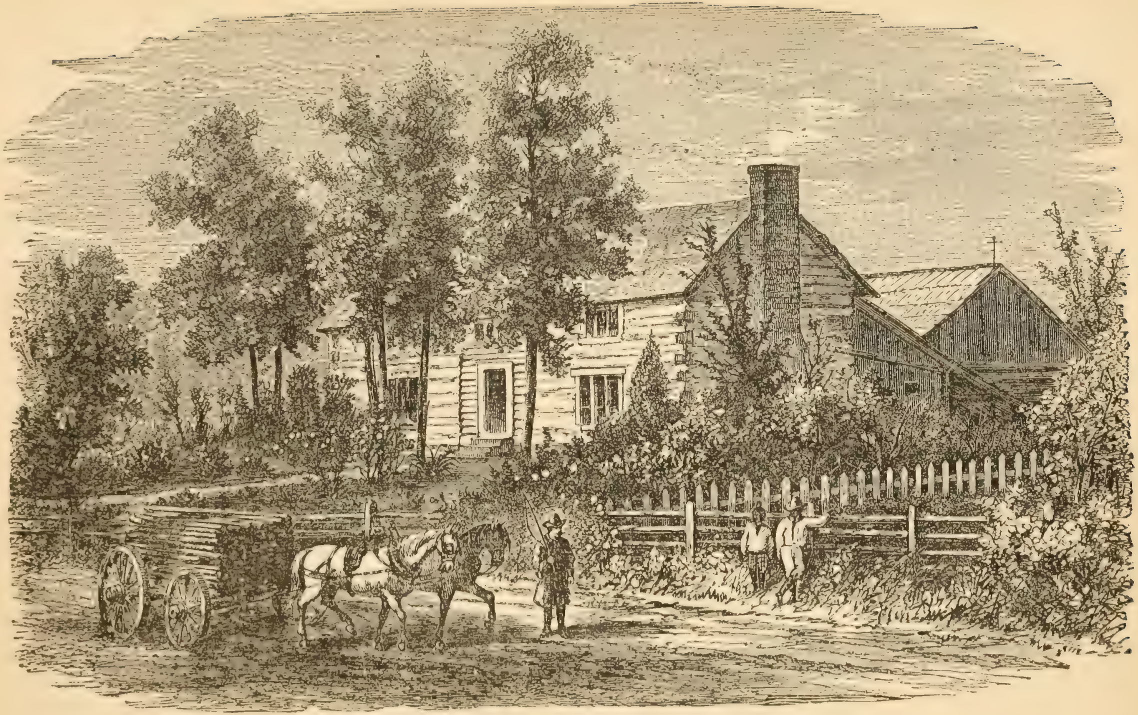
Grant was economical as well as industrious, and if he could not make money rapidly for himself, he could tell others how to save it. While living at his father-in-law's, he observed that all the rooms in the house were warmed by wood fires, in ample old-fashioned fire-places, and that it kept one man continually busy to cut fuel for them. Near by was a colliery, the owners of which were paying fifty cents apiece for stout saplings with which to shore up the roof of their mine. Grant suggested that he could cut and haul poles enough in one day to buy coal for an entire month, and in two more to pay for a grate or stove in every room. This was a new idea, and a few days thereafter was put into successful application.

After four years of farming, Grant resolved to try something else. He leased his farm, and removed to St. Louis, where he established and conducted for a short time a real estate office.

An old citizen declares, that in those days he could not have borrowed a hundred dollars in that country neighborhood. This may be an exaggeration of the fact that he was sorely straitened for money; but he was neither penurious nor wanting in public spirit. For a poor widow in a neighboring county, who had been burned out and her children left without shelter, he raised, by personal effort, a sum sufficient to relieve her. And when asked to contribute for the building of a new church, he replied:

"I am very glad to; we ought to have a comfortable place for preaching. I don't attend as much as I should, but Julia and the children do. We ought also to have a Sabbath-school in the neighborhood."

While living at Wishtonwish one winter, he discovered that some interloper was cutting and carrying away wood from the Hardscrabble tract, two miles distant. On a bright moonlight night he started to catch the thief. While sitting upon a stump, he heard a team coming, and hid himself. A burly fellow, who rented a neighboring farm,



CAPTAIN GRANT'S FIRST RESIDENCE NEAR ST. LOUIS, IN 1859.

stopped his horses within fifty feet of him, chopped a tree, cut it up, loaded it, and then started for the main road. Grant took a short cut, intercepted him, and accosted him with an air of surprise:

"Halloo, Bill! going to St. Louis with your wood, I suppose?"

"Y—es."

"How much do you ask for it?"

"About four dollars."

"Well I'll take it. Bring it over to my house."

"No; I have promised it to a man in town."

"But I must have it. Now there's no use in hesitating; you must haul this load to my house, and pay me twenty dollars for what you have cut and carried away before. That won't be more than half-price, you know."

"If I don't, I suppose you'll sue me before the squire?"

"No, we won't trouble the squire or the public, but will settle the matter right here and now."

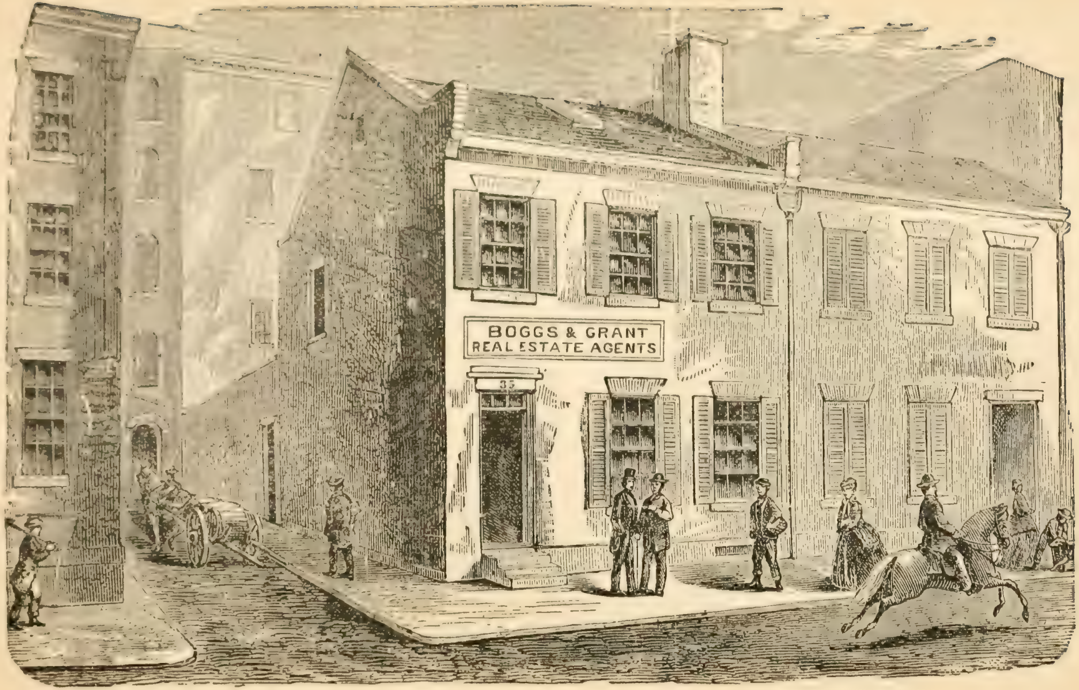
And the captain, his sense of humor giving way to his indignation, sprang forward and seized by the collar the huge trespasser, who instantly cried:

"Hold on! I'll do it; but don't say a word to anybody."

The wood was delivered, the money paid, and the thieving discontinued.

Grant's neighbors found him, though very sociable, silent about persons of whom he could not speak well. Often he kept his hearers sitting up until midnight around the wide-mouthed cheerful fireplace at Hardscrabble or Whitehaven, listening intently to his vivid narrations of army experiences. Though exceedingly amiable, and ready to give or take a joke, he was possessed of a certain dignity which made it impossible to impose upon or be too familiar with him.

He was called the most industrious farmer in the whole country. His hands had grown hard and horny, and his frame rheumatic and bent, as if from premature old age. Yet in those four years he had been unable to "make both ends meet," and his father had advanced him some two



REAL ESTATE OFFICE OF BOGGS & GRANT, ST. LOUIS, IN 1859.

thousand dollars. Farming was a failure, and it was time to find some other employment.

On the 1st day of January, 1859, Grant formed a partnership with H. Boggs, under the firm, Boggs & Grant, General Agents, Collect Rent, Negotiate Loans, Buy and Sell Real Estate, No. 35 Pine street, St. Louis, Mo. The partners knew each other so well, that no written agreement was necessary.

At first, Grant left his family at Hardscrabble. He could not afford quarters at a hotel or even at a boarding-house, but Boggs, who lived on South Fifteenth street, had an unfurnished room which he was invited to occupy. He lived in it in genuine camp style. There was no carpet, and a bedstead with one mattress and a wash-bowl standing upon a chair were the only furniture. Here Grant remained for two months, taking his breakfasts and suppers at the house, and on Saturday nights walking out to Hardscrabble. He was always at his city home of an evening, and was very quiet and companionable.

Early in the spring he sold at auction his farming tools and stock and rented Hardscrabble. Then he removed to St. Louis, and took up his residence in a little frame house on the corner of Seventh and Lynch streets. It was near the river, not altogether a pleasant neighborhood, but the rent was only twenty-five dollars per month.

The old office of Boggs & Grant yet stands—though in the changed numbering it is now designated as 219—in Pine street, one of the narrow St. Louis thoroughfares which unfortunately have never been burned out and widened since the old French rule. The law-firm occupied the entire lower floor of the ancient brick dwelling, of which we present an accurate view. It consisted of two large rooms, connected by folding doors. Beside a front window looking out on the street stood the desk of Boggs & Grant. Here, talking through the open window with customers on the sidewalk, Boggs negotiated many a loan and heard the gossip of many a summer afternoon. The projecting sign bore the words: "Boggs & Grant. Real Estate Agents. Money loaned on Real Estate security."

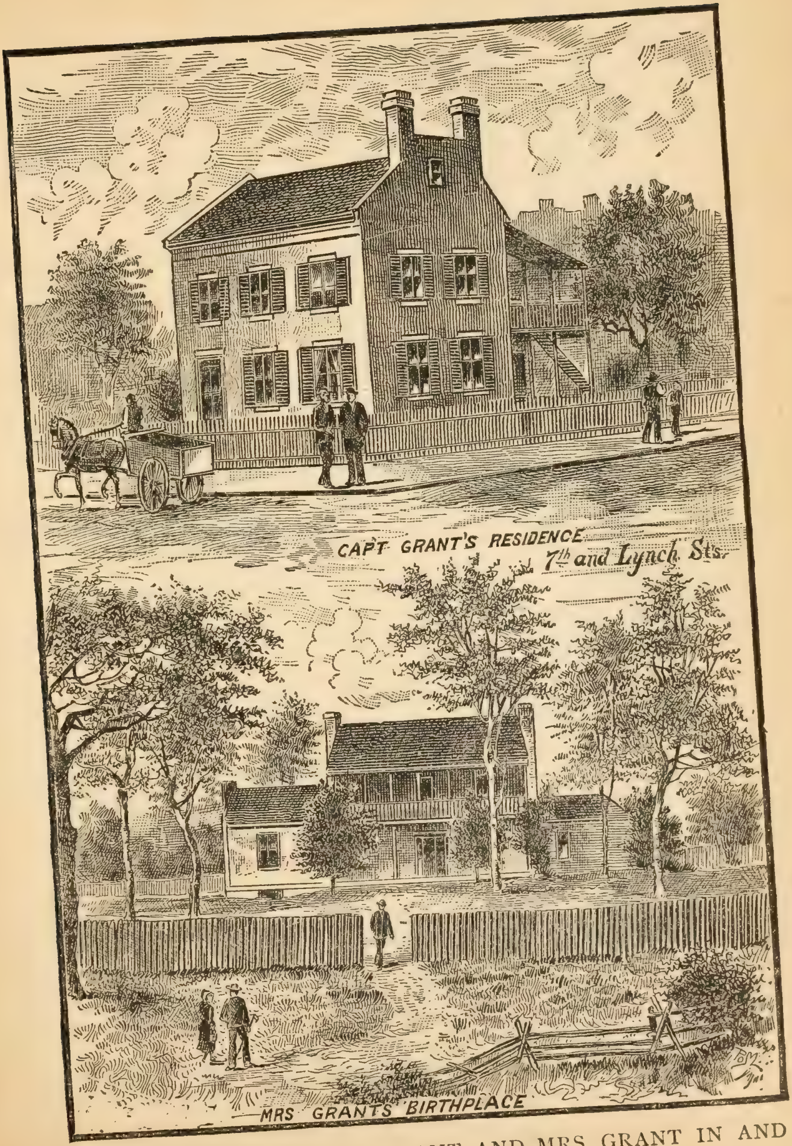
Boggs, who had a good many houses to rent, and a good many tenants to collect of, inducted his new partner into the business by taking him about town and introducing him to all the leading customers. Then, at the suggestion of Colonel Dent, he left Grant to look after the business while he visited Philadelphia, where, as a young man, he had resided for many years and formed acquaintances among wealthy citizens. Money in Philadelphia was worth but five or six per cent., while in St. Louis ten per cent. was legal interest and fifteen often the current rate.

He succeeded in effecting an arrangement with one capitalist in Philadelphia and another in New York to let the firm have four hundred thousand dollars at eight per cent., to loan out in small sums secured on real estate. Returning to St. Louis early in March, in excellent spirits, he advertised that Boggs & Grant were ready to advance money on real estate at ten per cent., the borrower paying the two per cent. additional to cover expenses of examining titles and negotiating the loan.

Like all advertisements which offer money instead of asking it, this brought hundreds of applicants, but the firm rejected some as unsafe, and the attorneys of the Eastern capitalists—who, it was agreed, must be satisfied with the securities—refused to accept others. The end of the promising scheme was that Boggs & Grant made about enough out of it to pay the expenses of the senior partner's eastern trip.

The captain engaged in the new business with all his energy, though incapacitated somewhat for the first four months by ague and rheumatism which he brought from Hardscrabble. Often, during the spring afternoons, his "chill" would come on, and so weaken him that McClellan or Hillyer had to support him to the Third street omnibus, by which he rode homeward.

Boggs, on his return, found that Grant had diligently collected the rents, and let all the vacant houses to good tenants, except one, in which a plausible but undesirable woman had established herself. She was afterward got rid



RESIDENCE OF CAPTAIN GRANT AND MRS. GRANT IN AND ABOUT ST. LOUIS.

of only by the combined and persistent efforts of the landlord and the two agents.

If Grant ever neglected his duties, it was when he called upon some army officer with a bill for rent. Then he sometimes would light his cigar, discuss for an afternoon the old campaigns, and quite forget that he was junior partner in the firm of Boggs & Grant, real estate agents, with an unreceipted bill for rent in his pocket.

His quickness at figures was of great service to Boggs when a customer stopped at the window to get a note discounted at a trifle higher than the legal rate. Nevertheless, the senior partner, from the serene heights of long business experience, rather looked down upon the junior, who carefully performed a clerk's duties, and meekly accepted a round scolding when of a morning, as sometimes happened, he was late at the office. Occasionally it would be ten or eleven o'clock before he took his place at the desk, pleading in extenuation that Mrs. Grant, who had several children to care for, was late with the breakfast. The "scrabble" in town was quite as hard as it had been in the country. A lady, whose husband had requested her to call on Mrs. Grant, asked on her return:

"Why did you send me there? The house is shabbily furnished, and they must be very poor."

The husband replied that Grant was a most estimable gentleman, though with little business capacity. On further acquaintance she became devotedly attached to Mrs. Grant, and formed a friendship which still continues.

Grant traded Hardscrabble with an attache of the courthouse for a frame cottage on the corner of Ninth and Barton streets, with a high roof and pleasant overhanging shade-trees. To this dwelling, then quite in the outskirts of the town, he removed in July, 1859, and occupied it during the remainder of his residence in St. Louis.

When Grant took the house, there was a mortgage upon it for fifteen hundred dollars, which the former owner assumed, giving as security a deed of trust on Hardscrabble. A year or two later, when the deed fell due, he failed to pay it; so Grant was compelled to sue for the recovery of Hardscrabble, and several years of litigation followed. After Donelson and Vicksburg, when the case was in court in St. Louis, an old woman who had lived near by was on the witness stand. In reply to questions, she stated in detail who had lived in this house. One year it was Jones, the next Smith, and so on.

"Who lived in it in 1859?" asked the lawyer.

"Some man by the name of Grant," she replied.

"Do you know where he is now?"

"I think he is somewhere in the war. *It seems to me I have heard of him there.*"

So great was the law's delay, that only in 1867 did Grant recover Hardscrabble. He afterwards bought Wishtonwish and the Whitehaven house, with six hundred acres of the old place.

The earnest captain tried hard for success in business. He dressed plainly, and walked in and out of the busy office without attracting any attention. The three attorneys thought him laboring under some special depression of spirits. His eyes, always sad, were then unusually so. His favorite theme was still the battles he had fought, but he related them in a matter-of-fact way, without the least halo of imagination or romance. He was minutely acquainted with the Italian war then in progress. He studied newspapers, pored over maps, and frequently said:

"This movement was a mistake. If I commanded the army, I would do thus and so."

The attorneys would smile, and think it of very little consequence what their humble acquaintance would do under such impossible circumstances. They did not believe much in village Hampdens, or mute inglorious Miltons, but they enjoyed his chat. When night came, he would not go home as long as any one remained to talk or listen.

Hillyer and he discussed politics a good deal, for an anti-slavery controversy was raging in the slave State of Missouri. Hillyer's sympathies were republican, Grant's democratic. Hillyer, quick and fluent, would lead his opponent off to side issues, but Grant, following slowly, always brought him back to the main question, and held him to it tenaciously.

The firm did not make enough to support two families. Grant's friends were glad to lend him money, for his genuineness and uprightness had won greatly upon them; but still they looked upon him in that patronizing way with which egotistic Success is wont to regard modest and bewildered Unpracticality. They thought him a little out of place on this bustling sphere—one of the "people such as hang on the world's skirts rather than actually belong to it." Still they were a good deal drawn to him, and earnestly hoped—the most ambitious hope they had for him—that some day he might succeed in earning a good livelihood.

The partners had many conferences upon their affairs, and Grant saw the necessity for some change. Just then the county engineership of St. Louis became vacant. It was a post worth $1,900 a year, and one for which Grant's West Point education rendered him thoroughly competent. Therefore he determined to get it, and thus increase the revenues of the firm. The appointment rested with the county commissioners, to whom he wrote the following business-like application:

ST. LOUIS, *August* 15*th*, 1859.

HON. COUNTY COMMISSIONERS, St. Louis County, Missouri.

GENTLEMEN:—I beg leave to submit myself as an applicant for the office of county engineer, should the office be rendered vacant, and at the same time to submit the names of a few citizens who have been kind enough to recommend me for the office. I have made no effort to get a large number of names, nor the names of persons with whom I am not personally acquainted. I enclose herewith also a statement from Prof. J. J. Reynolds, who was a classmate of mine at West Point, as to qualifications.

Should your honorable body see proper to give me the appointment, I pledge myself to give the office my entire attention, and shall hope to give general satisfaction.
Very respectfully
Your obedient servant,
U. S. GRANT.

This document is still preserved among the records of the county. On the back it bears these endorsements—the first official, the rest exuberant:

"Application of U. S. Grant to be appointed County Engineer. Rejected.

"Attest, S. W. EAGAR, Jr.,
"*Secretary Board of St. Louis County Commissioners.*"

"*Note.*—The within-named Captain U. S. Grant is now a Major-General in the United States Army, and is in command of the Department of the Tennessee. September, 1862."

"*Nota Bene.*—Captain U. S. Grant is now Lieutenant-General of the United States, and the highest officer in the service. May 25th, 1864."
"The hero of Vicksburg."
"Captured Richmond April, 1865."
"Captured the whole Confederate army, 1865."
"General United States army, 1866."

One inscription more remains to be made before the record of Grant's official positions under the republic is complete.

The appended recommendation ran thus:

The undersigned take pleasure in recommending Captain U. S. Grant as a suitable person for County Engineer of St. Louis County:

*August 1st*, 1859.

N. J. Eaton,
John P. Helfenstein,
F. Overstoltz,
L. A. Benoist,
James M. Hughes,
Lemuel G. Pardee,
James C. Moody,
Felix Coste,
C. S. Purkitt,
J. Addison Barrett,
D. M. Frost,
Robert M. Renick,
Robert J. Hornsby,
G. W. Fishback,
J. McKnight,
J. O'Fallon,
John F. Darby,
Thomas E. Tutt,
T. Grimsley,
S. B. Churchill,
J. M. Mitchell,
J. G. McClellan,
Charles A. Pope,
W. S. Hillyer,
William L. Pipkin,
K. McKenzie,
Baman & Co.,
C. W. Ford,
A. S. Robinson,
George W. Moore,
R. A. Barnes,
Thomas Marshall,
John Horn,
Edward Walsh,
Taylor Blow.

All the signers were prominent citizens; many afterward became members of the Confederate army. Blow was a wholesale druggist; Benoist & Co., an old family of bankers; Pope, an eminent surgeon; Robinson, a bank cashier;

McKenzie, a well-known Scotch settler, formerly of the Hudson Bay Company; Ford, local superintendent of the United States Express; Fishback, editor of the St. Louis *Democrat;* Coste, executor of the estate of Bryan Mullanphy, an eccentric Irish citizen, who left three-quarters of a million of dollars for the benefit of immigrants passing through St. Louis; and Frost, an ex-captain, whom Grant had known in the army. He it was who, just after the rebellion began, was captured with his camp of Confederates near St. Louis by General Nathaniel Lyon. He is now a reconstructed Confederate farmer residing near the city. Ford and Fishback are still in their old positions. Hillyer, of the law-firm, was on Grant's staff during the war, rose to the rank of brigadier-general, and is now connected with the internal revenue in New York. Moody was Hillyer's partner, afterward a circuit judge, impeached by the Missouri Legislature for some construction of law which it reprobated. McClellan was of the same firm, and is still practising his profession just across the street from the old office.

Grant's friends worked hard for him, and his classmate, J. J. Reynolds, sent in the strongest assurances of his fitness. His claims were duly canvassed by the commissioners, but politics determined almost everything. There were five members of the board—Lightner, Taussig, and Farrar, Republicans, and Easton and Tippet, Democrats. Grant, from his political antecedents, was supposed to have democratic proclivities, for in those days there was more truth than satire in the witticism which defined an "old Whig" as "one who takes his whiskey regularly, and votes the Democratic ticket occasionally."

There was no other special objection to him. His ability as an engineer was accorded. He was not much known, though the commissioners had occasionally seen him about town, a trifle shabby in dress, with pantaloons tucked in his boots. They supposed him a good office man, but hardly equal to the high responsibility of keeping the roads in order. He might answer for a clerk, but in this county engineership talent and efficiency were needed!

There was another applicant, C. E. Salomon, a brother of Governor Salomon, of Wisconsin. He was a German, known to be a good surveyor, and frequently seen at his professional work. His superior activity was an advantage, and he was also strongly pressed by the German citizens, who cast more than half of the entire vote of the county. Grant stood second in the estimation of the commissioners, though there were many other applicants. But Salomon quite overshadowed him, and the record shows the result:

"September 22d, 1859. Ordered by the board that C. E. Salomon be, and he is hereby appointed, County Engineer, to hold until otherwise ordered by this board, at a salary of one hundred and sixty dollars per month."

The vote stood three for Salomon, two for Grant. During the war Salomon became colonel of a German regiment, and fought under General Lyon. Grant believes that his failure to get it was most fortunate; that if he had obtained it he might, perhaps, have plodded along until now in the St. Louis court-house. But his disappointment was bitter. Nineteen hundred dollars per annum was the purse of Fortunatus to the modest captain, and, with unusual earnestness, he longed for the position. The obtaining of it would have gladdened his heart far more than the Generalship or the Presidency in later years. It was not a question of personal feeling, but of making sure provision for the loved ones at home.

This project failing, in September, after a life of less than nine months, the firm of Boggs & Grant, real estate agents and money lenders, came to an untimely end.

# CHAPTER III.

## WAR OF THE REBELLION.

Grant's determined loyalty—The breaking out of the rebellion—President Lincoln calls for 75,000 men—Grant drills a company at Galena—Offers his services—Assists in the organization of the Illinois troops—Appointed Colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois Regiment—His services in Missouri—Appointed Brigadier-General—Capture of Paducah—Battle of Belmont—Grant's lesson—The value of numbers—A letter of Grant to his father—General Grant appointed commander of the District of Cairo—A grand reconnoissance—Fitting out gunboats—Forts Henry and Donelson—Commander of the District of West Tennessee—General C. F. Smith put in charge of the army—His death—Grant in charge again.

Captain Grant next obtained a temporary position in the St. Louis custom-house, but in less than a month the collector died, and he was again out of employment. Through the fall and winter he sought work in many places, but found it nowhere. These were dark days, but he bore them calmly and patiently. Early in the new year, he sent in this second application for the engineership, based on a current rumor:

St. Louis, *February* 13*th*, 1860.

President County Commissioners:

Sir:—Should the office of county engineer be vacated by the will of your honorable body, I would respectfully renew the application made by me in August last for that appointment. I would also beg leave to refer you to the application and recommendations then submitted, and on file with your board.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant, U. S. Grant.

But the vacancy did not occur, and he was destined to live no longer in St. Louis. Now, his old acquaintances are fond of talking of the shy, unpractical man, whose future they so little suspected, but whose slightest words they recall with keen interest. One lady remembers his almost girlish fondness for her flower-garden, a taste which he has manifested through his entire life.

He never told coarse stories and was never profane. His strongest language was the pointless Western imprecation, "Dog on it," or the mild oath, "By lightning." The restraining influence of his mother's teachings operated so powerfully that he has never uttered an oath in his life. At least his nearest friends assert this with so much emphasis and unanimity that I think the solitary exception already related must be fabulous. He says: "I always disliked to hear anybody swear except Rawlins." Old army comrades who remember the peculiarly vigorous and eloquent anathemas of the chief of staff will understand the exception.

In one respect had Grant been specially fortunate. During all these years of poverty and struggle, his wife brought to him that utter devotion, sympathy, faith, and love of a sweet, true-hearted woman, which has buoyed up so many a sufferer weighed down by heavy burdens. Her tenderness and fidelity were so warmly returned, that she looks back on their life in St. Louis as one of exceeding happiness.

They had now four little mouths to feed; so, in the spring of 1860, Grant paid a visit to his father, at Covington, Kentucky, to discuss his future. For six years Jesse had left the chief conduct of his Galena business in the hands of Simpson and Orvil, though he still owned it, and the name of the house stood "J. R. Grant." To the brothers the father referred the case of Ulysses. They offered him a place in the store at an annual salary of six hundred dollars for the present. If he liked and proved useful, Jesse intended to give him an interest, but not so large a one as to his brothers, who had assisted in building up the concern.

The father had already gratified his ambition for a competency. Six years later he found himself worth one hundred thousand dollars, and determined to make over his property to his children. Ulysses desired none of it, insisting that he had done nothing toward accumulating it, and that the government had provided amply for him. So Jesse only gave one thousand dollars each to the children of Ulysses, to aid in educating them, and divided the remainder between his other surviving sons and daughters.

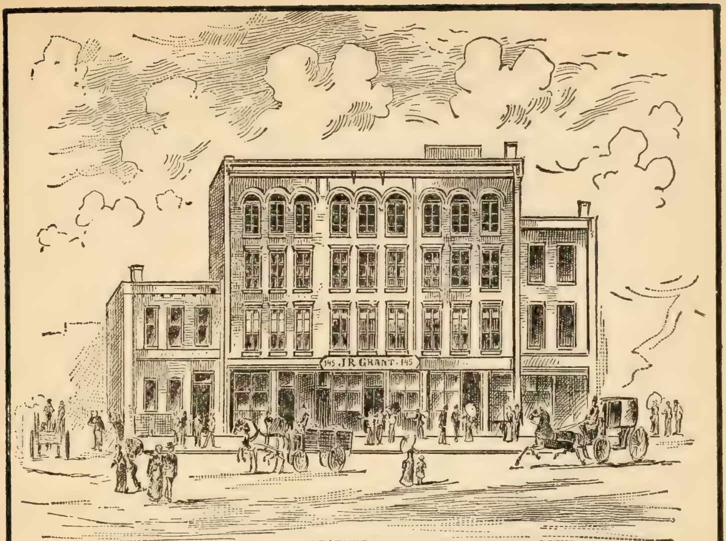
In March, 1860, Ulysses removed to Galena, Illinois, on the Galena river, four miles above its junction with the Mississippi. The little city of six or seven thousand people has a curious Swiss look. The river cuts it in twain, and the narrow and crowded main street threads the valley, while on the north side a bluff rises like a roof for two hundred feet.

Upon the summit, and in terraces along the side, perch most of the residences. One ascends to them by wooden steps, leaving the top of the tallest spire far below.

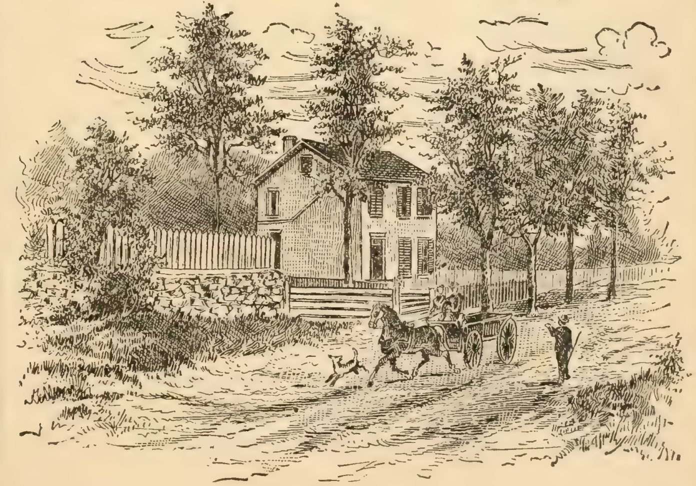
Galena, in the midst of the richest lead region in the world, underlying half a dozen counties of Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin, had fourteen thousand inhabitants a quarter of a century ago. Then all the lead was brought to the city to be shipped; people and wagons crowded the narrow streets, and a Tower of Babel went up in the form of an enormous brick hotel, containing two hundred rooms. Its owners, who named it the De Soto House, builded rasher than they knew. If the ghostly form of De Soto stalks through its deserted halls, they must remind him of the primeval quiet which he found on reaching the Mississippi. The intrusive railway, giving to half a dozen little stations equal facilities for shipping lead, has cut down the magnificent expectations of Galena, and left her far behind Dubuque, Iowa, nineteen miles distant, and on the other side of the Mississippi.

Near Galena, in early days, Winfield Scott, Jefferson Davis, Albert Sidney Johnston, David E. Twiggs, and other well-known army officers, were frequently stationed. E. D. Baker, the Oregon senator, who was killed at the head of his regiment at Ball's Bluff in 1861, and William H. Hooper, Congressional delegate from Utah, were both old residents of the vicinity. At Hazel Green, Wisconsin, ten miles north, sleeps James G. Percival, the modest and lovable poet, the accomplished linguist and savant.

Grant's father-in-law, Colonel Dent, was likewise familiar with Galena in early days, and erected one of the very first



LEATHER STORE.



RESIDENCE IN 1860.

CAPTAIN GRANT'S RESIDENCE AND HIS FATHER'S STORE IN GALENA, ILL.

buildings. He traded with the miners, supplied the military posts above with provisions, and ascended to the Falls of St. Anthony on the first steamer which ever ventured up to that point. Indian warriors, squaws, papooses, and dogs, on the approach of the boat, fled to the nearest American fort, and reported that an evil spirit, belching fire and smoke, was coming to destroy them.

Grant took a little dwelling on the top of a picturesque bluff, and he had to climb stairs two hundred feet high every time he went home from the store. The leather-house had a capital of one hundred thousand dollars, and its annual business reached the same amount. It dealt in shoe-findings, saddlery, hardware, French calf, fancy linings, and morocco, all bought in the East, and in domestic leather tanned in the chestnut-oak woods of Ohio, from hides purchased in Galena.

The captain cheerfully began his new duties. He wore a rough working dress and his favorite slouched hat, and smoked a clay pipe incessantly. He was temperate in everything else, for he had totally abstained from drink for several years. He was courteous and popular with all who met him on business, but never sought acquaintances. He was a very poor salesman, could not chaffer, and did not always know the price of an article. So, whenever a difficult or an important customer was to be dealt with, Orvil, Simpson, or one of the clerks took him in charge.

He weighed leather for filling orders, and bought hides, which he frequently unloaded and carried into the store on his shoulders. One day Rowley, clerk of the Circuit Court, sent down for leather to cover a desk in his office. The captain walked up to the court-house with the leather on his back, measured it, cut it, and tacked it on. A year and a half later, Grant was a major-general in the field, and Rowley a captain on his staff.

During one of the periodic depressions of western currency, the house bought pork and shipped it to New York to pay Eastern bills, and save the enormous price of exchange. One day some farmers, who had brought a load of pork, asked for gold instead of notes, to pay their taxes.

The clerk offered it at a rate which Grant thought exorbitant, so he suggested that they go to the bank and learn the current premium. The result was that they saved twelve dollars.

In truth, Grant felt out of place. The life was distasteful to him. Jesse spent a few weeks in Galena every year, but the business was mainly in the hands of Orvil, thirteen years the younger, a fact which could not have been pleasant to the elder brother. An old neighbor remarks:

"Though very unnoticeable he attended to business faithfully and talked a great deal, but always about places that he had seen—never of what he had read. His conversation was entertaining, but fact, and not fancy, interested him."

"I first encountered him," says another, "coming down the hill toward the store with Orvil. He wore a blue overcoat and old slouched hat, and looked like a private soldier. He had not more than three intimates in the whole town."

The bread and butter question was still a serious one. The rent of the dwelling was only one hundred and twenty-five dollars per annum. Much of the time Mrs. Grant had no servant, but took the whole care of her house and the four children. Her husband had no extravagant habits; though not naturally frugal, he was now so perforce. Still, the six hundred dollars a year proved utterly inadequate to support him. It was raised to eight hundred, but even upon this he was unable to live. The want of money hampered him, and he went to the war considerably in debt, but paid every dollar from his earliest earnings in the army.

The patriotic ardor of Grant and all the loyal West was inflamed in 1861, by the attacks made by the Confederates upon the arsenals and forts of the United States, and when Beauregard opened fire upon Fort Sumter on the 11th of April, 1861, he concluded to tender his services to the governor of Illinois.

Four days afterward President Lincoln issued his call for seventy-five thousand three months' men; four days later a company was enrolled at Galena, and Grant being the only man in the town who knew anything whatever of military matters, the duty of drilling this company was naturally assigned to him; still four days later, he went with it to Springfield, and reported to the governor for service.

From Springfield he addressed a letter to the adjutant-general of the army, offering his services to the government for whatever duty it might be thought his past experience would fit him, but to this letter he received no reply. About this time he visited his father at Covington, Ky., and while there he took occasion to go twice to Cincinnati, where General McClellan, then commanding the Ohio militia, had established his head-quarters, hoping that his past acquaintance with that general might secure for him an offer of employment. But in this, too, he was disappointed.

Finally, about the first of May, Governor Yates, after asking him if he could tell how many men and officers there were in a company and in a regiment—which was more than his excellency yet knew—took Grant into his office as clerk and military adviser to himself and his adjutant-general. The latter had no printed forms for transacting the important business of his office. Grant ruled sheets of paper until blanks could be printed, systematized the whole business, and turned it off with the greatest ease. He consulted no books, having at his finger-ends all needed information; yet he did his work so undemonstratively that neither governor nor adjutant-general was particularly impressed with his capacity.

The office work once reduced to mere clerical routine, Grant assumed more important duties. On the 4th of May he was put in command of Camp Yates, during the temporary absence of Captain Pope. Next he mustered in several new regiments, including the Twenty-first, at Mattoon. He was called "captain," but he had neither uniform nor commission.

*The Vicksburg Sun*, of May 13th, commented with glee upon a report of "one Captain U. S. Grant," to the governor, that Illinois boasted just nine hundred muskets, of which only sixty were in serviceable condition. It drew a ludicrous picture of the Prairie State and her ex-captain, with three-score rusty guns, coming to conquer the South. They learned something more in Vicksburg, by and by, of "one Captain U. S. Grant" and of Illinois soldiers.

Toward the close of May he went home on a brief visit. On his way back to Springfield a friend asked:

"Why don't you put in for one of these Illinois regiments? As things are going, I don't know why you are not as much entitled to a colonelcy as any one."

"To tell you the truth," replied Grant, after a moment's hesitation, "I would rather like a regiment, *yet there are few men really competent to command a thousand soldiers, and I doubt whether I am one of them.*"

By the 10th of June all the regiments had been mustered in, and Grant went on a visit to his father, in Covington. His old friend McClellan was in command at Cincinnati, just across the river, and Grant called upon him twice. He did not propose to ask for an appointment, but thought that McClellan might invite him to come on his staff. Fortunately, he did not find that general at his office on either occasion.

Meanwhile there was trouble in the Twenty-first Illinois infantry, at Camp Yates. Colonel Goode, its commander, a large fine-looking man, a Kentuckian by birth, had been in the Mexican war, the Lopez Expedition against Cuba, and the Kansas border troubles. At the outbreak of the rebellion he was city clerk at Decatur, Illinois. He raised a company, and finally rose to the colonelcy of the Twenty-first. But what experience ever taught one, not born to it, to control men?

The troops became insubordinate; many deserted; and it became evident that the colonel was utterly incompetent. The governor, therefore, refused to commission him,* and about this time, meeting a book-keeper from the Galena store, asked:

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* Goode afterward sought to re-enter the regiment as a private, but was refused. He then became a Peace Democrat, and in 1868 met his death in a personal rencounter in Missouri.

"What kind of a man is this Captain Grant? Though anxious to serve, he seems reluctant to take any high position. He even declined my offer to recommend him to Washington for a brigadier-generalship, saying he didn't want office till he had earned it. What *does* he want?"

"The way to deal with him," replied the book-keeper, "is to ask him no questions, but simply order him to duty. He will obey promptly."

Thereupon the governor despatched to Grant:

"You are this day appointed colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois Volunteers, and requested to take command at once."

This was on Saturday. Before the telegram reached Covington Grant had started on his return. Spending Sunday with his old classmate, J. J. Reynolds, at Terre Haute, Indiana, he was again in Springfield on Monday morning, and immediately began the duties of his new position. Of his commission, dated on the 16th of June, Yates declares:

"It was the most glorious day of my life when I signed it."

Colonel Grant found his new regiment in the worst possible condition. The men mostly without tents, without uniforms, and as ragged as Falstaff's recruits, wore their oldest clothes, after the manner of volunteers about to get new suits from the government. They were chiefly farmers' sons, of fine physique—the best raw material for good soldiers, but utterly demoralized by want of discipline. General John E. Smith says of the colonel's first visit to his command:

"I went with him to camp, and shall never forget the scene when his men first saw him. Grant was dressed in citizen's clothes, an old coat worn out at the elbows, and a badly damaged hat. His men, though ragged and barefooted themselves, had formed a high estimate of what a colonel should be, and when Grant walked in among them, they began making fun of him. They cried in derision, 'What a colonel!' 'D—n such a colonel,' and made all sorts of fun of him. And one of them, to show off to the others, got behind his back and commenced sparring at him, and while he was doing this another gave him such a push that he hit Grant between the shoulders."

The soldiers soon learned that their quiet commander was not to be trifled with. One of the first morning roll-calls was an hour late. Grant observing it, simply sent them back to their quarters. There being no morning report, no rations came in that day; so they begged, borrowed, and bought food wherever they could find it. At the first dress parade several officers appeared without coats. Said Grant, sharply:

"This is a dress parade. Officers are expected to wear their clothes. Dismiss the men to quarters."

He turned and walked away without another word. A few of these sharp penalties and admonitions brought men and officers to their duty. In ten days there was tolerably good discipline, and ultimately the regiment became one of the best in the service. Notwithstanding his severity, the men grew attached to him, as soldiers always do to officers who are just, self-controlled, and "know their business."

Before taking the field, Grant paid another flying visit to Galena. He must have an outfit, and no gifts of swords, horses, or money, poured in during these days of obscurity. With genuine human nature, instead of applying to his kindred, he procured the indorsement of Collins, his father's old partner, to his note for three hundred dollars, and with the proceeds bought horse and uniform.

One Sunday afternoon, during this visit, he rode over to Washburne's, in whose library the two talked for several hours, about the rebellion and the means necessary to crush it. Grant's intelligence, self-abnegation, and clear-headedness were so palpable that they won for him a powerful and enthusiastic friendship, which was never to be shaken in dark days yet to come.

The regiment had been mustered in for only thirty days, but it re-enlisted for the war. Soon after Missouri called for aid. Governor Yates said:

"I would send another regiment, if I had transportation."

"Order mine," replied Grant; "I will find transportation."

Yates did order it to Mexico, in northern Missouri, and Grant marched his men across the country, as the shortest and best way to make soldiers of them. They started in high feather, a good deal more troublesome to their friends than they seemed likely ever to be to their enemies. But the colonel soon put a stop to depredations. The first night he had a number of men tied up by the thumbs, and in a few days they were as disciplined and orderly on the march as of late they had been in camp.

In a week they reached their destination. Pope was in command of north Missouri. Grant, though a junior colonel, was placed in charge of a brigade. His men had nothing to do but guard railway trains and bridges, and occasionally make short marches in pursuit of the swarming bushwhackers. On one excursion, several soldiers obtained whiskey, and soon began to stagger. Grant immediately halted the regiment, went through the ranks, examined each canteen and emptied out liquor wherever he found it. He had the men tied behind baggage wagons till they grew sober, and sharply reprimanded the officers for permitting such a gross abuse.

While in civil life he once said to a friend:

"If a man wants promotion in the army, he should resign and take advantage of the first war to go in for promotion. He is morally sure of a higher position."

Now, encountering Grant in the field, this friend asked:

"Well, are *you* going in for promotion now?"

"No; I am nicely fixed at Galena. To tell you the truth, I would not go back to the regular army short of a colonelcy, and I know very well that I could not get that."

Notwithstanding his love of discipline, his heart was tender and lenient. A colonel asked his counsel as to how he should deal with a boyish volunteer who had left an excellent home, but was now falling into bad company, gambling, and neglect of duty. Grant replied:

"The army is a hard place. It will ruin a great many young men. Talk to him and try to teach him more self-control. Do everything to counteract the evil influences of camp-life, but don't punish him, unless you find it absolutely necessary, for that brings a sense of degradation."

The regimental chaplain was in the head-quarters mess. Shortly after he joined the regiment Grant said to him:

"Chaplain, when I was at home, and ministers stopped at my house, I always invited them to ask a blessing at the table. I suppose it is quite as much needed here as there, and I shall be glad to have you do it whenever we sit down to a meal."

In July began a special session of Congress. Illinois had thirty-six regiments in the field. President Lincoln sent a printed notice to each of her senators and representatives, requesting them to recommend four soldiers for brigadiers, in the desired order of rank.

The delegation met at the parlor of Senator Trumbull, in Eighth street. Washburne, urging that the northwest corner of the State had sent many troops, and was entitled to a brigadier, placed Grant in nomination. Then the delegation voted for each candidate separately. Grant was the only one who received every vote, therefore he stood at the top of the list. Hurlbut, Prentiss, and McClernand followed in the order named.

Nearly forty other appointments were made the same day, the 7th of August, but the commissions dated back to the 17th of May. Grant stood number seventeen on the list. Above him were Franklin, Sherman, Buell, Pope, Hooker, Kearny, and Fitz John Porter. He knew nothing of his good fortune until one morning the chaplain brought him a morning paper from St. Louis, saying:

"Colonel, I have some news here that will interest you."

"What is it?"

"You are made a brigadier-general."

Grant read the announcement and replied:

"I had no suspicion of it. It never came from any request of mine. It must be some of Washburne's work."

Thus, after two months of command, Grant's connection with the Twenty-first regiment ended. An account of it from his own hand concludes:

"We did make one march, however, from Salt River, Mo., to Florida, Mo., and return, in search of Tom Harris, who was reported in that neighborhood with the enemy.

It was impossible to get nearer than a day's march of him. From Salt River the regiment went to Mexico, Mo., where it remained for two weeks, thence to Ironton, passing through St. Louis on the 7th of August, where I was assigned to duty as a brigadier-general, and turned over the command of the regiment to that gallant and Christian officer, Colonel Alexander, who afterward yielded up his life while nobly leading it in the battle of Chickamauga."

Early in August he was assigned to duty as a brigadier-general. His name having been suggested by the Hon. E. B. Washburne, and unanimously recommended by the Congressional delegation from Illinois, the President appointed him to that rank to date from May 17th, 1861, one month anterior to his appointment of colonel by Governor Yates. He was immediately assigned to the command of the district of Southeastern Missouri, including the southeastern part of the State from which it took its name, Southern Illinois, and all of the territory in Western Kentucky and Tennessee, then or afterwards under the control of the national forces. Simultaneously with this assignment he was ordered by telegraph to proceed to St. Louis and report in person at the head-quarters of the department. In order that no time should be lost, a special train was sent from St. Louis for him; but when the General presented himself the same day at head-quarters as directed, they were so surrounded by sentinels, and hedged about with aids-de-camp in waiting, that he was delayed over twenty-four hours before he could reach the presence of General Fremont. Having received his instructions, on the 1st of September, he went at once to Cairo, where he established his head-quarters, and assumed the command to which he had been assigned.

At this time the Confederates under Polk held Columbus, a strong point commanding the river twenty miles below Cairo, and in connection with Bragg, at Bowling Green, were making vigorous efforts to provoke Kentucky into an abandonment of her assumed neutrality. They had also a force operating in Southeastern Missouri, under Thompson; they controlled the Mississippi river throughout its length, below the mouth of the Ohio; held the Tennessee and the Cumberland, and seemed to be looking to the control of the Ohio, by the seizure of Paducah and other strong points on the western border of Kentucky. Perceiving the true condition of affairs almost at a glance, and properly appreciating the strategic importance of Paducah, situated at the confluence of the Tennessee and Ohio rivers, Grant determined at once to forestall the movement which Polk had already begun toward that point; and on the 5th of September he signified his intentions to Fremont and the Legislature of Kentucky. On the night of the same day, having received no countermanding order from Fremont, and having made an arrangement with Commodore Foote for a convoy of two gunboats, he set out with two regiments of infantry and one battery of field artillery, embarked upon steam transports. An accident to one of the transports caused a slight detention to his flotilla. Nevertheless, it arrived at Paducah by half-past eight o'clock the next day. A small force of the Confederate army, under General Tilghman, had reached there before the national troops, but fled upon their approach, leaving Grant to take quiet possession of the town, and the stores already gathered there. Having disembarked the troops and occupied the telegraph office, railroad depot, and marine hospital, he issued a proclamation, saying that he had nothing to do with opinions, and would deal only with armed rebellion, its aiders and abettors. The same day he returned to Cairo, where he found permission from Fremont to take Paducah, if he thought himself strong enough. But, in the meantime, Fremont had sent him, by telegraph, a severe reprimand for corresponding with the Kentucky State authorities in regard to his contemplated movement, and informed him that General C. F. Smith had been assigned to the command of Paducah, with orders to report directly to Fremont's headquarters. As a matter of course Grant's promptitude was an exasperating blow to the disunionists in Kentucky, and was severely denounced by the authorities there as a flagrant violation of the neutrality declared by a sovereign State.

Its effect was to give the national forces firm control of the Ohio river, as well as of the lower Tennessee and Cumberland. At the same time it served to unmask the real intention of the Confederate leaders, while it strengthened the hands of the Union men in the Legislature sufficiently to enable them to carry resolutions favoring the Union cause, thus putting an end forever to the fiction of Kentucky neutrality. During the next ten weeks Grant was prohibited from engaging in important operations, and by the order of Fremont was kept in a strictly defensive attitude.

The foresight and promptitude exhibited by Grant in making himself master of Paducah were characteristic of the man. The same qualities were destined to secure him victory on many a battle-field, and to carry him afterwards to the highest position in the land. In obedience to instructions from General Fremont to make some co-operative movements, Grant, who had already greatly strengthened Paducah by erecting fortifications, had thrown a pontoon-bridge across the Ohio, half a mile below the town, had seized and occupied Smith Bend, and had thus cut the Confederates off from two important sources of supply, resolved to threaten Columbus by attacking Belmont, a small village and landing-place on the Missouri side of the river and directly opposite Columbus. He had learned that the Confederate General Price was receiving reinforcements from Polk; and he hoped that, by making himself master of Belmont, he would break up the connection between them. Having arranged some side movements for the purpose of distracting the attention of Polk, Grant, with about three thousand troops, in four steam transports, and having for convoy the two wooden gunboats Tyler and Lexington, sailed down the Mississippi from Cairo on the evening of November 6th. At Island No. 1, eleven miles above Columbus, they halted for the night. There Grant learned that Polk was sending troops across to cut off Oglesby, whom, in compliance with Fremont's request, he had previously sent off to assist Carlin in driving Thompson into Arkansas. At an early hour on the following morning he landed his forces at Hunter's Point, on the Missouri side of the river, and about three miles above Belmont. A battalion was left to guard the transports. The remainder advanced and formed in line about two miles above the village. The gunboats meanwhile moved down and opened fire on the Confederate batteries on the Iron Banks. The centre of the attacking column was under Colonel Fouke, the right under Colonel Buford, the left under Colonel Logan. It was evident that Polk had been taken by surprise. General Smith, whom Grant had sent ahead the day before, was threatening him at Mayfield, in his rear, and he had been making his preparations to resist an attack in that direction. Dollins and Delano's cavalry were ordered forward to scour the woods. It was not long before they encountered the enemy, in considerable force. About a mile and a half from the enemy's camp the line of battle was formed. Behind an *abatis* of felled trees which surrounded the camp lay the Thirteenth Arkansas and Ninth Tennessee. There was also opposite Grant's left a battery of seven guns, commanded by Colonel Beltzhoover. This battery was protected by Colonel Wright's Tennessee regiment. In the face of a destructive fire, on the national forces rushed. Meanwhile the batteries of Columbus had shifted the heavy fire from the gunboats to the advancing line. The guns, however, were not in range, and as yet they did no harm. Nothing daunted, Grant pressed forward his men. In spite of the galling fire, onward they moved, charging over the fallen timber, capturing the battery and driving the enemy back across the low ground towards the river, and compelling some of them to take to their boats. In a brief space of time the heavy guns at Columbus were got into range, and the deadly bullets crashed through the woods, over and among the advancing and triumphant Federals. A second and a third time was the retreating foe overtaken; and although reinforced and disposed to resist to the last, they were ultimately routed, some of them seeking shelter behind buildings near the river, some in the woods above the camp, and others under cover of the batteries at Columbus. It was a complete victory. The national troops gave themselves up to the wildest excitement. As yet discipline in the army was loose. In the face of Polk's batteries, three cheers were given for the Union; and while some of the soldiers were delivering stump speeches, others were rifling the baggage or supplying themselves with the arms which the discomfited Confederates had thrown down in their flight.

Although the victory was complete, the place was untenable, commanded as it was by the heavy guns of Columbus. While these were brought to bear upon the national troops in the midst of their wild abandonment, Polk ordered General Cheatham to cross the river above with his regiments, for the purpose of cutting Grant off from his flotilla. At the same time he himself crossed with two regiments to take part in the pursuit. Five thousand fresh men were thus at hand to hinder or harass the retreat. Grant, however, was equal to the situation. Getting his men in order, he pressed forward to the landing-place. While compelled to cut his way through the ranks of the enemy, he was exposed to a raking fire from the Confederate batteries on the Iron Banks. The fighting was terrific. After severe suffering the landing-place was reached; and under cover of the gunboats, which had come up, and which kept the enemy at bay, the embarkation was completed. By five o'clock in the afternoon, the flotilla, with the entire force on board, was on its way back to Cairo. Grant carried with him, in addition to all his own men, two of Beltzhoover's heavy guns. The estimated national loss was 480 men in killed, wounded and missing. That of the enemy was 642.

This was the first battle of any magnitude in that theatre of operations, and is justly claimed by Grant as a substantial and important victory. Officers and men had behaved with great gallantry. Colonels Logan, Lauman, Dougherty, and Fouke, and General McClernand led their men with conspicuous bravery throughout the action, while Grant himself exhibited his usual coolness and determination. In the heat of the action his horse was killed under him. After the larger part of his command had reached the transports, he went out again, accompanied by an aid-de-camp, for the purpose of withdrawing the battalion that had been left to cover the landing, and such small parties as had not yet got in, but had gone only a few rods when he found himself in front of the entire Confederate line not sixty paces distant. Being dressed in a soldier's blouse, the Confederates took no particular notice of him. He saw that all his stragglers had been picked up or cut off, and therefore turned to ride towards the boat, but as the Confederates continued to advance rapidly in the same direction, he was compelled to put his horse to his best speed, and succeeded in reaching the boat just as she was pushing off. The Confederates, now under Polk in person, reached the shore a few minutes afterwards, and opened a severe musketry fire on the transports, but as they fired low, little or no damage was done. The gunboats replied with canister and grape and drove them back in confusion.

The Confederates claimed this as a great victory, but nothing is more certain than that Grant accomplished his purpose, captured and burnt the Confederate camps, took their artillery and compelled Pillow's command of five regiments to seek safety under cover of the river bank. After the Confederate force had been doubled by two additional brigades, and had succeeded in surrounding Grant, the latter again broke the Confederate lines and forced his way to the transports, inflicting almost twice as much loss upon the enemy as he had received. Oglesby's movement was entirely protected, and the Confederates in all that region were thrown upon the defensive, lest their strong places should be wrested from them. The national troops engaged in the battle of Belmont had no doubt whatever that they had gained a substantial victory, and the memory of their deeds gave them a confidence and steadiness in action which transformed them at once into veterans.

The following is from a private letter from General Grant to his father, written on the night of the 8th:

"Day before yesterday I left Cairo with about three thousand men in five steamers, convoyed by two gunboats, and proceeded down the river to within about twelve miles of Columbus. The next morning the boats were dropped down just out of range of the enemy's batteries, and the troops debarked. During this operation our gunboats exercised the Confederates by throwing shells into their camps and batteries. When all ready, we proceeded about one mile toward Belmont, opposite Columbus, when I formed the troops into line, and ordered two companies from each regiment to deploy as skirmishers, and push on through the woods and discover the position of the enemy. They had gone but a little way when they were fired upon, and the ball may be said to have fairly opened.

"The whole command, with the exception of a small reserve, was then deployed in like manner and ordered forward. The order was obeyed with great alacrity, the men all showing great courage. I can say with great gratification that every colonel, without a single exception, set an example to their commands that inspired a confidence that will always insure victory when there is the slightest possibility of gaining one.

"From here we fought our way from tree to tree through the woods to Belmont, about two and a half miles, the enemy contesting every foot of ground. Here the enemy had strengthened their position by felling the trees for two or three hundred yards and sharpening their limbs, making a sort of abatis. Our men charged through, making the victory complete, giving us possession of their camp and garrison equipage, artillery, and everything else.

"We got a great many prisoners. The majority, however, succeeded in getting aboard their steamers and pushing across the river. We burned everything possible and started back, having accomplished all that we went for, and even more. Belmont is entirely covered by the batteries from Columbus, and is worth nothing as a military position—cannot be held without Columbus.

"The object of the expedition was to prevent the enemy from sending a force into Missouri to cut off troops I had sent there for a special purpose, and to prevent reinforcing Price.

"Besides being well fortified at Columbus, their number far exceeded ours, and it would have been folly to have attacked them. We found the Confederates well armed and brave. On our return, stragglers, that had been left in our rear (now front), fired into us, and more recrossed the river and gave us battle for a full mile, and afterward at the boats when we were embarking.

"There was no hasty retreating or running away. Taking into account the object of the expedition, the victory was complete. It has given us confidence in the officers and men of this command, that will enable us to lead them in any future engagement without fear of the result. General McClernand (who, by the way, acted with great coolness and courage throughout, and proved that he is a soldier as well as a statesman) and myself each had our horses shot under us. Most of the field-officers met with the same loss, beside nearly one-third of them being themselves killed or wounded. As near as I can ascertain, our loss was about two hundred and fifty killed and wounded."

General McClernand, in his official report of this battle, after speaking of the hotness of the engagement, and narrow escapes of some of his officers, makes use of the following words:

"Here the projectiles from the enemy's heavy guns at Columbus, and their artillery at Belmont, crashed through the woods over and among us. . . . And here, too, many of our officers were killed or wounded; nor shall I omit to add, that this gallant conduct was stimulated by your (Grant's) presence, and inspired by your example. Here your horse was killed under you."

After the United States troops had returned to their base of operations at Cairo, General Grant issued the following order:

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF SOUTHEAST MISSOURI,
CAIRO, *November 8th*, 1861.

The general commanding this military district returns his thanks to the troops under his command at the battle of Belmont on yesterday.

It has been his fortune to have been in all the battles fought in Mexico by General Scott and Taylor, save Buena Vista, and he never saw one more hotly contested, or where troops behaved with more gallantry.

Such courage will insure victory wherever our flag may be borne and protected by such a class of men.

To the brave men who fell, the sympathy of the country is due, and will be manifested in a manner unmistakable.

U. S. GRANT, *Brigadier-General commanding.*

But, while General Grant was engaged in congratulating those who had returned safe, he was not unmindful of the sufferers who had fallen wounded into the hands of the enemy. Knowing the incomplete state of the medical and surgical departments of the Confederate army opposed to him, he addressed the following despatch to the Confederate general under a flag of truce:

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF SOUTHEAST MISSOURI,
CAIRO, *November 8th,* 1861.

*General commanding forces, Columbus, Ky.*

SIR:—In the skirmish of yesterday, in which both parties behaved with so much gallantry, many unfortunate men were left upon the field of battle, whom it was impossible to provide for. I now send, in the interest of humanity, to have these unfortunates collected and medical attendance secured them. Major Webster, Chief of Engineers, District Southeast Missouri, goes bearer of this, and will express to you my views upon the course that should be pursued under the circumstances, such as those of yesterday.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
U. S. GRANT, *Brigadier-General commanding.*

To this communication the commander of the Confederate post returned the following answer:

HEAD-QUARTERS, FIRST DIVISION, WESTERN DEPARTMENT,
COLUMBUS, KY., *November 8th,* 1861.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL U. S. GRANT, U. S. A.

I have received your note in regard to your wounded and killed on the battle-field, after yesterday's engagement. The lateness of the hour at which my troops returned to the principal scene of action prevented my bestowing the care upon the wounded which I desired.

Such attentions as were practicable were shown them, and measures were taken at an early hour this morning to have them all brought into my hospitals. Provision was also made for taking care of your dead. The permission you desire under your flag of truce to aid in attention to your wounded is granted with pleasure, under such restrictions as the exigencies of our service may require. In your note you say nothing of an exchange of prisoners, though you send me a private message as to your willingness to release certain wounded men, and some invalids taken from our list of sick in camps, and expect, in return, a corresponding number of your wounded prisoners. My own feelings would prompt me to waive again the unimportant affectation of declining to recognize these States as belligerents, in the interests of humanity; but my government requires all prisoners to be placed at the disposal of the Secretary of War. I have despatched him to know if the case of the severely wounded held by me will form an exception.

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

L. POLK, *Major-General C. S. A.*

After General Halleck had assumed the command of the Department of the Missouri, he began to organize the same into proper military districts, so as to allow each district commander to have full control of the section of country embraced within his lines.

On the 20th of December, 1861, General Halleck, appreciating the military ability of General Grant, issued an order defining what should constitute the District of Cairo, and extending the command until it became one of the largest divisions in the country. He then appointed General Grant to be chief commander of the same. In accordance with that appointment, General Grant assumed the command of the new district on December 21st, 1861, and announced the same in the following order:

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF CAIRO,
CAIRO, *December 21st*, 1861.

[*General Order No.* 22.]

In pursuance of Special Order No. 78, from Head-quarters, Department of the Missouri, the name of this Military District will be known as the "District of Cairo," and will include all the southern part of Illinois, that part of Kentucky west of the Cumberland river, and the southern counties of Missouri, south of Cape Girardeau.

The force at Shawneetown will be under the immediate command of Colonel T. H. Cavanaugh, Sixth Illinois cavalry, who will consolidate the reports of his command weekly, and forward to these head-quarters.

All troops that are, or may be, stationed along the banks of the Ohio, on both sides of the river, east of Caledonia, and to the mouth of the Cumberland, will be included in the command, having head-quarters at Paducah, Ky.

Brigadier-General E. A. Paine is assigned to the command of the forces at Bird's Point, Missouri.

All supplies of ordnance, quartermaster and commissary stores, will be obtained through the chiefs of each of these departments, at district head-quarters, where not otherwise provided for.

For the information of that portion of this command, newly attached, the following list of Staff Officers is published:

Captain John A. Rawlins, Assistant Adjutant-General.
Captain Clark B. Lagow, Aide-de-Camp.
Captain William S. Hillyer, Aide-de-Camp.
Major John Riggin, Jr., Volunteer Aide-de-Camp.
Captain R. B. Hatch, Assistant Quartermaster U. S. Volunteers, Chief Quartermaster.
Captain W. W. Leland, A. C. S. U. S. Volunteers, Chief Commissary.
Captain W. F. Brinck, Ordnance Officer.
Surgeon James Simons, U. S. A., Medical Director.
Assistant Surgeon J. P. Taggart, U. S. A., Medical Purveyor.
Major I. N. Cook, Pay-Master.
Colonel J. D. Webster, Chief of Staff, and Chief of Engineers.

By order, U. S. GRANT, *Brigadier-General commanding.*

General Grant at once began organizing, under his personal supervision, the new troops added to his command, and as soon as deemed fit for such service, they were sent to the various posts belonging to the district, including Fort Jefferson and Paducah, in Kentucky. By this plan of operation General Grant had all his troops well in hand, and yet so distributed that it was a matter of great difficulty, if not an actual impossibility, for the enemy to learn his strength.

On the 10th of January, the forces under the immediate command of General McClernand left Cairo in transports, and disembarked at Fort Jefferson. The transports were protected by two gunboats, which were next ordered to lie off the fort. The Confederates, with three armed vessels, attacked these gunboats the next morning; but, after a brisk engagement, had to beat a retreat—the Union vessels chasing them until they took refuge under the guns of Columbus.

As picket-shooting had existed to a fearful extent in the vicinity of Cairo, General Grant, on the 11th of January, issued an order, as follows:

Head-quarters, Cairo, *January 11th*, 1862.

Brigadier-General Paine, *Bird's Point.*

I understand that four of our pickets were shot this morning. If this is so, and appearances indicate that the assassins were citizens, not regularly organized in the rebel army, the whole country should be cleared out for six miles around, and word given that all citizens, making their appearance within those limits, are liable to be shot.

To execute this, patrols should be sent out in all directions, and bring into camp, at Bird's Point, all citizens, together with their subsistence, and require them to remain, under penalty of death and destruction of their property, until properly relieved.

Let no harm befall these people, if they quietly submit; but bring them in and place them in camp below the breastwork, and have them properly guarded.

*The intention is not to make political prisoners of these people, but to cut off a dangerous class of spies.*

This applies to all classes and conditions, age and sex. If, however, women and children prefer other protection than we can afford them, they may be allowed to retire beyond the limits indicated—not to return until authorized.

By order of U. S. Grant, *Brigadier-General commanding.*

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As General Grant states in the above order, it was necessary to keep spies away from his vicinity, as he was then about to start on a perilous expedition. He had already divided his forces into three columns—under Generals Paine, McClernand and C. F. Smith—General Grant commanding the whole expedition in person.

Before starting on this adventure General Grant issued the following order to his troops:

Head-quarters, District of Cairo,
Cairo, *January 13th*, 1862.

[*General Order No.* 3.]

During the absence of the expedition, now starting upon soil occupied almost solely by the rebel army, and when it is a fair inference that every stranger met is an enemy, the following orders will be observed:

Troops, on marching, will be kept in the ranks; company officers being held strictly accountable for all stragglers from their companies. No firing will be allowed in camp or on the march not strictly required in the performance of duty. While in camp no privilege will be granted to officers or soldiers to leave their regimental grounds, and all violations of this order must be promptly and summarily punished.

Disgrace having been brought upon our brave fellows by the bad conduct of some of their members, showing on all occasions, when marching through territory occupied by sympathizers of the enemy, a total disregard of the rights of citizens, and being guilty of wanton destruction of private property, the general commanding *desires and intends to enforce a change in this respect.*

The interpreting of confiscation acts by troops themselves has a demoralizing effect—weakens them in exact proportions to the demoralization, and makes open and armed enemies of many who, from opposite treatment, would become friends, or, at most, non-combatants.

It is ordered, therefore, that the severest punishment be inflicted upon every soldier who is guilty of taking, or destroying, private property; and any commissioned officer, guilty of like conduct, or of countenancing it, shall be deprived of his sword and expelled from the camp, not to be permitted to return.

On the march cavalry advance guards will be thrown out, also flank guards of cavalry or infantry, when practicable. A rear-guard of infantry will be required to see that no teams, baggage, or disabled soldiers are left behind. It will be the duty of company commanders to see that rolls of their company are called immediately upon going into camp each day, and every member accounted for.

By order, U. S. GRANT, *Brigadier-General commanding.*

On the morning of Tuesday, January 14th, 1862, General McClernand's column moved forward from Fort Jefferson, and the columns under Generals Paine and Smith, at Paducah, commenced similar movements. The three columns combined made a force of nineteen regiments of infantry, four regiments of volunteer cavalry, two companies of regular cavalry, and seven batteries of artillery.

At the time this expedition commenced its march the Mississippi river was nearly filled with floating ice, thus making the transportation of troops a serious difficulty. Demonstrations were made by General McClernand's column, as if with the intention of attacking Columbus in the rear, by way of Blandville, Kentucky, while the real object was to concentrate with the troops marching from Paducah, Kentucky. The feint proved successful, and a great alarm was manifested by the Confederate forces in Columbus.

As General McClernand's column advanced, it was at intervals joined by a regiment from the other columns, and, on the night of January 15th, his force encamped in line of battle ten miles to the rear of Columbus, threatening that post by two roads.

Here General Grant, who had been with the column from Paducah, came up with this part of the expedition, and personally superintended the disposition of the troops. The first division was next morning marched to Milburn, apparently *en route* for Mayfield; but instead of following that path, the troops, after passing through Milburn, turned northward, so as to communicate with the force from Paducah; and, on the 17th, were within eight miles of Lovelaceville. They then turned westward, and, on the nights of the 18th and 19th, encamped about a mile from Blandville. On January 20th the column returned to Fort Jefferson. During the interval between the 14th and 20th of January, the infantry of this column marched over seventy-five miles, and the cavalry about one hundred and forty miles, over icy and miry roads, and during a most inclement season. This march was a very heavy one for troops who had never before been in the field. The reconnoissance developed the fact that the Confederate army was not in large force west of the Paducah and Mayfield railroad, except, perhaps, in the Confederate works at Columbus, and led to the discovery of valuable side-roads, not laid down in any map of that time. It also showed that Columbus was far from being as strong as was supposed, and that it could be attacked in the rear by several different roads, along which troops could be moved.

As soon as General Grant had communicated with General McClernand, at his encampment, on the night of the 15th, and had received his report, he at once discovered the mere shell of Confederate defence which held that part of the State of Kentucky, and allowing General McClernand's column to keep up the appearance of an advance, he withdrew the other two columns to Cairo. He had, in fact, accomplished and ascertained all that he had desired when he first moved.

During the fall and winter of 1861 several gunboats had been ordered to be constructed on the Mississippi river, above Cairo, and by this time the majority of them were completed. In order to obtain sailors to man these gunboats, General Grant issued the following important order:

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF CAIRO,
CAIRO, *January 20th*, 1862.

*Circular.*

Commanders of regiments will report to these head-quarters, without delay, the number of river and seafaring men of their respective commands, who are willing to be transferred from the military to the gunboat service. Seeing the importance of fitting out our gunboats as speedily as possible, it is hoped there will be no delay or objections raised by company or regimental commanders in responding to this call. Men thus volunteering will be discharged at the end of one year, or at the end of the war, should it terminate sooner.

By order, U. S. GRANT, *Brigadier-General commanding.*

A few days afterwards, General McClernand's forces were withdrawn from Kentucky, and again rendezvoused at Cairo, the commander being placed in temporary charge of the district during the necessary absence of General Grant.

A few days soon developed the whole object of the movement made by General Grant's forces in the western part of the State of Kentucky. It must also not be forgotten that his troops still held the posts at Paducah and Smithland, at the mouth of the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers.

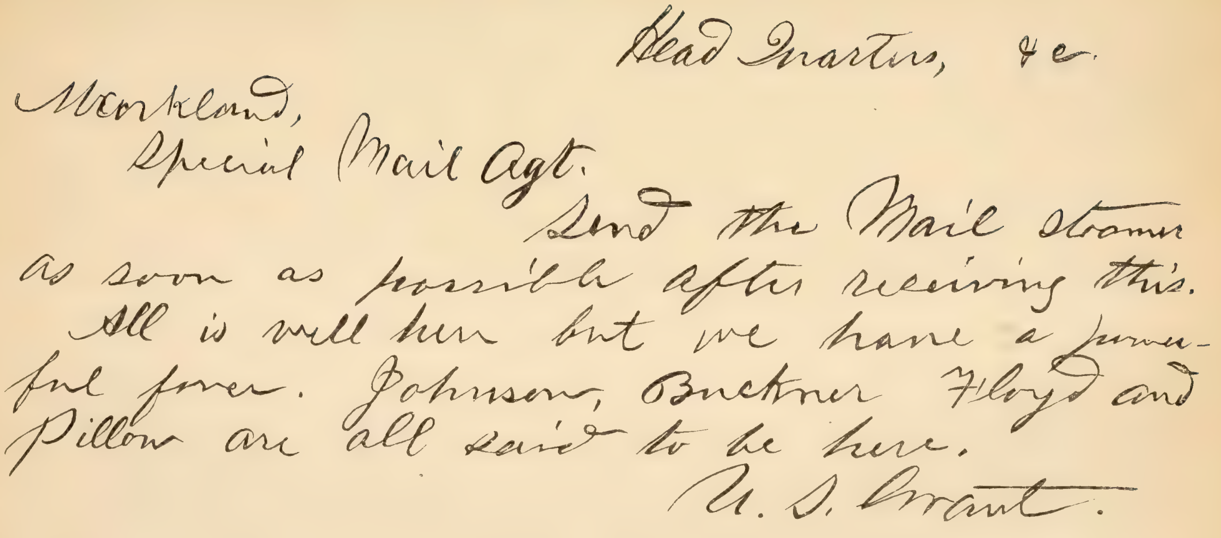
By keeping up a false show of an advance upon the rear of Columbus, which had several times been attacked in the front by armed vessels, the Confederates were led to believe that post to be in actual danger, and consequently concentrated all their available forces in that vicinity.

Immediately on receiving permission from Halleck to proceed with his proposed plan, Grant made arrangements for the attack on Fort Henry. He had at his disposal some seventeen thousand men. It was arranged that Flag-officer Foote, with a flotilla of seven gunboats, should move along the Ohio, steer up the Tennessee, and open the attack, while Grant, on the land side, should render what assistance was necessary and cut off all retreat.. On Monday, the 2d of February, Foote left Cairo, and on the morning of Tuesday was a few miles below Fort Henry. Grant, in the meantime, with the divisions of McClernand and C. F. Smith, had embarked in transports which were convoyed by the flotilla. These landed a few miles below the fort; and Foote proceeded up the river, having orders from Grant to move slowly and shell the woods, in order to discover whether there were any concealed batteries. On the morning of the 6th it was understood that everything was in readiness for the attack, which was to be made simultaneously on land and water. A heavy thunder-storm had raged the previous night; and, as a consequence, the roads were heavy and the streams so swollen that bridges had to be built for the passage of the artillery. The land forces thus encountering unlooked-for obstacles, were considerably delayed. Shortly after twelve o'clock Foote opened fire upon the fort. Beginning at a thousand yards' distance, he gradually ran his vessels to within six hundred yards of the enemy. The firing for a time was vigorously returned; but Foote pressed on with irresistible bravery, and his men worked with a will and as if they meant to win. It was evident to Tilghman from the first that it was next to impossible for him to hold the foot. A series of accidents occurred inside the fort. A rifled twenty-four-pounder burst, killing and wounding a number of the men. A forty-two pounder accidentally burst, and killed three of the gunners. In a short time the well-directed fire from the gunboats had dismounted seven of the guns and made them useless; the flag-staff also was shot away. The garrison became completely demoralized. It was in vain that Tilghman attempted to replace the exhausted gunners. The troops in the camp outside the fort made good their escape, some by the Dover road, leading to Fort Donelson, others on board a steamer which was lying a little above Fort Henry. Foote had promised to reduce the fort within an hour. When he made that promise he counted on assistance from the forces on the land side. Without any such aid—for the land forces had not yet arrived on the scene—he made good his word, for the hour had scarcely expired when the white flag was raised. The main body of his troops having made good their escape, Tilghman, with his staff and some sixty artillerists, surrendered to the victorious Foote. In killed and wounded the Confederate loss was twenty-one men. The only serious damage sustained by the fleet in the river was on board the ironclad Essex. A shot from the enemy had penetrated her boiler, and some twenty-nine officers and men, including Commander Porter, were seriously scalded.

The capture of Fort Henry was felt by the South to be a damaging blow, and it led to bitter murmuring and even loud complaints against the authorities at Richmond. It was justly regarded by the North as a victory of great importance. It was full of instruction, inasmuch as it proved the value of gunboats on the narrow rivers of the West, especially when acting in conjunction with land forces. "Fort Henry is ours!" said Halleck in his despatch to McClellan. "The flag of the Union is re-established on the soil of Tennessee. It will never be removed." Foote was formally thanked by the secretary of the navy. "The country," he was told, "appreciates your gallant deeds, and this department desires to convey to you and your brave associates its profound thanks for the service you have rendered."

After the fall of Fort Henry, preparations were made for an attack on Fort Donelson with as little delay as possible. General Halleck felt it to be his duty to do his utmost to strengthen the army under Grant's command, and accordingly reinforcements were hurried forward from Buell's army, from St. Louis, Halleck's head-quarters, from Cincinnati, and from Kansas.

Fort Donelson, as has already been stated, was distant from Fort Henry about twelve miles, and was situated near the town of Dover, on the west bank of the Cumberland, on a platform of elevated ground, which at its highest point rises from the river about one hundred feet. It was about forty miles above the point where the Cumberland, after draining the highlands of southeastern Kentucky and northeastern Tennessee, empties its waters into the Ohio. The entire work covered one hundred acres. The country around was rugged and heavily wooded. Naturally a strong position, everything had been done which art and science could accomplish to make it impregnable. On the



Head Quarters, &c.

Markland,
Special Mail Agt.

Send the Mail steamer as soon as possible after receiving this.

All is well here but we have a powerful force. Johnson, Buckner Floyd and Pillow are all said to be here.

U. S. Grant.

This was written from the front of Fort Donelson the 13th or 14th of February, 1862. After the words "powerful force" the words "in front of us" should have followed.

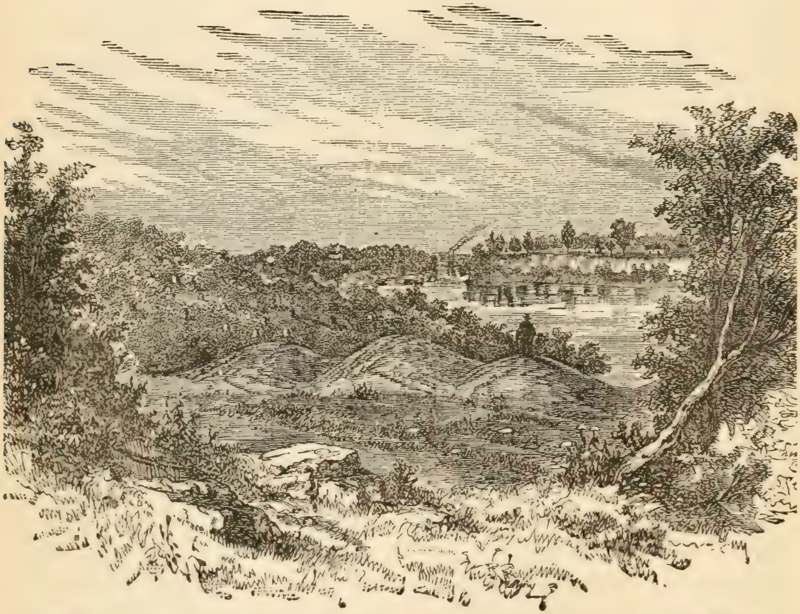
U. S. GRANT,
GENERAL.

*May 3d,* 1867.

water side it was especially strong, the batteries being admirably planted and well mounted. Including the light artillery, there were in the fort at the moment of the attack not fewer than ninety-five pieces. With the men who had made good their escape thither from Fort Henry, the strength of the garrison amounted to twenty-one thousand men. All around the works on the land side, abatis had been formed by felling timber and half chopping off the smaller trees.

As soon as it became evident that Fort Donelson was likely to be attacked, Johnston exerted himself to the utmost to make the position invulnerable. Reinforcements were hurried forward from Bowling Green; the work was pushed day and night; and a fortified line two and a half miles in length, enclosing the town of Dover, was drawn along the high ground, which commanded the avenues of approach. Gideon J. Pillow arrived with his command on the 10th and took control. Simeon B. Buckner, at the head of the reinforcements from Bowling Green, arrived on the 11th. On the 13th John B. Floyd, who had come from Virginia with his followers, in obedience to orders received from Johnston, appeared upon the scene, and, outranking Pillow, took the chief command.

On the evening of the day which witnessed the capture of Fort Henry, a flotilla under Lieutenant Phelps sailed up the Tennessee river, for the purpose of ascertaining the condition of the banks in the upper waters. The reconnoissance was completely successful. It was found that there was no real hindrance to a southward movement. The country was comparatively unprotected; and the people seemed impatient to be delivered from the dreadful tyranny under which they were groaning. On the 11th of February a council of war was held; and the question was put: "Shall we march on Donelson, or shall we wait for further reinforcements?" The decision was in favor of immediate action. Foote was busy getting ready with his gunboats; and the delay hitherto was mainly on that account. It was all-important that the gunboats should participate in the attack, but it was felt that every hour was adding to the enemy's strength. At the head of 15,000 men, on Wednesday, the 12th, Grant moved from Fort Henry upon Donelson. The foremost brigade advanced by the telegraph road, the others moved by the road which leads to Dover. For the month of February the day was beautiful. The atmosphere was warm and balmy, like a day in spring. In their march over the hilly country, the advancing troops experienced but little difficulty. Before sundown Grant was before the fort, and what remained of daylight he spent in bringing his troops into position. During the night there was little idleness. Batteries were posted, and the line of battle was formed. Meanwhile Foote was moving up the Cumberland with his gunboats, convoying transports, which were to constitute Lewis Wallace's Third division. It was Grant's intention, should the gunboats arrive, to begin the attack in the morning. McClernand's division, consisting of the four brigades of Oglesby, Wallace, McArthur, and Morrison, was posted on the right.



A VIEW OF THE COUNTRY, SHOWING FORT DONELSON IN THE DISTANCE.

C. F. Smith's division, composed of the brigades of Cook, Lanman, and M. L. Smith, was posted on the left. Lewis Wallace's division, so soon as it arrived, was to take its position in the centre. The line extended some four miles, the right sweeping round almost to Dover, the left resting on Hickman's creek, where, at the house of a Mrs. Crisp, Grant established his head-quarters.

Morning dawned, but there was no sign of the gunboats. Grant was unwilling to hazard a general engagement until the expected forces arrived. Early in the forenoon, however, a cannonade was opened, and some lively work was done by Berge's sharpshooters, who, concealed behind the trees, picked off not a few of the Confederate gunners. About noon an attempt was made to effect a lodgement upon the Confederate intrenchments. McClernand ordered Colonel Wallace to capture a formidable battery, known as the Middle Redoubt. The troops employed for this purpose were Illinois regiments—the Seventeenth, Major Smith; the Forty-eighth, Colonel Hayn; and the Forty-ninth, Colonel Morrison, McAllister's battery covering them. Hayn, being the senior colonel, took command of the attacking party. The attack was made in the most spirited manner. But the enemy was strongly posted; and although the national troops behaved with the utmost gallantry in the presence of overwhelming numbers and under a most galling fire, they were ultimately repulsed. An equally unsuccessful effort was made on the left by a portion of Lanman's brigade. In both cases the national loss was heavy. When the darkness came on, the troops, not a little dispirited, had fallen back to the ground occupied by them in the morning.

The night of the 13th presented a striking contrast to the beautiful spring-like morning. The afternoon had become chilly, and toward evening rain fell in torrents. The rain was succeeded by sleet and snow, and at midnight a severe frost set in, the mercury falling to ten degrees below the freezing point. The men were without tents, and many of the soldiers were not even provided with blankets. Fires were not permitted, as they would prove marks for the enemy's guns. Scantily supplied with food, and with the pitiful cries of the wounded calling for water resounding in their ears, they were compelled to spend the weary hours resting on their arms. It was one of those sad nights often repeated before the war reached its close.

The morning of the 14th dawned with apparently brightening prospects for the Federal arms. Fully realizing the peril of the situation, and the necessity of using every available man, Grant had, at the close of the contest the night previous, sent a courier to General Lewis Wallace, who had been left behind with a small garrison at Fort Henry, commanding him to hasten at once to the scene of action. Wallace, with his garrison, which consisted of the Eleventh Indiana, the Eighth Missouri, and Company A, Chicago artillery, in charge of a battery, was ready by the break of day. After such a night, the ground was not in the best condition for the movement of infantry and artillery, but the men were in excellent spirits, and in spite of the drifting snow which blew in their faces they made good time, Wallace being able to report at Grant's head-quarters before the hour of noon. On their arrival Lewis Wallace's little band found the Union soldiers in high hope and expectation. During the course of the night Foote, with the gunboats and transports, the latter bringing the Third or Wallace's division, about 10,000 strong, had arrived. Their landing had been safely effected; they were already around Grant's head-quarters, and when Wallace appeared on the scene he was immediately placed in command and took his position in the centre, with Smith on the left and McClernand on the right. By this fresh accession of strength, Grant was enabled to complete the investment of the fort and its outworks; and for the first time since he commenced to grapple with the enemy he had the advantage of superior numbers. Supplies having arrived in abundance, rations were liberally supplied to the half-famished men, and preparations were made for a general assault.

The experience of the previous day had been such that, even with largely increased forces, General Grant was unwilling to make any rash attack from the land side. The fort was powerfully mounted, and without the aid of earthworks and trenches, an attack made from the land side, whether upon a particular point or on the entire enemy's works, however it might result finally, could not fail to be attended by an enormous sacrifice of life. Grant's instructions to his generals were that they should preserve the line of investment intact, being ready to repel any attempt which the enemy might make, either in the way of assault or escape.

The gunboats had done so well at Fort Henry that perhaps too much was expected of them at Fort Donelson. At all events, it was arranged that the gunboats should have the honor of opening the assault. At three o'clock in the afternoon Foote moved forward with four ironclads and two wooden boats. In addition to these there was the gunboat "Carondelet," Commander Walke, which had arrived two days before. The armored vessels moved in front. While yet a mile and a half distant the gunboats opened fire, the batteries on the fort remaining perfectly silent. Onward the little fleet moved, still belching forth destruction, but meeting with no response. Suddenly, however, when within 400 yards of the batteries, a plunging fire was opened upon it by twenty heavy guns, placed high on the hillside, the shot falling with dreadful precision and effect. In face of this terrible fire Foote pressed closer and closer. The well-directed fire of the gunboats had silenced the upper battery of four guns. The columbiad and thirty-two-pound rifle now told with fatal effect on the ironclads, while the shot and shell from the ships fell powerless on the heavy sand-banks which protected the enemy's guns. A heavy shot had cut away the rudder-chains of the "Louisville," and she drifted helplessly down the current. The flagship "St. Louis" was soon in a similar plight, Commodore Foote himself being wounded. The other two armored vessels had suffered severely, a heavy rifled cannon having burst on board the "Carondelet." The battle had lasted one hour and a half. It was useless to prolong the struggle. Orders were given to withdraw; and as the flotilla moved back down the river, it received some severe parting blows from the shore batteries, some of the fugitives from which had returned and resumed their guns. It was another failure. The strength of the place had not been properly gauged. What was practicable and easy at Fort Henry was impossible at Fort Donelson. In the attack the nationals lost fifty-four men in killed and wounded. The Confederates lost not a man, nor were their batteries in any way injured. Fifty-nine shots had struck the "St. Louis;" thirty-five the "Louisville;" thirty-five the "Carondelet," and twenty-one the "Pittsburgh."

Two days had now been wasted, and two experiments in the way of attack had been made, with signal want of success. All had been done on the river side which could be done with the means now at Grant's command. Any fresh attempt made on the land side was certainly as perilous as ever. A new plan had become necessary. It was accordingly arranged in a conference between Grant and Foote, on the evening of Friday, that the commodore should return to Cairo, repair and augment his fleet, and return with a naval force adequate to the requirements of the situation. Grant resolved meanwhile to go on perfecting his line of investment, so strengthening his weak points as to shut the Confederates effectually within their intrenchments, and so cutting off their supplies as possibly to starve or frighten them into a surrender.

From the position enclosed within the Confederate lines two roads led towards Nashville—the Wynn's Ferry road, running from Dover through Charlotte; and the other an obscure and at best an undesirable road, crossing the flats of the Cumberland. The latter road was submerged by the overflow of the river. There remained, therefore, but the one way of escape, if escape was to be attempted, and that was the Wynn's Ferry road. But this road was effectually covered by McClernand's division, the right wing of the Union army. Pillow's division, which formed the Confederate left, was to make a vigorous attack upon the Union right flank; and Buckner's division, drawn from the right, a few men being left in the intrenchments to maintain an appearance, was to strike at the same time the right flank of the Union centre, which rested upon the Wynn's Ferry road. It was hoped that if Pillow's attack should prove successful, McClernand's division, the Union right, would be forced back upon Wallace's division, the Union centre, and that Buckner, striking the divided masses in flank, would roll both divisions back in confusion on that of Smith, the Union left. In such a case, the Wynn's Ferry road would be effectually opened as a way of escape, and possibly Grant's forces might be routed and driven to their transports. It was a daring and well-conceived plan; and, as we shall by-and-by see, so far as it was faithfully executed, it was a complete success.

On the morning of Saturday, the 15th of February, at the early hour of five o'clock, Pillow's column, eight thousand strong, accompanied by Forrest's cavalry, thirty heavy guns, and a full complement of artillery, was already in motion. Pillow was resolved, as he said in his high-sounding style, "to roll the enemy in full retreat over upon General Buckner," and then, by an attack in flank and rear, to "cut up the enemy and put him completely to rout." He went to his work with a will, and as if he meant to make his purpose good. McClernand was well posted to resist the assailants; but, although this point has been disputed, there can be no reasonable doubt that he was taken by surprise. His division was arranged in three brigades—McArthur's on the right, Oglesby's in the centre, W. H. L. Wallace's on the left. Pillow's onslaught was swift and furious. It fell mainly upon the two right brigades, McArthur's and Oglesby's. The Confederate line covered the front of these brigades, and extended some distance beyond the right flank. In the struggle which ensued, there was no lack of heroism on either side. At a critical moment, timely and effective assistance was rendered by the sister brigade of W. H. L. Wallace, Colonel John A. Logan, at the head of his brave regiment, the Thirty-first Illinois, exerting himself by word and deed to sustain and cheer the men. In such a struggle, however, enthusiasm is but a sorry compensation for lack of numbers. The soldiers did their best. Inch by inch the ground was contested. Overpowered, however, and outflanked, the two brigades were turned and forced from their position. Meanwhile Buckner, who had moved his troops over from the extreme Confederate right, formed them in front of McClernand's left brigade, Colonel W. H. Wallace. It will thus be seen that the whole hostile mass—the entire concentrated strength of the Confederate army—was pressing upon McClernand's division, the right wing of the Union army. The left brigade soon followed the example of the other two—it fell back from its position; and by nine o'clock the entire position occupied in the beginning of the contest by the right wing of the national army was in the possession of the Confederates. The Wynn's Ferry road was open.

The tide was still in favor of the Confederates. So far they had boldly carried out their plan, and successfully accomplished their purpose. The national army was, indeed, at this particular moment in a very critical condition. The situation was all the more alarming that Grant, who had not been present all the morning, was not yet on the field. At 2 A. M. he had gone on board a gunboat to hold a consultation with Commodore Foote, who, it will be remembered, was wounded in the struggle the day previous. It is more than possible that if Grant had been on the field from the commencement of the contest, McClernand would have been able to hold his ground. In the absence of the general-in-chief there was no officer, during all those pregnant hours, who could assume the right to combine and direct the entire forces in the field. The division next to McClernand was that of Lewis Wallace. When Wallace first heard the firing, he concluded that McClernand had resumed the attack. At about 8 A. M. he received a message from McClernand asking assistance. Not knowing what to do, he sent the message to head-quarters; but General Grant was still absent. Later he received another message from McClernand, disclosing the fact that his men were being pressed back by overwhelming numbers. Thereupon Wallace detached two brigades, and sent them under Colonel Cruft. Cruft, however, was in some way misled too far to the right, and being forced to fight his way, he arrived only in time to share the fate of the whole right wing. Seeing flocks of fugitives crowding up in the rear of his own line, Wallace promptly put in motion his remaining brigade under Colonel Thayer. The column had marched but a short distance when McClernand's brigades were met, retiring to the left—retiring in good order and slowly, complaining of many things, but complaining most of all that their ammunition was exhausted. The brave fellows seemed to feel as if they had no right to be in that position. The enemy was following but slowly. Wallace had time to deploy his brigade on the crest of a hill which crossed the line along which the enemy was moving towards the left. Here he presented a firm front at right angles to his former front, and behind him the defeated troops of the right wing rallied and re-formed. In this position they awaited the approach of Pillow and Buckner. Mortified with the defeat of the morning, the troops of the right wing had no sooner filled their cartridges than they took their places and were ready for action. When, therefore, the Confederates advanced and began to ascend the crest, so terrific was the fire that they reeled and staggered and broke, falling back in wild confusion. A second time they attempted to charge; but the second repulse was more disastrous than the first. The men could not again be brought into line. Some of them fled precipitately to their works; the remainder were brought to a stand on the ground occupied by the national right wing in the early morning.

Grant had now appeared on the field. It was about noon when the Confederates were driven back to their trenches. The battle had lulled; but everything was yet in confusion. The chief must have bitterly regretted the fact of his own absence from the scene of action in the early part of the day. But it was no time now for idle and worthless lamentation. It was action that was needed—prompt, decided, vigorous action. Grant was not slow to come to a conclusion, although it is simply absurd to say that in this instance he made up his mind at once. About three o'clock in the afternoon he called McClernand and Wallace aside for consultation. They were all on horseback. Grant held in his hand some despatches, to which now and then he nervously turned his eyes. His face was flushed and revealed high excitement. He said something about the necessity of falling back and intrenching—about waiting for reinforcements and Foote's new flotilla. It was suggested by one of the other two that in consequence of McClernand's defeat the road to Clarksville was uncovered, and that the enemy might escape if he chose. All of a sudden Grant gave orders that the right wing should retake the ground which it had lost in the morning, and that the left wing, under Smith, should make a simultaneous attack on the Confederate right. General Grant has since given us his own reason for the course which he resolved to pursue. "On riding upon the field," he says, "I saw that either side was ready to give way if the other showed a bold front. I took the opportunity, and ordered an advance of the whole line."

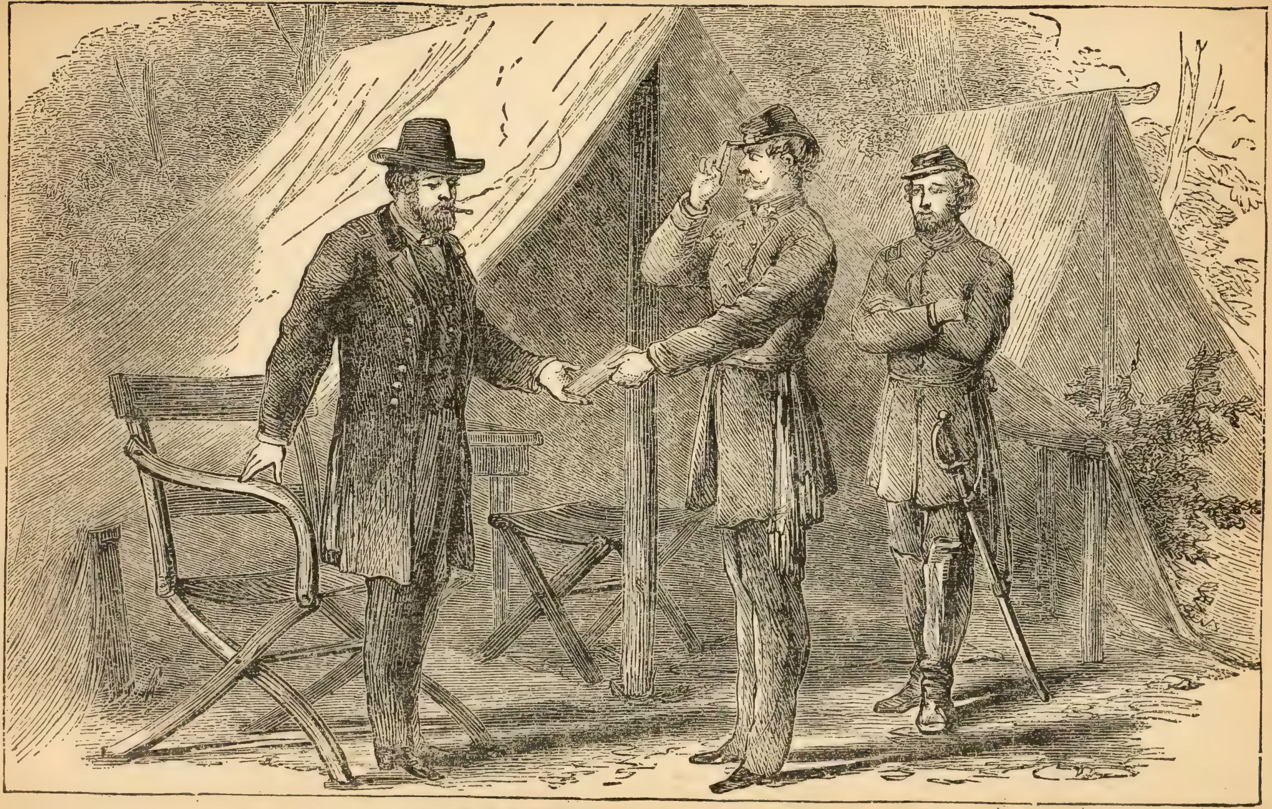
The orders were promptly executed. Wallace took charge of the troops which had been engaged and which had suffered so much in the morning and early part of the day, and whose duty it was to resume lost ground. The ground was rough and badly blocked with wood. There were, besides, bloody memorials of the morning's struggle. The nationals, however, pressed on, the Confederates vigorously resisting. For more than an hour the conflict raged fiercely, and the result seemed doubtful. Ultimately, however, the Confederates yielded to the fierce energy of their assailants, and were compelled to retire within their own intrenchments. In the hour of victory almost complete, when within one hundred and fifty yards of the enemy's works, Wallace was astonished by an order from the general-in-chief, commanding him to halt and retire his troops, as a new plan of operations had been arranged for the morrow. He felt satisfied that Grant was ignorant of the success which had attended his movement. Darkness, however, was at hand. He contented himself, therefore, with holding the ground he had taken, and disobeyed orders only to the extent of bivouacking on the field of victory. Smith was equally successful in his attack on the Confederate right. Buckner, who in abandoning the left made it the easy prey of Wallace, arrived too late at his old position on the right to save it from the dashing energy of Smith. In spite of all that he could do, the enemy was forced from his intrenchments and driven inside the work.

All along the line, the ground lost in the morning had been reclaimed. Nay, more: on both the left and the right the enemy had found it necessary to abandon his own chosen ground and to retire more and more under the works of the fort. When darkness fell, Grant had reason to feel satisfied. He had by his single will converted a day of disaster into a day of triumph. The fruit of victory was not yet in his hands, but it was ripe and ready to fall. So ended the third day at Fort Donelson.

The night which followed was one of the saddest yet experienced in the history of the war. The cold was intense, the thermometer indicating more than twenty degrees below the freezing point. The ice-covered branches of the trees swayed and crackled in the night breeze. Camp-life had not yet become a luxury. There were no tents, and even the blanket had not become a necessary part of the soldier's equipage. General Grant found a sleeping-place in a negro hut. General Smith lay down on the frozen ground. The soldier slept as he best might, leaning on his musket or resting on his knapsack. Four thousand brave Americans lay scattered over the battle-field, many of them dead, some of them freezing to death, the feeble but piteous cries of the latter filling the weary hours with woe. It is in scenes such as these that true humanity stands forth conspicuous and commands universal admiration. With such a background, goodness, pure, true, and unselfish, shines as if with a heavenly light. General Lewis Wallace, to his honor be it said, with many of his men, filled with his spirit and fired by his example, worked far into the morning hours, ministering to the wounded on both sides, and with kindly hands burying the dead.

Grant had made all necessary arrangements for resuming the attack along the whole line on the following (Sunday) morning. Such attack, however, was not to be necessary. A council of war was held at Pillow's head-quarters, late on Saturday night. Floyd, Pillow, Buckner, and their staff officers were all present. Some bad temper was revealed; and on many points there was difference of opinion. On one point they were agreed—that another sortie would be absolutely disastrous. Buckner did not believe that he could hold his position half an hour after daylight. In his judgment there was no escape from a surrender. Floyd and Pillow were equally of opinion that the situation was desperate, and that there was nothing for them but immediate capitulation. It was ultimately agreed that Buckner should assume the command, and that Floyd and Pillow should be allowed to make their escape, Floyd taking with him his Virginia brigade. Floyd surrendered the command. Pillow, who was next in rank, said, "I pass it." Buckner called for writing materials and a bugler; and Floyd and Pillow hastened off to save their precious lives. Pillow crossed the river in a scow. Floyd and his men went on board a steamer at the wharf, and steered off amid the curses and hisses of their former companions in arms. It was a shameful transaction; but Buckner's conduct was honorable throughout. Floyd had now appeared in his true character.

When on the morning of Sunday, the 16th of February, the light broke along the lines, there was no conviction more general among the national soldiers than that the stirring scenes of the previous day were about to be repeated, and repeated, perhaps, in more aggravated and bloody form; nor was there disposition anywhere to shirk the ordeal. Suddenly, however, the clear notes of the bugle were heard sounding a parley; and as the gray dawn passed away before the brighter light of the opening day, a white flag was seen waving over the fort. It was a token of a willingness to surrender. A letter was received by Grant from Buckner, asking for the appointment of commissioners to settle upon terms of capitulation, and



THE SURRENDER OF FORT DONELSON.

suggesting an armistice till noon. The letter reads as follows:

HEAD-QUARTERS, FORT DONELSON, *February 16th*, 1862.

SIR:—In consideration of all the circumstances governing the present situation of affairs at this station, I propose to the commanding officer of the Federal forces the appointment of commissioners to agree upon terms of capitulation of the forces and post under my command; and, in that view, suggest an armistice until twelve o'clock to-day.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
S. B. BUCKNER, *Brig.-Gen. C. S. A.*

To Brigadier-General U. S. GRANT, commanding United States
forces near Fort Donelson.

The General read this without a word. Then he handed it to Smith, who read it also.

GRANT.—"Well, what do you think?"

SMITH.—"I think, no terms with traitors, by ——!"

The chief sat down, wrote this answer as fast as his pen could move, and passed it to Smith:

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY IN THE FIELD,
*Camp near* DONELSON, *February 16th*, 1862.

GENERAL S. B. BUCKNER, Confederate Army:

Yours of this date proposing armistice, and appointment of commissioners to settle terms of capitulation, is just received. *No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works.*

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
U. S. GRANT, *Brigadier-General.*

The gray-haired veteran read it, and exclaimed:

"By ——, it couldn't be better!"

Then he went away with the despatch. Not another word passed between them, and Smith did not remain in the cabin more than ten minutes. The phrase, afterward so famous, "I propose to move immediately upon your works," was not in the least "buncombe," but literally expressed Grant's intentions. The moment Smith left, he despatched Riggin to McClernand and Wallace, with instructions to press forward right into the enemy's works as soon as the signal should be given. But Buckner made haste to reply:

HEAD-QUARTERS, DOVER, TENN., *February 16th*, 1862.

TO BRIG.-GEN. U. S. GRANT, U. S. Army:

SIR:—The distribution of the forces under my command, incident to an unexpected change of commanders, and the overwhelming force under your command, compel me, notwithstanding the brilliant success of the Confederate arms yesterday, to accept the ungenerous and unchivalrous terms which you propose.

I am, sir, your very obedient servant,

S. B. BUCKNER, *Brig.-Gen. C. S. A.*

Grant received this with his usual serenity, ordered his horse, and with his staff rode over to Buckner, whom he had known at the Military Academy. Buckner invited his guests to breakfast, and gave them some vile Confederate coffee. Then the two enemies of an hour before, smoking pacifically, discussed the surrender. Buckner asked subsistence for his men, and kindnesses for some wounded officers. Grant acceded to these requests. He decided, also, that officers might retain their side-arms and personal baggage, but that horses and all public property must be given up. Buckner was annoyed that Grant had been able to invest Donelson with so small a force.

"If I had been in command," said he, "you would not have reached the fort so easily.

"If you had," replied Grant, "I should have waited for reinforcements. But I knew Pillow would never come out of his works to fight."

Smith soon arrived. Buckner, being an old army officer, had known him well, and as they shook hands he said:

"That charge of yours last night was a splendid affair."

"Yes, yes," replied the veteran; "the men did well—they did well; but it was no affair of mine; I simply obeyed General Grant's orders."

Grant permitted the Second Iowa, in recognition of its gallantry, to raise its flag over the captured fort. Before noon the Union troops, in bright blue, marched in from three points, with streaming banners, gleaming muskets, bands playing, men singing and cheering, and the gunboats firing a salute.

The Confederates, in faded gray, stood mournfully beside the great piles of muskets and shot-guns, wondering at the

"Northern horde." Many, from the mountains of Tennessee and Kentucky, were Union men at heart. Their garb was motley. Some had blankets wrapped around them, others old pieces of carpet, quilts, and buffalo robes. Their arms consisted of single and double barrelled shot-guns, old Kentucky rifles, and flint-lock muskets, with here and there a modern piece.

All the fighting had been in the woods. There were some leaves still on the trees, and the Confederates in gray were so near the color of the landscape that it was difficult to detect them. The Union men came unsuspectingly right upon them, to meet deadly reception from their double-barrelled shot-guns, the most effective weapons in a close contest.

The Confederate water-battery was very strong, but the fort itself was a wilderness of zigzags and abatis spreading over a large area, formidable to the eye but really weak, and not bearing any logical relation to each other.

The hills and ravines, so lately torn and crimsoned by fierce fighting, are now smoothed by rains and overgrown with shrubs and vines. The tremendous fortifications can hardly be seen, and ere long it will be impossible to trace their outlines. The thick mounds, too, have almost disappeared. Where they sleep who died for us, kindly Nature strews her waving grass and her springing flowers, just as she covers the scars and wounds in our hearts with her fragrant lilies of resignation and her tender willows of memory.

About 15,000 prisoners, 17,600 small arms, and 65 guns constituted the prize which fell into the hands of the national commander. His losses were 2,041, of whom 425 were killed. Grant paid a high compliment to his soldiers.

The investment of Donelson had been followed by the evacuation of Bowling Green; its fall was followed by the abandonment of Nashville. This, however, was not all. Polk found it necessary to evacuate Columbus and fall back on Island No. 10. The so-called Gibraltar of the West was forthwith occupied by national troops. The Southern line of defence was completely broken down.

General Grant had nobly accomplished the task which he had undertaken. Henceforward he was regarded as one of the strongest pillars of the national cause.

After the fall of Donelson, it was only natural that General Grant should, for a time at least, become the popular favorite. All over the Union his praises were liberally sounded; and by not a few who had acquired an insight into his character he was hailed already as the coming man. His sphere of action had been greatly enlarged. General Halleck, as if to mark his appreciation of Grant's noble services, had assigned him to the command of the new District of West Tennessee, a command which extended from Cairo to the northern borders of Mississippi, and embraced the entire country between the Mississippi and Cumberland rivers. General Grant took immediate steps to turn to account the victories which he had won, and to press the enemy still farther to the south. He established his headquarters at Fort Henry, where General Lewis Wallace was in command. We have seen already that Foote's flotilla was withdrawn from the Cumberland, that part of it had gone up the Tennessee river, and that Foote himself, with a powerful naval armament, had gone down the Mississippi for the purpose of co-operating with the land troops against Columbus, Hickman, Island No. 10, and New Madrid.

It seems to have been the conviction of all the Union commanders—of Halleck, of Buell, of Grant—that a lodgement should be made at or near Corinth in Northern Mississippi. The possession of Corinth or Florence or Tuscumbia, but particularly Corinth, would give the national forces control of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, the key to the great railway communications between the Mississippi and the East, as well as the border slave States and the Gulf of Mexico. It would facilitate the capture of Memphis, because it would place it more completely at the mercy of the troops now moving down the Mississippi; and it would render effective assistance to General Curtis, who, as we have seen, was at this moment carrying on important operations in Arkansas. While adopting vigorous measures for the purpose of giving effect to the general plan, Grant had the mortification to receive an order from Halleck, instructing him to turn over his command to General C. F. Smith, and to remain himself at Fort Henry.

In such circumstances such an order must have been humiliating in the last degree to General Grant; and it is not surprising that, stung to the quick as he must have been, he should have asked to be relieved from duty. As a general rule, it is unwise to attach too much importance to individuals in a great national contest. No one man is absolutely indispensable. It is undeniable, however, that the retirement of General Grant at this particular juncture might have materially affected the future history of the great national struggle now fairly begun, and already bearing upon it somewhat of the impress of his character and genius. Complying with a request for an interview, Grant had, on the 27th of February, gone on a visit to Buell, up the Cumberland to Nashville. In the meantime Halleck had ordered him to ascend the Tennessee, then in full flood, and establish himself on the Memphis and Charleston railroad at or near Corinth. On the 1st of March, Halleck ordered him to fall back from the Cumberland to the Tennessee, with the view of carrying out the orders previously given. It was supposed at this moment that the Confederates had retreated to Chattanooga. Sherman meanwhile received orders to seize all steamboats passing Paducah, and to send them up the Tennessee for the transportation of Grant's army. On hearing that Grant had gone up the Cumberland, Halleck telegraphed to him: "Why don't you obey my orders? Why don't you answer my letters? Turn over the command of the Tennessee expedition to General C. F. Smith, and remain yourself at Fort Henry." At the same time Halleck wrote complainingly to McClellan at Washington, saying he could get no reports from Grant, whose troops were demoralized by their victory. To Grant himself Halleck wrote, stating that his repeated neglect of positive orders to report his strength had created great dissatisfaction, and seriously interfered with the general military arrangements; and that his going to Nashville when he ought to have been with his troops, had given such offence at Washington that it had been considered advisable to arrest him on his return. It is possible that, judged by the highest forms of military law, Grant, in some of the particulars charged, was to blame. It is possible, too, that Halleck, who was a man of the old school, and strict to the letter of the law, was officious overmuch. Grant, however, had his explanation ready. He had not received Halleck's order in time; he had gone to Nashville for the good of the service, and not for personal pleasure or for any selfish motive; he had reported every day, had written on an average more than once a day, and had done his best to obey orders from head-quarters; he had not permitted his troops to maraud; on the contrary, he had sent the marauders on to St. Louis. He submitted to instructions by turning the army over to General Smith. He asked, however, that he might be relieved. The explanations so far satisfied Halleck that he requested the authorities at Washington to allow the matter to drop. Smith, however, remained in command, but, as the reader will soon discover, only for a brief period.

The temporary change of commanders did not allow any intermission of the work. The expedition up the Tennessee was hurried forward. An acquisition was found in Sherman, who, in compliance with orders from Halleck, reported to Smith.

# CHAPTER IV.

## WAR OF THE REBELLION—*Continued.*

Death of General Smith—General Grant again in charge—The plans of the Confederates—Buell ordered to join Grant—Johnston's proclamation—The battle of Shiloh—The morning of the 6th of April—The nationals attacked—A tremendous onslaught—Grant not on the field—His arrival—Sherman's bravery—Sherman and Prentiss driven from their ground—The Confederates gaining ground—Four division camps plundered—Three divisions routed—Wallace mortally wounded—The situation desperate—Driven to a corner of the field—Both armies exhausted—Johnston wounded and carried from the field—Beauregard in command—The battery on the crest of the hill—A valley of death—The second day—The battle resumed—Lewis Wallace and Buell now on the field—Beauregard attempts to turn the national left—The Confederates pressed back—The nationals gaining ground all along the line—The battle ended—Unexampled bravery on both sides—Magnanimity of General Grant—Major-General Grant—Beauregard retreats to Corinth—He strengthens his position—Halleck at Corinth—Grant second in command—Halleck's complaint against Grant—Battle of Iuka—Battle of Corinth—Grant's order of congratulation—He assumes command of the Department of the Tennessee—Important reconnoissances.

THE illness of General Smith, which resulted in death on the 25th of April, brought Grant again to the front. On the 17th of March he arrived at Savannah, Tennessee, established his head-quarters, and took command. The entire force was about 33,000 men. General Buell, after repeated solicitations that he might be permitted to abandon Nashville, cross Tennessee and join his forces to those of Grant, with a view to counteract the Confederate concentration at Corinth, had at last obtained Halleck's consent. The Army of the Ohio, which numbered some 40,000 men, was therefore already on its march; and by the 20th of March it had reached Columbia. The roads were bad and the weather stormy; but it was not unreasonable to conclude that Buell would be able to accomplish the distance in time.

When Halleck heard that Johnston had disappeared from Murfreesboro', and that his object was to join Beauregard at Corinth, he ordered Buell to hurry forward to the aid of Grant, and counteract as far as possible the Confederate concentration. There had been unnecessary delay, which permitted the Confederate generals to unite their strength; and now the weather and the roads were such that, although Buell's army was at Columbia on the 20th, it took full seventeen days to reach Pittsburgh Landing, a distance of only ninety miles.

At this time Breckenridge, with the Confederate right, which consisted of eleven thousand men, was stationed at Burnsville; Hardee and Bragg, with more than twenty thousand men, formed the centre at Corinth; and Polk at Hindman, with ten thousand men, were on the left, to the north of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad.

On the 3d of April, their available strength being forty thousand men, the Confederates commenced their onward march. The roads were in a terrible condition, and in consequence the progress made was slow. It was intended to attack the national army on the 5th; but the attack was delayed in consequence of a heavy rainstorm which fell in the afternoon. That night they were distant from the national pickets only about three-quarters of a mile.

The night of the 5th was wild and stormy. The next morning (Sunday) rose bright and clear. The recent rains, while they had filled the creeks and streams, had given an air of freshness to the surrounding country. In the Union camp it was still unknown towards what point the enemy might be moving; but there was watchfulness everywhere. Prentiss' guards had been doubled the night before; and his pickets were out one mile and a half. Sherman's troops had already breakfasted, and were formed into line. With the early dawn Hardee's corps, which formed the first Confederate line, was in motion. Quickly but silently they passed across the ravine of Lick creek and the ground which separated it from the outlying divisions of the Union army. It was the more easy for them to move noiselessly that the fallen leaves, being soaked with rain, made no rustling sound under the footsteps of the men. The onslaught was tremendous.

When the first shots were fired, Grant was not on the ground. He had gone down the river to Savannah, some nine miles off, to have an interview with Buell. Soon as he heard the first guns, he hastened to the scene of action. Leaving a letter for Buell, and ordering Nelson, who had

GENERAL SHERMAN.

arrived with a portion of Buell's forces, to hurry forward, he took a steamboat for Pittsburgh Landing. Halting at Crump's Landing, he gave directions to Lewis Wallace to follow at once. It was eight o'clock before Grant reached the field of Shiloh. He saw that he had to fight the combined Confederate force, and without the aid of Buell. What the Confederate strength was Grant could only guess. The combined army was over forty thousand strong. Grant had an available force of thirty-three thousand men. He believed he could depend upon Lewis Wallace, who had five thousand more. Some severe work, however, had already been done. There was a considerable gap between Prentiss' right and Sherman's left. It was into this gap that Hardee tried to force himself, his object being to outflank and turn both lines. In the beginning of the conflict Sherman's left was sorely pressed and suffered terribly. But that active and skilful general was present in the thickest of the fight.

All, however, was in vain. In poured the Confederates in ever-increasing numbers. Bragg had come to the aid of Hardee; and Polk, with the third Confederate line, was already moving toward Sherman's rear. By nine o'clock a very large portion of Sherman's division was virtually out of the fight; and before ten Prentiss had been forced from his ground, his camp captured and plundered, his division thrown into confusion, and he himself isolated from his men. But for the pluck and skill of Sherman, the battle at this stage might have been lost. Feeling the pressure of the enemy and in danger of being caught in the rear, he swung round upon his right as upon a pivot, coming out at a right angle and taking entirely new ground.

The falling back of Sherman, while it enabled him to prolong the contest and successfully to prevent attack in the rear, left McClernand's division completely exposed. On this, therefore, the Confederate forces fell with tremendous energy. For a time McClernand boldly and even successfully resisted, most effective aid being rendered by Dresser's powerful rifled cannon. Regiment after regiment of the Confederates rushed through the abandoned camps and pressed forward only to be cut to pieces by the deadly rifle shot. Ultimately, however, the force of overwhelming numbers began to tell on McClernand's lines. He was forced to retire, not, however, except in the most perfect order, fighting as he went, and bravely contesting every inch of ground. By eleven o'clock this division was on a line with Hurlbut, close to W. H. L. Wallace, with Sherman to the right.

Meanwhile Stewart's brigade, of Sherman's division, which was posted on the extreme left of the national line, about two miles from Pittsburgh Landing, on the Hamburg road, near Lake Creek, where Buell was expected to land, was, in consequence of the falling back of the other divisions, in an extremely perilous position.

The battle had raged since the early morning. About ten, Grant visited Sherman's camp, and finding that the supply of cartridges was short, he organized a train of ammunition wagons to run between the camp and the Landing—an arrangement beset with great difficulty, in consequence of the large number of fugitives who were forcing their way through the narrow road. By twelve o'clock noon, the Confederates had possession of the ground occupied in the morning by the first line of the national army; and the camps of Sherman, McClernand, Prentiss, and Stewart had been captured and plundered. Three of the five divisions of that army had been completely routed. The ground being entirely cleared before them—Prentiss' brigade, as we have seen, being demolished and Stewart having been compelled to retreat, McClernand, too, and Sherman having both yielded on the right—the Confederates, apparently resolved to push matters to a crisis, rushed with tremendous fury upon Hurlbut, who still maintained his original position, and who had been joined by Prentiss and some two thousand of his men. W. H. L. Wallace flew to the aid of Hurlbut, taking with him the Missouri batteries of Stone, Richardson, and Weber. Hurlbut, who had hitherto been in the open fields, now fell back into the woods which lay between his camp and the river, and there, nobly aided by Wallace, who fought like a hero of old,

GENERAL GRANT AND STAFF AT THE BATTLE OF SHILOH.

gallantly resisted the foe for several weary hours. Upon this compact body of national troops three most desperate charges were made, as if upon a wall of iron. In one of these encounters General W. H. L. Wallace fell, mortally wounded. McArthur took the command; but in spite of their best efforts, both he and Hurlbut were compelled to retire a little farther down and towards the river. In the confusion, Prentiss and his company getting isolated, were captured, sent to the Confederate rear, and finally marched to Corinth as prisoners of war.

Grant had been pressed into a corner of the battle-field, his army at this time occupying a space of not more than four hundred acres on the very verge of the river. As yet there were no signs of General Lewis Wallace. Buell, too, had failed to come to time. Five of the Union camps had been captured; and many guns and prisoners had fallen into the enemy's hands.

The Confederates, however, were less strong than they seemed. Success had broken their ranks; and the hard work of the day had produced its natural fruit. The men were completely worn out. Some of their best men had perished. Generals Gladdon and Hindman had been killed; and about half-past two o'clock, when pressing his men towards the Landing, and almost recklessly exposing himself, Commander-in-chief Johnston received a rifle bullet in the leg, which proved fatal. There was a lull in the fight after Johnston fell; but Beauregard assumed command; and the struggle for possession of Pittsburgh Landing was resumed with fresh energy. Beauregard felt that there was no time to lose; for night and Buell were coming.

The entire strength of the Confederate army was at this stage being pressed against the national left. It seemed to be the object of Beauregard to turn the national line or force them into the river. In any case, he was determined to seize the Landing. Happily, as the result proved, a deep ravine lay between the Confederates and the nationals, who, cooped up as they were, still covered the Landing. This ravine was impassable for artillery and cavalry. In consequence of the heavy rains, the bottom was wet and the sides slippery. The ravine led down to the river; and at its mouth the two gunboats Tyler and Lexington had taken position, their commanders having obtained permission from General Grant to exercise their discretion in shelling the woods and sweeping the ravine. On the brow of his side of the ravine General Grant had hastily flung up some earthworks in the form of a half-moon. To several siege guns which were parked there, Colonel Webster, Grant's chief of staff, added a number of guns which had belonged to light batteries, now broken up, and thus secured a semi-circular defence of about fifty cannon. This hurriedly improvised battery reached round nearly to the Corinth road. Volunteers were called for; and Dr. Cornyn, surgeon of the First Missouri artillery, having offered his services, his example was quickly followed. The Confederate assault was led by Chalmers, Withers, Cheatham, Ruggles, Anderson, Stuart, Pond, and Stevens. It was a perilous attempt, but it was bravely made. Down the steep sides of the ravine they rushed, uttering their favorite and familiar cry. For a moment it seemed as if all was lost, and as if Beauregard was about to crown the day's work by a final crushing blow. The slippery sides of the ravine, and the slush and mud at the bottom, greatly hindered the movements of the attacking party. At a signal given, Webster's guns from their fifty mouths opened fire in front; while the Tyler and Lexington, striking the Confederates on the flank, swept the ravine with their eight-inch shells. The Confederates had fallen into a trap. Every onward movement was vigorously repulsed. Again and again and yet again did the Confederates face the terrible fire, rushing across the ravine as if they would storm the battery in front; but it was only to be mowed down like grass or driven back like sheep. The ravine was filled with the wounded and the dead. So dense was the smoke that the entire scene was wrapped in almost midnight darkness—a darkness relieved only by the swift-recurring rifle flash and the cannon's blaze. Beauregard, seeing that it was useless to prolong the struggle, withdrew his men. The firing now ceased, and Grant was left master of the ground. Before the close of the struggle, Nelson, with Buell's advance, had arrived on the field; and Lewis Wallace, having at last found his way, was coming up with his five thousand men.

The dreary hours of the night were sufficiently filled with horrors. The gunboats kept up an incessant cannonade, in some places setting the woods on fire. The wounded on both sides vainly sought to escape from the grasp of this new and terrible destroyer. Happily a heavy rain-storm fell upon the scene of agony, and the fire was extinguished. Shortly after the firing had ceased, Grant visited Sherman; and as it was the opinion of both that the Confederates were exhausted, it was agreed that the attack should be resumed early in the morning. Subsequently Grant visited each of the division commanders, giving the necessary instructions, and then flung himself on the wet ground and snatched a few hours' rest, with his head resting on the stump of a tree. During the night Lewis Wallace came up, and Buell arrived in person. All night through steamboats kept busily plying between Savannah and Pittsburgh Landing, bringing up the remaining divisions of Buell's army. Nelson's division was all on the field by

BURNING HORSES AT SHILOH.

nine o'clock P. M. Crittenden's arrived a little later; and by five in the morning McCook's division, which was the last to come up, having had to wait for boats, was all safely disembarked. Twenty-seven thousand men were thus added to the national army.

With the early light of the morning of the 7th of April, which came in with a drizzling rain, the troops were in position and ready to make the attack. The fresh troops were placed in line, as they came upon the field, considerably in advance, and upon the ground abandoned by Beauregard after the failure of his last attack. Nelson was on the left; then in order Crittenden, McCook, Hurlbut, McClernand, Sherman, and Lewis Wallace. Thomson, of Wallace's division, with his field-guns, was the first to disturb the silence of the morning and to awaken the echoes of the forest. The response was vigorous; but the fresh troops of Wallace stood bravely to their work. At this moment Grant arrived, and ordered Wallace to press forward and attack the Confederate left under Bragg, who, since the death of Johnston, was second in command. This was gallantly done, the Confederates being compelled to abandon the high ground, which was soon occupied by Wallace's troops. Here a halt was made, Wallace expecting Sherman to come to his aid.

Meanwhile the two armies had come into collision at the other extremities of their lines. Buell's force, which lay nearest to Pittsburgh Landing, composed the centre and left of Grant's new line of battle. The divisions of Nelson and Crittenden only were ready, when Wallace's guns were heard booming to the right. They moved forward at once, Nelson's division leading. Their artillery had not yet arrived; but the batteries of Mendenhall and Terrill, of the regular service, were placed at their disposal. Nelson had moved half a mile, at least, before he felt the enemy. At the first touch he seemed to yield; but it was only for a moment. At this point Beauregard had gathered up his strength and was resolved to strike a deadly blow. If he could turn the national left, he might still make himself master of the Landing. His onslaught was tremendous.

Mendenhall's battery was hurried into action, and the advancing Confederates were driven back in confusion by a tempest of grape and canister. Hazen's brigade charged, captured one of Beauregard's batteries, and turned it with deadly effect on the foe. Once more the Confederates came up, with redoubled strength, and Hazen fell back before the advancing tide. Terrill's battery of McCook's division was now got into position. Pouring forth shell from his ten-pounders and grape and canister from his brass twelves, Terrill did splendid and effective work. For two hours the artillery conflict raged.

Sherman's captured camp was still in the Confederate rear, and to this as an objective point the national line kept slowly but steadily advancing. Sherman and Wallace, carrying out Grant's instructions to the letter, have advanced under a terrible fire and have reached the ridge occupied by the former on Sunday morning. The little log-church in Shiloh has again become a conspicuous object in the battle-field. Beauregard, despairing of success on the left, had, by countermarching his troops, greatly strengthened himself in front of the enemy's right. The struggle at this point was protracted and severe. Sherman and Wallace held their ground; and it soon became apparent that Beauregard's strength was all but exhausted.

At the same time that the Confederate general had concentrated his troops against the national right, he did not neglect an opportunity which seemed to present itself more towards what might be called the national centre. Noticing a slight gap between Crittenden and McCook, he endeavored to force a passage between them. Here he made his last effort—his last decided stand. It was all in vain. McCook's division stood like a wall of iron. The Confederate centre now began to yield. All along the line from Nelson on the left to Sherman and Wallace on the right, the nationals were pressing forward. Everywhere the enemy was seen retiring. It was now half-past five o'clock; and the wearied national troops being in no mood to pursue the foe, the retreat was the more easily conducted. The two days' fighting had resulted in the loss of over twenty thousand men—the Confederate killed and wounded amounting to more than ten thousand, the nationals to nearly twelve thousand.

General Halleck only did what was right when he thanked Generals Grant and Buell, "and the officers and men of their respective commands, for the bravery and endurance with which they sustained the general attack of the enemy on the 6th, and the heroic manner in which on the 7th they defeated and routed the entire Confederate army." General Grant showed his magnanimity when, in writing to the War Department, he said: "Sherman held with raw troops the key-point of the Landing. It is no disparagement to any other officer to say that I do not believe there was another division commander on the field who had the skill and enterprise to have done it. To his individual efforts I am indebted for the success of the battle."

GENERAL GRANT AT PITTSBURGH LANDING—SCENE ON THE SECOND DAY'S FIGHTING.

Towards the close of the triumphant day General Grant, who seemed to be everywhere present, met the First Ohio regiment near a position occupied by the Confederates, which it was very important at that juncture to take. He halted the regiment, and placed himself at its head. The troops recognized him with an enthusiastic cheer. General Grant ordered them "to charge," and led them in person, as much exposed as any private to the fire of the foe. They would have followed him to the cannon's mouth. An exhausted and retreating regiment, animated by the sight, closed up their wavering ranks, and with cheers joined in the charge. The foe was swept pell-mell from the spot; and thus one of the most important points of the battle-field was gained.

The news of this splendid victory spread like lightning. The name of Grant was hailed with joy, while the deeds of his gallant army were read with eager delight by every loyal citizen and true soldier throughout the land. The President hastened to express his gratitude to Grant by sending him the commission of Major-General. Everybody rejoiced at this act of justice except General Halleck, who did all in his power to give exclusive credit for the victory to C. F. Smith, and to secure for that officer the reward which Grant had so honestly won. On the other hand, Grant never for a moment withheld the praise which was due to his subordinates, but with the least possible delay recommended all who earned it for promotion, and yet there were some among them who did not scruple to charge him with incompetency, or to circulate calumnious reports against his private character.

The victory at Shiloh broke down the second line of Confederate defence, as the fall of Donelson had broken down the first.

After his defeat on the 7th of April Beauregard retired in good order to Corinth. The retreat was conducted in circumstances of great inconvenience and hardship, and the successful manner in which it was accomplished was a triumph of military genius on the part of the Confederate commander. Arriving at Corinth, Beauregard made all needed preparations for whatever attack might be made.

As a strategic point, for the South at least, Corinth had already been shorn of much of its value. When Buell set out from Nashville to reinforce Grant at Shiloh, he sent General Mitchell southward, with instructions to destroy, as far as possible, the Memphis and Charleston Railroad. On the 4th of April Mitchell was at Shelbyville, whence he hastened forward by forced marches to Huntsville, taking the town by surprise at an early hour on the morning of the 11th, and capturing seventeen locomotives, more than one hundred passenger cars, a large amount of supplies of every kind, with about one hundred and sixty prisoners. At Huntsville the railroad lines were torn up both to the east and west of the town. From Huntsville he sent one expedition eastward as far as Stevenson, and another expedition westward as far as Decatur and Tuscumbia, the object of both expeditions being to capture what could be had and to destroy the railroads. On the 16th of April Mitchell could say to his soldiers: "You have struck blow after blow with a rapidity unparalleled. Stevenson fell, sixty miles to the east of Huntsville. Decatur and Tuscumbia have been in like manner seized and are now occupied. In three days you have extended your front of operations more than one hundred miles, and your morning guns at Tuscumbia may now be heard by your comrades on the battle-field made glorious by their victory before Corinth." Mitchell had placed his army midway between Corinth and Nashville, and opened communication with Buell, and had added another hundred miles of the Tennessee to the free navigation of the North. Under date of May 1st, writing to the secretary of war, he could say: "The campaign is ended, and I now occupy Huntsville in perfect security; while all of Alabama north of the Tennessee river floats no flag but that of the Union." It was not without good reason that Mitchell was commissioned a major-general of volunteers. The importance of Corinth had been fully recognized by Halleck and Grant as well as by Buell and Mitchell. A few days after the battle of Shiloh, General Sherman, with some fresh troops from Buell's army, moved up the Tennessee to the mouth of Bear Creek, and there destroyed the railroad bridge which spans the river at that place.

On the 12th Halleck arrived at Pittsburgh Landing and took command in person of the "Grand Army of the Tennessee;" for such now was its title. Grant was placed second in command, without any real duty. The manner in which he had fought the battle of Shiloh was not satisfactory to his chief; and he was compelled for a second time to submit to uncalled-for humiliation. Grant bore his punishment with the best grace possible. Halleck, as if on second thoughts, did what he could to reassure him, informing him that no censure was intended, and that his position was that which was due to his rank. Halleck's objection to Grant's conduct in the late contest was that he had not shown sufficient caution—that he had erred, in fact, in not throwing up whatever fortifications were possible in the circumstances between himself and the enemy. As if to justify his complaint, and to show what should have been done at Shiloh, Halleck moved forward with a caution which became painful, intrenching himself at every step. Blame now fell upon him in turn. He was cautious overmuch. It was tauntingly said that it took him six weeks to march fifteen miles.

Shortly afterwards, Halleck went to Washington, for the purpose of entering upon the duties of General-in-Chief, to which position he had been called by the President, but before starting, he offered the command of the army to Colonel Robert Allen, chief supervising quartermaster in the West, an educated soldier and an able man. It was only when Allen positively declined, that the command was restored to Grant, but with still restricted authority. He was ordered to garrison a large number of points and to send reinforcements to Buell, in doing which he was thrown upon the defensive. But while Halleck was thus scattering the national forces, the Confederates had been taught a lesson, which made them concentrate all their available means, east of the Mississippi.

Corinth was *the* strategic point in Grant's department. The Tennessee river being too low for steamers in summer, he drew his supplies from Columbus, Kentucky, which compelled him to keep open one hundred and fifty miles of railway through a guerrilla infested region.

Garrisoning Corinth, Bolivar and Jackson, all important points, his force was too small to defend easily his great department, much less to take the offensive. Bragg, with a large army, was now moving toward Kentucky, so every man that could be spared was taken from Grant, while Van Dorn and Price constantly threatened him. He was sadly hampered and harassed, but watched the enemy vigilantly, and remodelled and strengthened the Corinth fortifications —a fact soon to prove of vital importance.

Slaves still flocked to the national camps. Congress had prohibited officers or soldiers from returning them to their masters, under pain of dismissal from the service. *Per contra*, Halleck's Order No. Three was still in force. Of course, it was impossible to harmonize instructions which conflicted so positively; but Grant on August 11th, with characteristic subordination, attempted it, and issued the following:

> Recent acts of Congress prohibit the army from returning fugitives from labor to their claimants, and authorize the employment of such persons in the service of the government. The following orders are therefore published for the guidance of the army in this military district in this matter:
>
> I. All fugitives thus employed must be registered, the names of the fugitive and claimants given, and must be borne upon the morning reports of the command in which they are kept, showing how they are employed.
>
> II. Fugitive slaves may be employed as laborers in the quartermaster's, subsistence, and engineer departments, and whenever by such employment a soldier may be saved to the ranks. They may be employed as teamsters, as company cooks (not exceeding four to a company), or as hospital attendants and nurses. Officers may employ them as private servants, in which latter case the fugitive will not be paid or rationed by the government. Negroes not thus employed will be deemed "unauthorized persons," and must be excluded from the camps.
>
> III. Officers and soldiers are positively prohibited from enticing slaves to leave their masters. When it becomes necessary to employ this kind of labor, commanding officers of posts or troops must send details (always under the charge of a suitable commissioned officer), to press into service the slaves of disloyal persons to the number required."

One day while Grant and his staff were riding down to take a drink from a sulphur spring a few miles south of his head-quarters, they heard a musket shot from a log-hut near by. A mother and daughter came running out, persued by a Union soldier, who had fired his gun to terrify them, and then attempted violence. Quick as thought the general sprang from his horse, wrenched away the musket, and with the butt of it felled the brute to the earth, where he lay with no sign of life except a little quivering of the foot.

"I guess you have killed him, general," remarked one of his staff officers.

"If I have, it only served him right," rejoined Grant.

But the miscreant recovered, and was taken back to his quarters.

On the 10th of September, Price having reached Northern Mississippi with his army of about twelve thousand men, started towards Iuka, where he arrived on the 19th, having driven in small detachments of the national troops from Jacinto and Chewalla. He made a feint of following Bragg in his northern march, in the hope that Grant would pursue him, and thus leave Corinth an easy prey to Van Dorn. But Grant, whose head-quarters were at Jackson, Tennessee, was too sagacious to fall into such a trap. Knowing from his scouts that Van Dorn could not reach Corinth for four or five days yet, he determined to crush Price by sending out a heavy force under Ord and Rosecrans, who had succeeded Pope. He therefore threw Ord towards Iuka, on the north side of the railroad, reinforcing him by Ross' brigade from Bolivar, bringing his force up to about five thousand men, and directed Rosecrans, with about nine thousand men in all, to move towards Iuka by the way of Jacinto and Fulton—hoping thus to cut off the Confederate retreat and to concentrate a force sufficient to overwhelm Price. This combined movement commenced at an early hour on the 18th of September, and although the distances to be overcome did not exceed in either case thirty miles, the Confederates discovered it before it was fairly executed. For some reason not satisfactorily explained, Rosecrans

GENERAL GRANT PUNISHING A SOLDIER FOR INSOLENCE AND ROBBERY.

failed to occupy the Fulton road. The junction of Ord and Rosecrans did not take place till after the latter had had a desperate and only partially successful engagement with Price on the 19th, in front of Iuka. Rosecrans' troops fought well, but owing to the exceedingly difficult nature of the ground, he was not able to bring his whole command into action. The Confederates were defeated after a sanguinary battle, and under cover of night retreated southward by the Fulton road. Their loss is stated by Pollard the historian "at about eight hundred killed and wounded," not counting over a thousand prisoners left in the hands of the victors.

On the 22d Grant ordered the pursuit to be discontinued, and directed Rosecrans to return to Corinth, where he arrived on the 26th. Ord was sent to Bolivar, and Hurlbut in the direction of Pocahontas. Price, by a wide circuit, joined Van Dorn at Ripley. The united force then moved in the direction of Pocahontas.

On the 2d of October, Van Dorn and Price, with three divisions, advanced thence towards Corinth by the way of Chewalla.

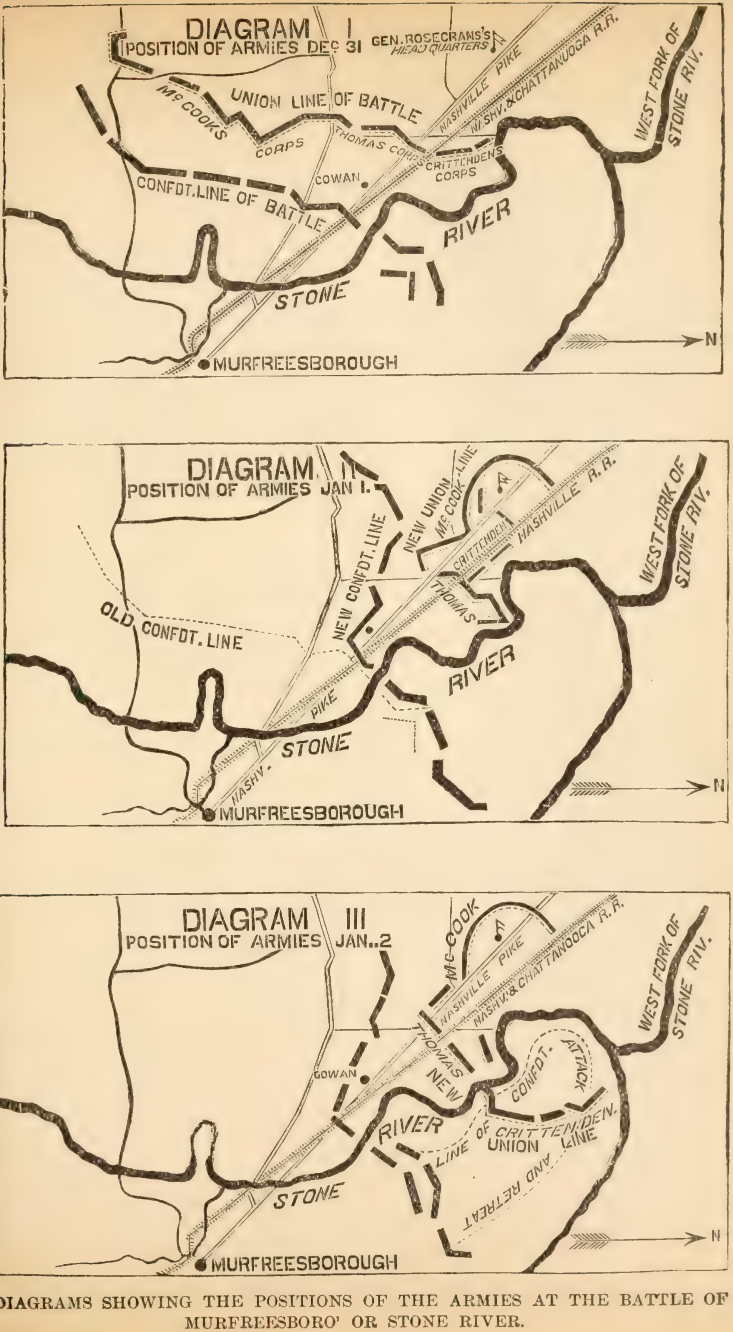
Shortly after Halleck left for Washington, Grant, seeing that the old works were too extensive to be held by any reasonable force, directed the construction of an inner and much shorter line of intrenchments at Corinth, and by the time the Confederates made their appearance in front of these works they were sufficiently near completion to be used for defensive purposes. Rosecrans had withdrawn his outposts upon the first appearance of the enemy and formed his line over a mile in front of the fortifications. The Confederates advancing on the Chewalla road, soon drove in Stanley's advanced brigade, which, being supported by another, made head for a time. But the Confederates, continually developing their front, soon hotly engaged Davies' division also, and finally the entire line. Pushing their attack with great vigor, they finally compelled Rosecrans to fall back with the loss of two guns, and to occupy the fortifications.

At an early hour on the morning of the 4th, the action was renewed by the Confederates, who opened upon the Union lines with their batteries, and at half-past nine o'clock, Price assaulted the Union centre with desperate determination. A storm of canister and grape was poured upon the Confederate columns, but with only partial effect. Cheered on by their officers, they renewed the attack, now become general, and soon succeeded in breaking Davies' division and in forcing the head of their column into the town. But Rosecrans concentrated a heavy fire of artillery upon them, and pushing forward the Tenth Ohio, and Fifth Minnesota regiments, followed closely by Sullivan's brigade, succeeded in driving the Confederates beyond the works and in re-establishing Davies' line. In the meanwhile Van Dorn had formed the right of his army into column of attack, and under cover of a heavy skirmish line, was leading it in person to the assault of the Union left. But Rosecrans was ready on that side also. Stanley's division and the heavy guns of Battery Robinet, manned by the veterans of the First Regular infantry, made answer to the Confederate musketry, and with round shot, shell, grape and canister, played dire havoc among the advancing troops. But still they held their forward course till within fifty yards of our national works. Here they received a deadly rifle fire, and after struggling bravely for a minute to face it, they were compelled to fall back. Again the Confederate leaders led their men forward, to the very ditches and parapets of the defenses, but again were they bloodily repulsed; this time, however, to be followed by the gallant soldiers of Ohio and Missouri, who, seeing the enemy falter, poured over the works and drove them, routed and broken, back to the woods from which they had advanced. The battle had spent its fury, the Confederates were no longer able to make head, and lost no time in withdrawing their disorganized battalions to a place of safety. They left dead, upon the field, 1,420 officers and men, and more than 5,000 wounded, besides losing 2,248 prisoners, 41 colors and 2 guns. The next day Rosecans, reinforced by McPherson's brigade, began the pursuit, but he had lost eighteen hours and could not regain the advantage which had thus escaped. The following extract from Grant's order of congratulation tells the rest of the story:

> The enemy chose his own time and place of attack, and knowing the troops of the West as he does, and with great facilities of knowing their numbers, never would have made the attempt, except with a superior force numerically. But for the undaunted bravery of officers and soldiers, who have yet to learn defeat, the efforts of the enemy must have proven successful.
>
> Whilst one division of the army, under Major-General Rosecrans, was resisting and repelling the onslaught of the Confederate hosts at Corinth, another from Bolivar, under Major-General Hurlbut, was marching upon the enemy's rear, driving in their pickets and cavalry, and attracting the attention of a large force of infantry and artillery. On the following day, under Major-General Ord, these forces advanced with unsurpassed gallantry, driving the enemy back across the Hatchie, over ground where it is almost incredible that a superior force should be driven by an inferior, capturing two of the batteries, (eight guns,) many hundred small arms, and several hundred prisoners.
>
> To these two divisions of the army all praise is due, and will be awarded by a grateful country.
>
> Between them there should be, and I trust are, the warmest bonds of brotherhood. Each was risking life in the same cause, and, on this occasion, risking it also to save and assist the other. No troops could do more than these separate armies. Each did all possible for it to do in the places assigned it.
>
> As in all great battles, so in this, it becomes our fate to mourn the loss of many brave and faithful officers and soldiers, who have given up their lives as a sacrifice for a great principle. The nation mourns for them.

In this campaign of fifteen days, although weakened by detachments sent to Buell and hampered by imperative instructions from Halleck to hold the points which had been garrisoned under his orders, Grant had fought and won two battles, against superior forces of the enemy, and had shown his capacity, if permitted to concentrate his forces and leave conquered territory to take care of itself, to assume the offensive with ample force to sweep every vestige of Confederate power from Mississippi. This is the only period in his military career when he was compelled to receive attack rather than give it, and nothing could have been more galling to his feelings.

On the 16th of October, 1862, General Grant's department was extended so as to embrace the State of Mississippi



DIAGRAMS SHOWING THE POSITIONS OF THE ARMIES AT THE BATTLE OF MURFREESBORO' OR STONE RIVER.

as far as Vicksburg, and on assuming command he issued the following orders:

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
JACKSON, TENN., *October 25th*, 1862.

[*General Orders No.* 1.]

I. In compliance with General Orders, No. 159, A. G. O., War Department, of date October 16th, 1862, the undersigned hereby assumes command of the Department of the Tennessee, which includes Cairo, Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, Northern Mississippi, and the portions of Kentucky and Tennessee west of the Tennessee river.

II. Head-quarters of the Department of the Tennessee will remain, until further orders, at Jackson, Tennessee.

III. All orders of the District of West Tennessee will continue in force in the department.

U. S. GRANT,
*Major-General commanding.*

On the 1st of November he issued a lengthy order establishing certain important regulations in regard to the movements of trains, limiting the allowance of baggage and camp equipage, and otherwise placing his army in such a condition that it could move in the enemy's country with the greatest activity, and not be encumbered with long lines of wagons, as has too frequently been the case during the progress of the rebellion.

A day or two before this last order was issued, a large body of cavalry had made a successful reconnoissance below Ripley, and had occupied that place and Orizaba, and on the 4th of November, General Grant, with several divisions of the army, occupied La Grange, and established his head-quarters there.

On the 8th of November, 1862, he ordered a force, consisting of about ten thousand infantry under command of General McPherson, and about fifteen hundred cavalry under Colonel Lee, to make a reconnoissance for the purpose of ascertaining the exact position of the enemy. Near Lamar, a village about twelve miles south of La Grange, the cavalry encountered the enemy's pickets, and soon afterwards a force of cavalry, whom, after a short skirmish, they drove into the hills. One portion of Colonel Lee's force was subsequently sent down towards Hudsonville, while he himself, with about seven hundred of his men, attacked the Confederates and compelled them to retreat, leaving their dead and wounded in the hands of the nationals. For his gallant conduct on this and several previous occasions, Colonel Lee was recommended by General Grant for promotion.

On the 9th of November, stringent orders were issued, having for their object the prevention of depredations by the troops, and authorizing the stoppage of the pay of entire divisions for the full amount of damages committed by any soldier to whom the act could not be definitely traced. On the 11th of the month the officers of General Grant's staff were officially announced; on the 14th, a camp for the reception of fugitive slaves was established at Grand Junction; two days later, one of the provisions of the order of the 9th was enforced, by the levy of about twelve hundred dollars upon the Twentieth Illinois regiment, to reimburse certain store-keepers for property stolen and injured by a portion of the regiment, the identity of the actual criminals being undiscovered; and on the 19th, an order was promulgated, requiring persons, before purchasing cotton or other Southern products, to have a special permit from the local provost-marshal; prohibiting purchasers from going beyond the lines to trade; and granting licenses to loyal persons within the department to keep for sale to residents who have taken the oath of allegiance, articles "of prime necessity for families."

# CHAPTER V.

## WAR OF THE REBELLION—*Continued.*

After the battle of Corinth—Reasons for Grant's inaction—Reinforcements—The expedition to the Yazoo—Sherman and Porter—Grant to move against Pemberton—Holly Springs—Van Dorn's raid—Holly Springs captured—Murphy's cowardice—Forrest's raid—Grant's supplies cut off—Murphy dismissed the army—Sherman and Porter on their way down the Mississippi—McClernand's appointment—Sherman and Porter at the mouth of the Yazoo—Vicksburg—Walnut Hills—Haines' Bluff—Chickasaw bayou—Dangerous battle-ground—The preparations of the Confederates—Barfield's plantation—General Frank P. Blair—The morning of the 29th of November—The attack—Blair and Thayer—Their bravery—Morgan's failure—Morgan L. Smith wounded—Blair, Thayer, and DeCourcy compelled to fall back—The Sixth Missouri—Sherman mortified—Another attack resolved upon—End of the second campaign against Vicksburg—Reflections—Sherman's mistake—Blair the hero of Chickasaw bayou—Back at the mouth of the Yazoo—Arrival of McClernand—Sherman superseded—McClernand's General Order No. 1—Arkansas post—At the mouth of the White river—The Arkansas river—Fort Hindman—Strength of the fortress—Landing of the troops—Porter and his gunboats—The morning of the 11th of December—The guns of the fort silenced—Steele's men performing prodigies of valor—Morgan's advance interrupted by the ravine—Bravery of Burbridge—The prize of victory—McClernand's report—Little Rock—Des Arc and Duval's Bluff captured—Fort Hindman dismantled and blown up—The army and the flotilla at Napoleon—Instructions from Grant—Back at Milliken's Bend.

AFTER the battle of Corinth, on the 4th of October, 1862, the army, under General Grant, fell back to the position which it formerly occupied, and remained in comparative inactivity until the beginning of November. It was stationed from Memphis to Bridgeport, Tennessee, along the Memphis and Charleston railroad. Its strong points were Memphis, Grand Junction, and Corinth. The army was arranged in four divisions. Grant's head-quarters were at Jackson, Tennessee, a point in the West where the Central Mississippi railroad unites with the Mobile and Ohio.

General Grant had not abandoned the plan which was inaugurated at Henry and Donelson. His whole soul was bent on the capture of Vicksburg. The removal of Halleck to Washington had devolved upon him the entire care of the department of the Tennessee, which included, in addition to Cairo, Forts Henry and Donelson, the whole of Northern Mississippi, and those portions of Tennessee and Kentucky west of the Tennessee river. The army which had fought and won at Shiloh, at Corinth, and at Iuka, had been greatly weakened, a large proportion of its strength having been sent to Kentucky to resist the invasion of Bragg. It was necessary, therefore, for Grant, while perfecting his plans and rearranging his troops, to wait for reinforcements. As soon as the reinforcements arrived, he was ready to move.

The national gunboats had swept the Mississippi from Cairo to Memphis; and, between those two points, every Confederate stronghold had been deserted or destroyed. Farragut, with a portion of his fleet, had pushed his way up to Vicksburg after the capture of New Orleans. He was accompanied by General F. Williams, with an infantry force of four regiments. While Farragut bombarded the city, Williams was cutting a canal, with a view of diverting the waters of the Mississippi from their proper channel, thus leaving Vicksburg high and dry on all sides. The siege lasted some seventy days. It was all to no purpose. Farragut, who failed to make any serious impression on the Confederate works, began to fear for his own safety. The canal, also, proved a complete failure. The fleet and the land force both found it necessary to retire, and Vicksburg remained to obstruct the navigation of the great river.

On the 4th of November Grant began to move. He transferred his head-quarters from Jackson to La Grange, some few miles to the west of Grand Junction. He soon discovered that the Confederates, under General John C. Pemberton, who had superseded Van Dorn, were in considerable strength immediately in his front. Pemberton, in fact, had taken a strong position behind two lines of defences, the outer being the Yallabusha, and the inner being the Tallahatchie—two streams which, after their junction, form the Yazoo river.

CHARGE OF THE FEDERALS AT CORINTH

On the 8th he sent out McPherson with 10,000 infantry and 1,500 cavalry, with instructions to drive from Lamar a body of Confederates who were holding the railroad. McPherson accomplished his task in the most effectual manner, the Confederates having been driven back as far as Holly Springs.

About the 17th of November Grant summoned Sherman to meet him at Columbus, and at the interview which there took place the views of the two generals were freely exchanged, Grant explaining to Sherman his plan and giving him his orders. It was at Sherman's suggestion that a portion of Curtis' army, which, as we have seen in a previous chapter, was stationed at Helena, should be brought over to Delta, with a view to co-operate with Grant in his general movement towards Vicksburg. They numbered some 7,000 men, and were under the joint command of Generals A. P. Hovey and C. C. Washburne. Ordered to scour the country to the south and east, in the rear of the Confederate army, to destroy the railroads and bridges, so as to cut off supplies, and generally to prepare the way for Grant's advance, they accomplished their task in the most effectual manner, and then returned to the Mississippi. Pemberton, on discovering that the railroads were badly damaged, and that the rolling stock was destroyed, Grant meanwhile pressing on his front, deemed it prudent to fall back on Grenada.

On the 1st of December Grant was at Holly Springs. On the 5th he was at Oxford, where he established his head-quarters.

On the 5th of December, Sherman on his way to join Grant, and bringing with him from Memphis some 16,000 men, arrived at College Hill, about ten miles from Oxford, whence he reported to his chief. On the 8th he received from Grant a letter, requesting his immediate presence at Oxford, and enclosing a message from Halleck to Grant, authorizing the latter to move his troops as he thought best, to retain till further orders all Curtis' troops now in his department, to telegraph to General Allen in St. Louis for all the steamboats he might need, and to ask Porter to co-operate with his gunboats. On his arrival at Oxford Sherman found Grant surrounded by his staff. The new plan was discussed and approved. It will be seen that Grant had made up his mind that, for the safety of his men as well as for the final success of the expedition, it was necessary to take full advantage of the river communication with Vicksburg.

Grant had been left complete control of the movement, Halleck having offered no special advice and imposed no conditions. Sherman, who commanded the right wing of Grant's army, was appointed to the command of the river expedition, and received his instructions. Grant desired Sherman appointed to this command in preference to McClernand, who had influence with the President, and was known to be intriguing for an independent command on the Mississippi. Sherman was ordered to take command of the forces at Memphis, and those also at Helena and Delta, under General Steele, to descend the river by transports, with the gunboat fleet as a convoy, commanded by Admiral Porter, and to attack Vicksburg by the 29th of November. McClernand was to take the forces at Cairo, and to proceed to Vicksburg, so as to be in time to lend Sherman effective aid as soon as he made the attack. Grant himself was to move rapidly on the Confederates to the north and east of Vicksburg, to follow them if they should retreat towards the city, and to take part with Sherman, if necessary, in the reduction of the place. Grant knew that it was unsafe to trust for supplies solely to the enemy's country. He had, therefore, repaired the Central Mississippi railroad as far as Oxford, where, for the present, he had established his head-quarters; and Holly Springs, which was entrusted to the care of Colonel R. C. Murphy, was retained as a grand depot and hospital.

General Grant had taken great care that no misfortune should befall him in his rear. He had left small but adequate garrisons at Columbus, Humboldt, Trenton, Jackson, Bolivar, Corinth, Holly Springs, Coldwater, Davis' Mills and Middlebury. He had taken particular care of Holly Springs, for he knew that the treasures at that place presented a powerful temptation to Van Dorn. On the night of the 19th he warned Murphy of his danger, and informed him that he had sent 4,000 men to enable him to repel any attack which might be made upon him. Murphy, it would seem, paid little heed to the instructions given him. He made no extra preparations to resist the enemy.

On the morning of the 20th, at daybreak, Van Dorn, executing a brilliant cavalry operation, rushed upon the place with tremendous fury. Murphy offered no resistance. The Second Illinois, however, refused to surrender, and gallantly fought their way out with a loss of only seven men. Murphy, with the rest of his men, accepted a parole. Van Dorn seized all the property, valued at over $1,500,000, taking with him what he could carry and destroying the remainder. He set fire to the buildings, not even sparing the hospital, which was filled with sick and wounded soldiers. This was the second time that Murphy had been guilty of such conduct. He did the same thing at Iuka. General Grant was wild with rage. It was his opinion that with "all the cotton, public stores, and substantial buildings about the depot," Murphy ought to have been able to keep the assailants at bay until relief arrived. It was only four hours after the catastrophe when the 4,000 men sent to his aid arrived on the spot. Grant was particularly incensed at Murphy for accepting a parole for himself and his men. A cartel had been agreed to by the rival commanders; and it had been stipulated that each party should take care of his own prisoners. If Murphy had refused parole for himself and men, Van Dorn would have been "compelled to release them unconditionally, or to have abandoned all further aggressive movements for the time being." In a severe order, on the 9th of January, General Grant dismissed Murphy from the army, the order to take effect "from December 20th, the date of his cowardly and disgraceful conduct."

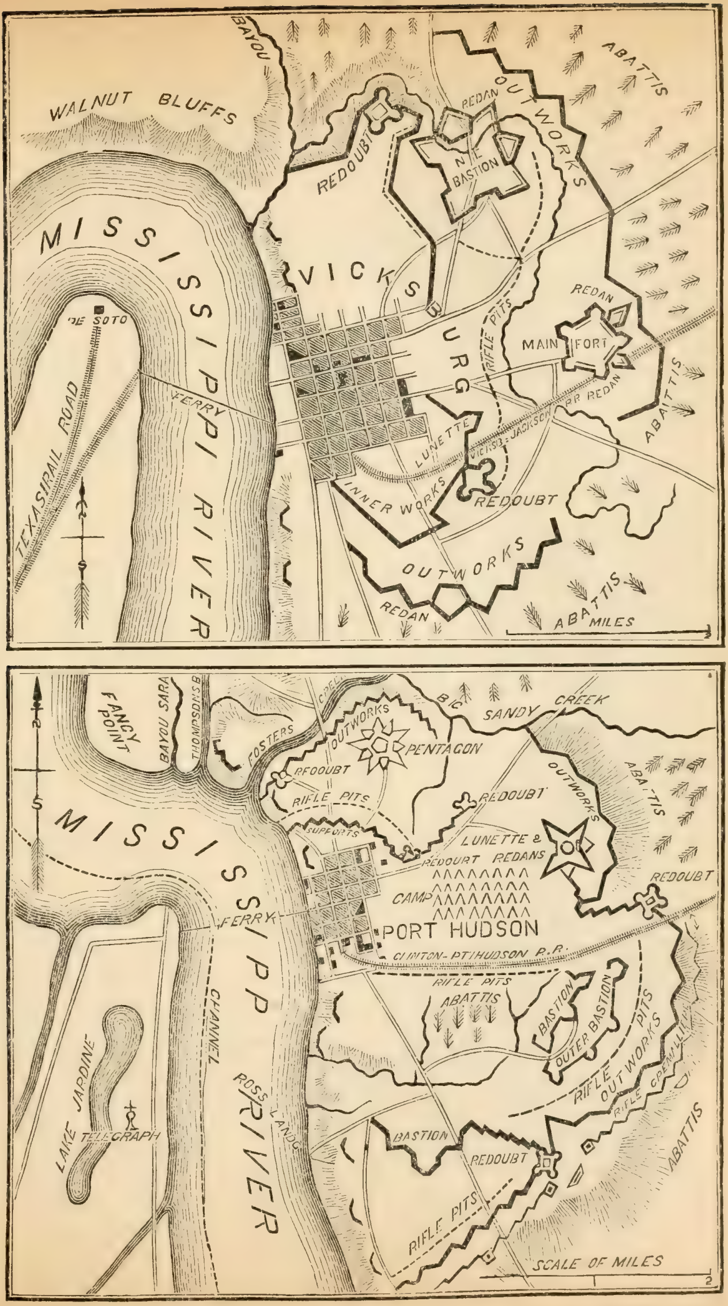
On the same day that Van Dorn made his raid on Holly Springs, an attack was made by a Confederate force on Davis' Mills, a little farther to the north. In the neighborhood of Jackson, Tennessee, a vital point in Grant's line of communications, an attack was made by a body of cavalry, under Forrest, on the 19th.

General Grant's plan of the campaign had failed. On the 20th, the very day on which Van Dorn and Forrest struck the blow which compelled Grant to fall back and abandon his part of the joint undertaking, Sherman took his departure from Memphis. Taking with him over 20,000 troops in transports, he left, as a guard to the city, a strong force of infantry and cavalry, and the siege guns in position, with a complement of gunners. On the following day, at Friar's Point, he was joined by Admiral Porter, in his flag-ship, "Black Hawk," with the "Marmora," Captain Getty, and the "Conestoga," Captain Selfridge, which were to act as a convoy. The remainder of Porter's fleet was at the mouth of the Yazoo. On the same evening, the 21st, the troops at Helena embarked in transports and came to Friar's Point. Sherman's force was now at least 30,000 strong. All the arrangements were completed, and the joint expedition was moving down the river the following morning.

On the 18th of December an order from the President reached Grant, directing him to divide all his forces into four army corps, to assign one corps to McClernand, and to place him at the head of the troops destined for the attack upon Vicksburg. Grant could hardly fail to see in this order a blow aimed at himself. It is not much to be wondered at if Grant was staggered by this order, and if he was slow to put it in execution. He was in the midst of his preparations for an onward march. The reconstruction of his army, according to the instructions received, occupied him the whole of the 19th. The disaster at Holly Springs, compelling a backward movement, occurred on the 20th, and the raids of Forrest on the same day deprived him of the use of the telegraph. As it was, Sherman had proceeded down the river before any counter-instructions reached Memphis. If Sherman had any reason to fear a counter-order, his haste to get ready and his prompt departure but revealed the soldierly spirit and true character of the man. As the result proved, it was well for Sherman, well for General Grant, and well for the nation at large that Lincoln's order did not take effect before the 20th of December.

On Christmas day the expedition under Sherman and Porter had reached Milliken's Bend, when Sherman detached Burbridge's brigade, of A. J. Smith's division, to break up the railroad leading from Vicksburg to Shreveport, Louisiana. Leaving A. J. Smith's division to await the arrival, the remaining divisions proceeded, on the 26th, to the mouth of the Yazoo, and up that river to Johnson's plantation, some thirteen miles, and there disembarked. The disembarkation was conducted without any opposition. Steele's division landed farthest up the river, above what is called Chickasaw Bayou; Morgan's division a little lower down, at the house of Johnson, which had been burned by the gunboats on a former occasion; Morgan L. Smith's division below that of Morgan; and A. J. Smith's, which arrived next night, below that of M. L. Smith. The ground on which Sherman now found himself presented obstacles of which formerly he had but a very imperfect conception.

Vicksburg is built on a range of bluffs known as the Walnut Hills. These hills, which take their rise a little below the city, extend for the most part in a northeasterly direction, terminating in Haines' Bluff, a distance of some thirteen or fourteen miles. The configuration of these hills has been compared to the ridge at Inkerman, to which, it is said, they bear, in some particulars, a striking resemblance. Their average height is about two hundred feet. Where the Mississippi touches their base at Vicksburg, and for some miles both above and below, they are precipitous. Along their entire length, indeed, from Vicksburg to Haines' Bluff, their face is very abrupt, and cut up by numerous valleys and ravines. The only approach to the city by land from up the river is by climbing their almost perpendicular front. The ground beyond is high, broken, and somewhat rolling, gradually descending to the Big Black river. The Yazoo, which skirts the ridge at Haines' Bluff, about nine miles above Vicksburg by the road, along the foot of the bluffs, flows in a southwestern direction, and



VICKSBURG AND PORT HUDSON—SCENE OF GRANT'S GREAT VICTORY.

before discharging its waters into the Mississippi crosses an old arm of the river, which now forms a semicircular lake.

The Yazoo evidently, in times gone by, clung to the foot of the hills, and traces of its former whereabouts are to be seen in the numerous bayous and channels by which the intervening ground is cut up. One of these bayous puts off from the Yazoo about one-third of the distance below Haines' Bluff, running at right angles with the river until it approaches the bluffs, when it turns and follows their base until it empties itself into the Mississippi. It is called Chickasaw Bayou. Between the bayou and the hills there was an irregular strip of land, on which the trees had been felled to form an abatis. It was dotted also with rifle-pits. Rifle-trenches abounded, too, along the front of the bluffs, and the heights above were crowned with batteries. About a mile to the northeast of the bayou, and parallel with it, there is a deep slough, which makes a sharp turn as it approaches the bluffs, and enters Chickasaw Bayou at the point where the latter is checked in its course, and turns to flow along the base of the hills. There was thus a fortified line some twelve or thirteen miles in length formed of abatis and rifle-pits, with an impassable ditch in front, and terminating in the powerful fixed batteries at Haines' Bluff on the one hand, and in the heavy batteries and field-works above Vicksburg on the other. The land lying between the Yazoo and the Chickasaw was not only low and swampy, it was, except in one or two places where there were plantations, densely wooded. The distance from Johnson's Landing to the Chickasaw was about six miles.

General Sherman's army was organized in four divisions. The first division, comprising three brigades, was under Brigadier-General George W. Morgan; second division, three brigades, under Brigadier-General Morgan L. Smith; third division, three brigades, under Brigadier-General A. J. Smith; fourth division, four brigades, under Brigadier-General Frederick Steele. The brigade commanders of the fourth division were Generals Frank P. Blair, John M. Thayer, C. E. Hovey, and Colonel Hassendeubel. Ac-

VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI.

cording to Sherman's plan of attack General Steele was to hold the extreme left, General Morgan the left centre, General M. L. Smith the right centre, and General A. J. Smith the extreme right. As the latter general had not yet arrived from Milliken's Bend, where we left him waiting for Burbridge, General Frank P. Blair, with his brigade, was detached from Steele's division and placed on Morgan's right.

On the 27th the army began to move. General Steele, who had been ordered to take position on the farther side of the slough above this bayou, experienced great difficulty in landing his troops. On the 27th Blair moved slowly towards the bluffs, his desire being to give Steele time to come into position on the left. He succeeded in silencing one of the enemy's batteries at the point where he expected Steele would be able to join him, and held his ground.

On the 28th the various divisions pressed forward, and the national troops were in full possession on the Yazoo side of the bayou, with one bridge thrown across and with two bridges partially constructed. During the course of the day, while reconnoitering, General M. L. Smith was severely wounded in the hip and compelled to retire to his steamboat.

On the morning of the 29th all things were in readiness for the attack. It was Sherman's object to make a lodgement on the foot-hills and bluffs abreast of his position, while diversions were being made by the navy at Haines' Bluff, and by the first division directly towards Vicksburg. An attempt was made by A. J. Smith to throw a light-flying bridge over the bayou more to the right. Sherman expected great things from General Morgan, who, as we have seen, commanded the first division, and was to lead the attack in person. Sherman pointed out to him the place where he could pass the bayou, and received for answer: "General, in ten minutes after you give the signal, I'll be on those hills." His position was one of considerable difficulty. The crossing was narrow, and immediately opposite, at the base of the hills, there was a Confederate battery, supported by infantry, posted on the spurs of the hills in the rear. This was the real point of attack, but to distract the attention of the enemy, Sherman's instructions were that the initial movements should be made at the flanks.

It was about noon before the signal was given for a general forward movement across the bayou and towards the enemy's position. A heavy artillery fire was opened all along the national line. It recalled the memory of Iuka and Corinth. The Confederate batteries made a prompt reply, and were soon followed by the infantry, which opened a perfect tempest of lead on the advance ranks of Morgan and A. J. Smith. In the midst of this fierce storm of cannon-shot and musketry De Courcy's brigade, of Morgan's division, succeeded in crossing the bayou; but so terrific was the fire that they took to cover behind the bank, and could not be moved forward. General Blair, meanwhile, had crossed the bayou by the bridge above the angle, and had reached the slough, the bottom of which was quicksand, and the banks of which were covered with felled trees. With great difficulty, and not until his ranks were thrown into some disorder, was the crossing of the slough accomplished. This done, it was necessary before reaching the enemy's works to traverse a sloping plateau, raked by a direct and enfilading fire from heavy artillery, and swept by a storm of bullets from the rifle-pits. Nothing daunted, Blair and his brave brigade went bounding across the plateau. Rushing upon the rifle-pits, they captured the first line and then the second, and made a desperate effort to gain the crest of the hill on which the batteries were planted.

Colonel Thayer, of Steele's division, had followed Blair with his brigade over the same bridge. Entering the abatis at the same point, he turned somewhat to the right, and emerged upon the plateau almost simultaneously with Blair, and about two hundred yards to his right. Unfortunately, however, Thayer found that he was followed by only one regiment: his second regiment, after his movement had commenced, having been ordered to the support of Morgan, and the other two regiments having followed this one by mistake. Thayer discovered the mistake before he had fairly brought his troops into action, but he was too brave a man to halt or hesitate in the circumstances. On he pushed to the right of Blair, and rendered effective aid in the capture of the second line of rifle-pits. Leaving his regiment to hold the position it had won, he hurried back, with Blair's consent, to obtain reinforcements. The moments seemed hours. "It was a struggle," as has been well said, "between three thousand in the open ground below and ten thousand behind intrenchments above." The hillsides bristled with bayonets and blazed with the fire of musketry, while from the angry mouths of huge cannon destruction was poured forth upon the shattered and rapidly thinning ranks of the assailants. Blair, impatient for the return of Thayer, rushed back himself to persuade the advance of more troops. It was all in vain. Both Thayer and himself failed in obtaining reinforcements. No help reached them; no diversion was made in their favor. They had no choice but to order a retreat. Blair and Thayer fell back with a loss of at least one-third of their men; and De Courcy, who had been attacked on the flank by the Seventeenth and Twenty-Sixth Louisiana, lost four flags, three hundred and thirty-two men made prisoners, and about five hundred small arms.

The attack was a complete failure. Somehow the signal for attack was imperfectly understood. Stuart had managed to push across one regiment, the Sixth Missouri, which had orders to undermine the bluff. The position of those men was one which severely tried their faith and patience. They were exposed to the vertical fire of the Confederate sharpshooters who occupied the ridge, and a batallion of the Thirteenth regulars, who were stationed opposite, and who attempted to protect them from the Confederate fire, proved equally dangerous with the enemy above. "Shoot higher!" shouted the nationals below the bluff. "Shoot lower!" cried the Confederates. After dark this regiment was brought back over the bayou. The remainder of Steele's division did not get up in time to be of any assistance to Blair. Morgan failed to make good his promise. He did not even obey his orders. General Sherman was particularly severe on Morgan. To him and to his conduct he attributed the failure of the attack.

Sherman resolved to make another attack, and arrangements were made to push forward General Hovey to the position from which Blair had been driven; Morgan's division, with the brigades of Blair and Thayer, to follow and support. For some reason it was not done, and next morning it was found to be impossible, because of the increased strength of the Confederates at the menaced point. Firing was continued on both sides during Tuesday; and on Wednesday, the 31st, a flag of truce was sent in, and the dead were buried and the wounded cared for.

Sherman was still dissatisfied, and resolved to make another attack. After consulting with Admiral Porter it was agreed that a combined naval and land assault should be made on Haines' Bluff, the key of the Confederate position. Porter was to proceed up the Yazoo with his gunboats and open fire on the bluffs, while General Steele was to land his division out of range of the enemy's guns, then to push forward and take the position by storm. The attack was to be made during the dark hours. By two o'clock on the morning of Thursday, the 1st of January, 1863, the necessary arrangements were completed. A heavy fog, however, had enveloped the entire district, and so dense was it that Porter found it impossible to steer the boats. It was utterly out of the question to make any further efforts. On the night of the 29th of December there had been a tremendous rain-storm; all the low ground was flooded, and the men, who had been bivouacking for five successive days in those wretched swamps without fire, were suffering cruelly from damp and cold. On the 2d of January Sherman placed his troops on board the transports, and the fleet sailed down to the mouth of the Yazoo. Thus ended somewhat ingloriously the second campaign against Vicksburg. Sherman had accomplished nothing. He had, however, made great sacrifices; his loss in killed and wounded and prisoners amounting to nearly 2,000 men. Such was the battle of Chickasaw Bayou, or, as it is sometimes named, the battle of Haines' Bluff.

The Confederates were jubilant after this first victory. It was undoubtedly a great triumph. General Pemberton, not without reason, felt proud that he had baffled Grant in person, compelling him to retreat, and that he had temporarily, at least, saved Vicksburg by the defeat of the greatest of Grant's lieutenants. These rejoicings in the South were not unmixed with sorrow. The more thoughtful of the Confederates knew that defeat only intensified the purpose of the North. Vicksburg had not yet fallen; but Vicksburg, they felt, was doomed.

At the mouth of the Yazoo General McClernand was waiting with orders from the War Department to take command of the entire expedition. That general, it will be remembered, was appointed to this command by the direct influence of President Lincoln. With a modesty which became a man of his high spirit, Sherman accepted the situation, and explained to McClernand what had been done, accepting the entire responsibility of the failure. Referring to the trains of cars which could be heard coming into Vicksburg almost every hour, and the fresh troops seen on the bluffs, he gave it as his opinion that Pemberton's army must have been pressed back, and that Grant must be at hand. He then learned, for the first time, what had befallen Grant; McClernand stating that Grant was not coming at all, that the depot at Holly Springs had been captured by Van Dorn, that Grant had fallen back from Coffeeville and Oxford to Holly Springs and La Grange, and that when he passed down, Quimby's division, of Grant's army, was actually at Memphis for stores. By common consent, all further attempts against Vicksburg for the present were abandoned; and the entire force left the Yazoo and retired to Milliken's Bend on the Mississippi.

On the 4th of January McClernand issued his General Order No. 1, assuming command of what was to be called the Army of the Mississippi, and, following the plan which had been agreed upon at Washington, and which had been adopted in the armies of the East, divided his forces into two corps. The first was to be commanded by General

Morgan, and was to be composed of his own and A. J. Smith's divisions; and the second, to consist of Steele's and Stuart's divisions, was to be commanded by Sherman. The rest of the Army of the Tennessee was similarly divided, Hurlbut being placed in command of one corps, and McPherson in command of the other. The supreme command of these four corps was retained by Grant.

Before the arrival of McClernand, Sherman and Porter had agreed upon a plan for the reduction of Fort Hindman, or, as it was called, Arkansas Post. About forty or forty-five miles from the mouth of the Arkansas there is a piece of elevated ground, the first high land on the banks of the river after leaving the Mississippi. At this point the river makes a sharp bend. Here the French had a trading-post and a settlement as far back as 1685. The Confederates had taken advantage of the place to erect some fortifications, the principal work being named Fort Hindman, after the famous guerrilla chief. Behind these works, they kept several steamboats, which were wont to sweep down the river and intercept supplies. Sherman had experienced some inconvenience from the existence of this stronghold. He had left Memphis in such haste that he had not been able to take with him a sufficient supply of ammunition for his guns. The "Blue Wing," a small steamer carrying a mail, towing some coal barges, and having with her the necessary supplies, had been sent after him. This boat had been pounced upon at the mouth of the Arkansas, captured and, with all her supplies, taken up to Fort Hindman. It was Sherman's conviction, from the moment he learned of the fate of the "Blue Wing," that before any operation could be successfully conducted against Vicksburg by way of the Mississippi, it would be necessary to reduce Fort Hindman, and make an end of the Arkansas pirates. Sherman communicated his purpose to McClernand, and asked permission to go up the Arkansas and clear out the post. It was Sherman's expectation that he would be sent, with his own corps, alone on this business; but McClernand concluded to go himself, and to take with him his whole force.

The troops, which had not yet disembarked from the transports, were ordered to remain on board. Sherman's corps was in two divisions. The first, which consisted of three brigades, commanded respectively by Blair, Hovey and Thayer, was under Brigadier-General Frederick Steele. The second, which consisted of two brigades, commanded by Colonels G. A. Smith and T. Kirby Smith, was under Brigadier-General Stuart. The transports with the troops on board, convoyed by the gunboats, of which three were iron-clads, proceeded up the Mississippi. The force under McClernand amounted to some 26,000 or 27,000 men, comprising forty regiments of infantry, ten batteries with several guns of heavy calibre, and about 1,500 horse. On the 8th of January the expedition was at the mouth of the White river. On the morning of the 9th of January the expedition, having ascended the White river, had reached the mouth of the "cut-off." There was no delay in making the passage through to the Arkansas, a distance of about eight miles. Steaming up the Arkansas, the boats reached Notrib's Farm, about four miles below Fort Hindman, shortly after four o'clock in the afternoon. Here they halted; and during the night the artillery and wagons were got on shore, the troops disembarking in the morning. Arkansas Post is on the north side or left bank of the Arkansas, at a point where the river makes a sharp elbow by flowing north, then east, then again abruptly to the south. The principal work, as we have said, was Fort Hindman. Its guns commanded the river as it stretched to the east and after it bent toward the south. This fort was a regular square-bastioned work, one hundred yards each exterior side, with a deep ditch about fifteen feet wide, and a parapet eighteen feet high. It was armed with twelve guns, two of which were eight-inch and one nine-inch. The garrison, which numbered only 5,000 men, was under the command of General T. J. Churchill, who was under the direction of General T. H. Holmes, then commanding at Little Rock. Churchill had received instructions to "hold on until help should arrive or all were dead."

The disparity of forces was great. It was 26,000 or

27,000 against 5,000. The strong position held by the Confederates, however, did much to compensate for inferiority of numbers. The fort itself was strong; and its approaches were of the most difficult description. Fronting on the river, it was protected on the west by a bayou, on the east by a swamp which did not quite reach the edge of the water. Between the fort and the swamp there was a ravine which stretched down to the river; and the front of this ravine was well fortified. The position had thus to be approached through the elevated ground which lay between the bayou and the swamp. The encampments of the Confederates were established in front of the fort, in the centre of the plateau dotted with clumps of trees. There was an outer line of intrenchments which stretched across the entire ground.

On the 10th of January, the army was kept busy endeavoring to get a position in rear of the fort, Sherman on the right and Morgan on the left. Some mistakes were made, in consequence of a want of knowledge of the ground. In the afternoon, and while the land forces were still seeking position, Porter was making good use of his flotilla. As he moved up the river, he shelled the rifle-pits along the levee, and drove the Confederates inside the fort. When about four hundred yards from Fort Hindman, he brought into action his three iron-clads—the Baron de Kalb, the Louisville and the Cincinnati; and for half an hour the firing was kept up, the guns of the fort replying vigorously.

On the morning of the 11th McClernand, who had his quarters still on board the Tigress, had come up and taken a position in the woods to the rear. Early in the forenoon, he sent a message to Sherman, asking him why the attack was not begun. It had been understood beforehand that the opening of fire by the gunboats on the fort should be the signal for a general attack. Sherman replied that all was ready; that he was within five or six hundred yards of the enemy's works; that the next movement must be a direct assault along the whole line; and that he was waiting to hear from the gunboats. Half an hour or thereabout afterwards was heard the clear, ringing sound of the navy guns, the firing becoming louder and more rapid as they neared the fort. The national field-pieces opened fire along the whole line. The thunder was terrific. The Confederates, most of whom were Texan volunteers, made a gallant resistance. A regiment of cavalry, abandoning their horses, fought on foot, and rendered, for a time, effective service in resisting the advance of the nationals. It was impossible for them to resist the fierce onset made by overwhelming numbers. Sherman pressed forward on the right, Morgan on the left, each driving the Confederates back, and gradually obtaining possession of the wooded ground in front of the newly-erected parapet, but not without considerable loss. The Confederate firing was heavy; but the national soldiers took advantage of the clumps of trees, and felled logs to shield themselves from the storm of bullets. Gradually the edge of the woods was reached; the ground was clear; and there was nothing to protect them from the decimating fire of the enemy.

Meanwhile, the gunboats were pouring a murderous fire upon the fort, and sweeping the adjoining ground above and below with grape and shrapnell. Porter had brought into action not only the ironclads, but the ram Monarch, Commander Ellet, and even the frailer vessels, as he tells us, that amid the clouds of smoke they might "do the best they could." It was not long until the effects of this terrific firing began to be visible. All the adjoining ground was cleared of the foe; nearly all the artillery horses in the fort were killed; and one by one the guns were being silenced. Shortly after three o'clock the firing from the fort altogether ceased. The cannonading, however, was kept up by the gunboats. Porter, who had taken a regiment on board, was proceeding with the Black Hawk to attempt a landing, and to take possession, when a white flag was raised in token of surrender. He immediately ordered the firing to cease.

He left the troops in the clearing at the edge of the woods, fully exposed to the enemy's fire from the parapet outside the fort. This line had three sections of field-guns; and they were handled, according to the testimony of Sherman himself, with great skill and energy. Hovey was wounded; Thayer had his horse shot under him; and so thick and fast was the round-shot falling about Sherman and his staff, that they felt it necessary to scatter, Sherman himself dismounting. Morgan, at this crisis, unfortunately found himself in front of the ravine, beyond which it was impossible to pass. Sherman was now well engaged on the right; and Morgan, finding himself thus hindered, sent a few regiments to his aid. The burden of the fight, as at Chickasaw, had fallen on the brigades which now composed the division of General Steele. Blair and Thayer and Hovey performed prodigies of valor.

On the right, the Confederate batteries had been all but silenced. Morgan's men, on the left, had done splendid work before they were brought to a standstill at the ravine. A. J. Smith's brigades had pressed the Confederates back, step by step, until they were within two hundred yards of the fort. Burbridge expressly distinguished himself. But for the ravine, an attempt would have been made by the One Hundred and Twentieth Ohio to scale, and carry by assault, the eastern side of the fort. Almost at this moment, however, Sherman, as his attention was arrested by the flags of the gunboats visible above the parapet of Fort Hindman, saw a man jump on the nearer parapet at the point where entered the road which divided the peninsula. "Cease firing!" he ordered; and the words were passed along the line with amazing rapidity. The firing soon ceased. In a few seconds the fort was invaded on every side by the national troops. Colonel Dayton was ordered forward to the place where was hung out the large white flag; and as soon as his horse was seen on the parapet, Sherman advanced with his staff. It appeared afterwards that the white flag was hung out without even the knowledge of Churchill. It made little difference. The battle had really been won on the land as well as on the river side of the fort. The surrender was subsequently made in due form—Colonel Dunnington, the commander of the fort, surrendering to Admiral Porter, and Colonel

Churchill surrendering to the military authorities. The national loss in killed, wounded and missing amounted to 977 men. On the Confederate side there were only sixty killed and eighty wounded. Five thousand soldiers, with their officers, made prisoners, and all the property of the place, including some seventeen guns, constituted the prize of victory. General Burbridge was singled out for the honor of planting the national standard on Fort Hindman. Such was the battle of Arkansas Post.

# CHAPTER VI.

## WAR OF THE REBELLION—*Continued.*

The Proclamation of Emancipation—A turning-point in history—"Vicksburg must be taken"—Grant at Young's Point—The Walnut Hills—The Yazoo—Haines' Bluff—Lake Providence—Grant disappointed, but not discouraged—Sherman's opinion—Grant's resolve—The new movement commenced—New Carthage—A tedious and difficult march—Grierson's raid—Grand Gulf—The gunboats open fire—The place too strong—Rodney—Bruinsburg—A landing effected—A useful diversion—Sherman at Haines' Bluff—Safe on the east side—Grant's self-reliance—Port Gibson—The battle—The Confederates fall back—Hankinson's Ferry—"The City of an Hundred Hills"—Jackson evacuated—Grant marches against Pemberton—Pemberton prepares for battle—Arrival of the National advance—The battle of Champion Hills begun—Logan's success—The battle won after a terrible struggle—McClernand too late—McClernand and Osterhaus ordered in pursuit—The Big Black river—The burning of the bridges—The bridges reconstructed—On to Vicksburg—Porter on the Yazoo—Sherman at Haines' Bluff—The fall of Vicksburg secured—Pemberton's situation—The assault of the 19th of May—A failure—The assault of the 22d—Grant's reasons for avoiding further delay—Terrible fighting—The bravery of the defenders—Grant resolves to take the place by a regular siege—Reinforcements—The investment completed—Siege operations commenced—Pemberton's situation becoming desperate—Pemberton's vacillation—Distress of the garrison—The mining operations well advanced—The 25th of June—The first mine fired—The storming columns—The assault on Fort Hill—A terrific cannonade—A repulse—The 1st of July—The destruction of the Redan—An intercepted letter—Promised aid to Pemberton—Grant's instructions to Sherman—The 3d of July—The white flag—General Bowen and Colonel Montgomery—A letter from Pemberton—He asks for an armistice and the appointment of commissioners—Grant refuses—"Unconditional surrender"—The interview between Grant and Pemberton—Under the old oak, in view of both armies—The surrender—The Fourth of July—A great triumph for Grant—The first soldier of the Republic—The results of the campaign.

THE opening of the year 1863 was made memorable by the Proclamation of Emancipation. One of the immediate results of this proclamation of emancipation was the organization of colored troops. Towards the close of 1863 there were some fifty thousand colored men in actual service;

and this number was tripled before the close of 1864. It was not, however, for some time to come that their influence on the field began to be felt. During the year 1863, although colored troops, as we shall see, took part at the siege of Port Hudson, and in other engagements, their effect was comparatively unimportant. The introduction of colored men into the army was regarded by many in the light of a fresh revolution.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

The situation was now ripe for the vigorous prosecution of the siege of Vicksburg. The popular cry was "On to Vicksburg!" and Grant's emphatic dictum was "Vicksburg must be taken." The army under General Grant had been greatly reinforced; and the general feeling was that if the "Queen City of the Bluff" was to be reduced, it was to be done by the hero of Donelson and Shiloh, of Iuka and Corinth.

Grant was to meet McClernand and Porter, with the fleet and transports, at Milliken's Bend. On the 18th of January, that meeting took place. McClernand and Sherman made immediate preparations to go down the Mississippi to Young's Point; and Grant, without delay, returned to Memphis, in order to hasten the transportation of his troops to the neighborhood of Vicksburg. McClernand assumed command of what was named the Army of the Mississippi, after the battle of the Chickasaw, by virtue of a confidential order from the War Department. In this capacity, however, he was subject to orders from General Grant, who was at the head of the Department of the Tennessee. By an order of December 18th, 1862, from the War Department, the Western armies had been grouped into five corps, viz.: the Thirteenth, Major-General McClernand; the Fourteenth, Major-General George H. Thomas, in Middle Tennessee; the Fifteenth, Major-General W. T. Sherman; the Sixteenth, Major-General Hurlbut, at Memphis; and the Seventeenth, Major-General McPherson, back of Memphis. This entire force was placed under the control of General Grant. On the 2d of February, 1863, the greater number of the troops intended to be used in the operations against Vicksburg having already reached their destination, Grant arrived at Young's Point, and took command.

The failure of one plan never discouraged Grant. He had not been successful in the first movements against Vicksburg, but that was simply an incentive to make another effort. The same spirit which he had manifested at Belmont when he was surrounded, at Donelson when his right was repulsed, at Shiloh when his whole army was driven back two miles, animated him still. The very day that his communications were cut at Holly Springs, he began his preparations for the campaign on the Mississippi. Vicksburg was the great stronghold of rebellion at the West. It barred and commanded the great river; when it fell, the Mississippi would be opened. As long as it stood, the strength of the insurgents was defiant; the Northwest was cut off from the sea. The Confederates threw immense bodies of troops into the State of Mississippi, to defend and to cover the town; they sent their best generals to command these troops; they boldly proclaimed Vicksburg to be impregnable.

The town stands on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, about nine miles south of the mouth of the Yazoo. Both rivers are circuitous in a remarkable degree. The Mississippi turns and winds so that it runs toward every point of the compass within a distance of twenty miles. Just below the mouth of the Yazoo one of the most extraordinary of these bends occurs, the river running first southeast, then northeast, and then with a sudden curve turning to the southwest. Vicksburg is situated just south of this last bend, on a long line of bluffs that stretches from the Yazoo southwest for fifty miles. These hills rise several hundred feet above the level of the stream, and reach two or three miles into the interior. They are extremely rugged and precipitous, particularly towards the river, so that the streets in Vicksburg are built in terraces one above the other, to the summit of the ridge. The entire country on both banks of the Mississippi, outside of this narrow line of hills, is one great marsh, thickly overgrown with underbrush and forest trees, and intersected with innumerable shallow streams, a region about as unfit for offensive military operations as it is possible to conceive. This country was now completely flooded by the great rise in the Mississippi, and the water stood to the depth of several feet, everywhere except on the bluffs, and along the narrow artificial banks called levees, erected by the inhabitants to protect their lands from the annual inundation. This year the deluge was greater than had been known for many seasons.

The works reached south from the Yazoo to a point on the Mississippi called Warrenton, a distance of twenty miles. They were defended on the water side by twenty-eight guns, which commanded all approach by the river. Every effort had been made to strengthen the fortifications. Nature herself had done her best to render Vicksburg impregnable; these abrupt hills overlooking a flat country for miles, the country submerged in water, a great river immediately in front of the ridge, were in themselves extraordinary obstacles; but when to these were added an army of sixty thousand men, either in the town or in the region covering it, and all available for its defence; rifle-pits, formidable forts, obstructions in the river, and an armament of over two hundred cannon, the difficulties in the way of Grant seemed almost insurmountable. To oppose them he had a force at this time of about fifty thousand troops. Admiral Porter's co-operating fleet of gunboats numbered sixty vessels of all classes, carrying two hundred and eighty guns. Not half of these, however, were retained near Vicksburg; the others were occupied in patrolling the river to Cairo, a distance of over six hundred miles.

Grant's first business was to get a footing on the eastern bank of the river, where his troops could be established on dry land; but the Confederates held every foot of tenable ground, and it was impossible to attack them in front with any chance of success. The gunboats could be of no assistance, for the enemy had a plunging fire, and could rake the river in every direction, and transports could not approach close enough to land troops, as a single shot might sink a steamer with her whole freight of soldiers. A landing had already been tried by Sherman on the Yazoo, twelve miles above the town, where the line of bluffs strikes that river at Haines' Bluff; but though conducted with skill and gallantry, it had signally failed in January, so that it seemed as if Grant's ordinary strategy of direct and bold attack must now be abandoned.

First of all it was determined to dig a canal across the peninsula formed by the bend in the river in front of Vicksburg. The land on the opposite side runs out in the shape of a tongue not more than a mile or two across; the plan was to cut through this, and let the waters of the Mississippi in, so far from the town that transports could pass through this artificial channel into the river below Vicksburg, and land troops on the south side of the city. The engineers hoped that the whole course of the river might be diverted from its usual direction by this canal, or at least that sufficient water could be induced to run through to float vessels of draught sufficient for Grant's purposes.

Accordingly, for two months thousands of soldiers and negroes were at work digging, in full sight of the besieged city. The troops were encamped all along the west bank of the river immediately behind the levees. Their tents were frequently submerged by the water, which yet showed no appearance or promise of subsidence, and disease made sad havoc among the soldiers. The tedious work, however, was prosecuted till the 8th of March, the canal was almost complete, when an additional and rapid rise in the river broke the dam near the upper end of the canal, and an irresistible torrent poured over the whole peninsula, broke the levee, submerged all the camps, and spread for miles into the interior. The troops had to flee for their lives. Futile attempts were immediately made to repair the damage, but on the 27th of March the plan was finally abandoned, it being ascertained that the Confederates had erected new batteries, which would completely command the southern exit from the canal, and had even already driven out the dredge-boats working there.

While this stupendous endeavor to convert one of the natural features of the continent into an engine of war was being prosecuted, Grant was directing still another attempt, if possible more Titanic than the other. Seventy miles above Vicksburg, on the west side of the Mississippi, is an inland lake, formed by the old bed of the river, and a mile distant from the present channel. This is named Lake Providence, and is connected with various streams, or bayous as they are called in that region, which in their turn interlace and intersect, forming an uninterrupted communication at last with the Tensas, and from the Tensas with the Washita, and finally the Red river, which itself empties into the Mississippi four hundred miles below Vicksburg. The plan was to cut a canal a mile long, from the Mississippi into Lake Providence, so as to let in the waters of the great river; then to improve the navigation of these various shallow creeks in the interior of Louisiana, to clear away trees, dig out swamps, deepen channels, until an absolute water-course should be opened into the Red river, so that the army might be moved on transports through these bayous into the Mississippi below, and then be able to march up and reach Vicksburg on the southern side. It was, however, found impossible to secure a sufficient number of light-draught steamers to carry an army through these shallow streams.

It was the impossibility of marching troops over the submerged swamps that made Grant's principal difficulty. If it had not been for this, he could at once have moved along the western bank; but neither men nor artillery nor stores could be got through the inundated region; so that still another undertaking was begun; this one on the eastern side. The Yazoo pass is a narrow creek, three hundred miles above Vicksburg, which formerly connected Moon lake with the Mississippi river. The lake is similar to Lake Providence, having been formed by the windings of the Mississippi, which every now and then deviates from its ancient course, and leaves a bed of standing water, miles away from its more recent channel. Moon lake is connected with two or three large and navigable streams; the Cold Water, the Tallahatchie, and the Yallabusha, which finally unite and form the Yazoo. The plan was to cut the levee which interrupted the flow of the Mississippi into Yazoo pass, and then, to carry troops into the Yazoo, to the hills above Vicksburg, and so get the army on dry land.

The scheme was prosecuted with great vigor; the streams were deeper and wider than on the western side, and the plan promised more success. But the Confederates soon discovered the attempt, and hewed large trees into the rivers to obstruct the advance. Troops on transports, under cover of gunboats, were sent into the pass, and, after infinite trouble and delay, succeeded in removing these obstructions. But while this was going on, the enemy set to work fortifying, and at the junction of the two rivers which form the Yazoo, hundreds of miles from the Mississippi, they erected a formidable work called Fort Pemberton. The gunboats made three attempts to silence its guns, but the character of the stream was such that they could not approach it properly for their purposes, and this attempt also failed. Nothing was able to pass Fort Pemberton. Grant had by this time sent several thousand men into the pass, and was making preparations to move an entire corps in the same direction, when the utter impracticability of this route was demonstrated.

Nearer to Vicksburg than the Yazoo pass, and on the same side of the river, is another network of bayous, connecting the Mississippi with the Yazoo. These creeks are more tortuous and difficult, by far, than those which constitute the pass; they are choked up with trees; so narrow that the branches from each side are interlaced, and so crooked that it seemed impossible to navigate them. But Grant conferred with Admiral Porter, and, after making a reconnoissance himself, determined to send Sherman up this route, so as, if possible, to strike the Yazoo river below the point where the Confederate fort had been built, and thus not only extricate the Union troops who had gone in from above, but threaten the Confederate forces in the interior, who would thus be placed between two national detachments.

The difficulties encountered on this route, which was called the Steele's bayou route, from one of the creeks on the way, far transcended any of those which obstructed the other expeditions. But Sherman and Porter pushed on; the gunboats went in advance, to force, by their heavier weight, a passage through the trees, so that the steamers carrying troops might follow. For miles there was no hard land where soldiers could march; and the creeks were so narrow, crooked, obstructed, and shallow, that only the very smallest steamers, coal barges and tugs could make their way. The gunboats thus got far ahead, and the Confederates, discovering this, placed obstructions not only in front of the gunboats, but in their rear, so as to cut them off from the troops. The sharpshooters of the enemy also annoyed Porter from the banks, and Confederate artillery was placed at intervals. This threatened the absolute loss of the gunboat fleet, and Porter sent back for Sherman to hurry to his rescue. Sherman got the news at night, but started at once along a narrow strip of dry land which fortunately existed here, led his troops by lighted candles through the canebrake, and drove away the Confederate assailants. Then, though with infinite difficulty, the obstructions in the rear were removed, and the gunboats set about returning; there was not room to turn, and they had to back out for miles; but on the 27th of March the unsuccessful expedition was back in front of Vicksburg.

Meanwhile, Grant had other enemies to contend with besides the Confederates and the elements. There were constant efforts being made to supersede him. McClernand was still manœuvring to obtain command of the expedition, and was constantly annoying Grant by his insubordination and inefficiency, yet Grant was not allowed to remove him. The country was dissatisfied with the lack of success, and the government was impatient. But although of course all these things were harassing in the extreme, Grant did not allow them to interfere with his determination or his energy. So long as he was continued in command, he would intermit no exertion; but it was painful indeed to feel that he was losing the confidence of the country and the government, through the machinations of inefficient rivals and political subordinates, at a time when he needed all the moral support that could be bestowed.

Every plan to reach Vicksburg by water having failed, Grant finally devised another, which depended upon the subsidence of the floods. It was now March, and before long the overflow must begin to abate in some degree. He proposed to make use of a system of bayous starting from near the Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the Yazoo, and running to a point below Vicksburg, on the western shore. By this route the supplies and artillery were to be transported on steamers, while the troops could march by land. When they should arrive below, Grant was ordered to send a corps to Banks, who was now in New Orleans with a large army, about to attack Port Hudson, the only other fort yet held by the enemy on the Mississippi. After Port Hudson should be taken, the plan was for Banks to come up and co-operate with Grant in the attack on Vicksburg.

But Grant's best officers opposed this plan. Those in whose judgment and fidelity he had most confidence implored him not to risk the inevitable dangers of such a campaign. Sherman especially urged him, in conversation and in writing, not to undertake it. This scheme would separate the army entirely from its base. Grant heard all the arguments with patience and consideration, but they did not move him a particle. He felt that the temper of the country was despondent; no success had occurred for many weary months; it was necessary to revive its spirit. To make a retrograde movement, as Sherman proposed, would elate the Confederates and depress his own troops, while it would have a disastrous effect upon the courage of the North. Besides which, Grant felt certain that he should be victorious in this new campaign; and though he noted all the dangers, he calmly determined to incur them.

The orders for the movement were issued, and from that moment Sherman's opposition ceased. He worked as hard hereafter to insure success as he had striven before to prevent the campaign. The movement was begun on the 2d of March. The roads were intolerably bad; bridges were broken, streams overflowed, the results of the long inundation made the mud deep, and the troops plodded and plunged along. When they reached the point where they were to strike the Mississippi, below Vicksburg, the levee was found to be broken, and they had to be ferried for two miles; but the labor and time consumed in moving an entire army with all its stores in small boats were so great, that a detour was made instead to a point lower down the river, making the entire distance to march, from the point of starting, seventy miles. Just at this juncture the river fell, and the streams by which Grant expected to move his artillery and supplies became unnavigable, so that all the heavy ordnance and commissary stores had to be hauled along the miserable muddy roads.

This could not possibly be accomplished in months; and to obviate the new difficulty, Grant now proposed a daring scheme to the naval commander, who had been his able and faithful coadjutor in all these efforts. Grant was to

GUNBOATS RUNNING PAST VICKSBURG AT NIGHT.

run three steamers and ten barges by the Vicksburg batteries, while seven of Porter's iron-clads should engage the Confederates, covering the passage of the unarmed vessels. Porter agreed, and on the 16th of April the attempt was made. It was a dark night, and the gunboats led the way. Soon, however, the Confederates set fire to houses on the shore, and thus got light to direct their guns on the passing fleet. The storm of missiles was terrific; every vessel was struck, several were disabled, and one took fire, burning to the water's edge. The gunboats fought the batteries manfully, and for two hours and forty minutes this wonderful midnight battle raged. All the population of Vicksburg came out to witness it, and the Union troops, in their distant camps, were also spectators of the scene. But, with a single exception, every transport and gunboat passed the ordeal; only eight men were wounded, and the "Henry Clay" was the only vessel destroyed.

This part of the enterprise was so successful, that ten days afterwards, six other transports and twelve barges made a similar attempt; one transport was sunk, but half of the barges got safely by, so that Grant now had a good supply of provisions below Vicksburg, and Porter's seven gunboats were also there for use in any further movements. Two corps of troops had meanwhile arrived by land, and on the 29th of April a gunboat-attack was made, at Grant's request, on a formidable work on the eastern shore, called Grand Gulf. This place was in reality an outwork of Vicksburg; although fifty miles below the town, it was at the first point where there was any hard land on which troops could be landed. The hills here are as precipitous as at Vicksburg, and thirteen heavy guns were mounted. A gallant attempt by Porter to silence these guns was made, but failed. Grant had his troops on transports ready to land them, the moment the batteries were silenced; and when the impossibility of this was discovered, he immediately went aboard Porter's flag-ship and asked him once more to run his iron-clads by the batteries.

The night after the defeat before Grand Gulf he landed his troops again on the western shore, and marched them to a point below that work, and out of the reach of its guns. Meanwhile the transports ran by the batteries, while Porter again engaged the enemy, and then himself passed below with his gunboats. During the morning, the Thirteenth corps was once more embarked on the steamers. Reconnoissances of the eastern shore had developed the fact that there was little hard land even yet on that bank; but in the night, a negro brought information of a good road leading from a place called Bruinsburg, six miles below Grand Gulf, up to high ground in the interior. To Bruinsburg, therefore, Grant moved with his advance.

Meanwhile, Sherman had been ordered to remain above, and make an attack on the north of Vicksburg, merely to distract the attention of the enemy from the important movements on the southern side. In this he was assisted by the gunboat force left there by Porter, and on the 29th and 30th, a formidable demonstration succeeded in alarming and occupying the garrison at Vicksburg. Grant had been very unwilling to order this demonstration, because Sherman had already suffered unjustly in the estimation of the country from his former failure in front of Vicksburg. He told Sherman of this unwillingness, and the latter replied: "I believe a diversion at Haine's Bluff is proper and right, and will make it, let whatever reports of repulses be made."

Before beginning his march on the western bank, Grant had given orders for a cavalry movement into the interior of Mississippi, under Colonel Grierson. This was to start from the northern boundary of the State, to destroy bridges, cut railroads, and, avoiding large forces of the enemy, to do all the damage possible to the Confederate communications, isolating the garrison of Vicksburg, and alarming the inhabitants of the entire State; for the whole population of the South was now at war. There were no able-bodied men out of the Confederate service; those who were not in the regular army were spies and partisans, and Grant in his turn determined to make war upon the *people* as well as upon the *armies* of the South. His orders were constant *not to molest or injure women or children; not to do damage* *to property without some military object;* but he deliberately sought to destroy all the military resources of the rebellion. Among these, none were more important than supplies of food. The Confederate armies were kept up by means of the subsistence stores forwarded to them from the interior, and Grant began now the plan of destroying those stores, just as he would arms or ammunition.

This raid of Grierson's was eminently successful. It was the first of those great expeditions which, penetrating into distant regions that fancied themselves secure, brought home the punishment of rebellion to the quietest hamlets; which carried destruction to the very source and root of Confederate strength.

The Thirteenth corps, under McClernand, had the advance in crossing the Mississippi; after them came two divisions of the Seventeenth, under McPherson. These were all landed at Bruinsburg, on the eastern shore, during the 30th of April. They were supplied with three days' rations, which they were ordered to make last five. Neither tents nor baggage was taken; no personal effects, even for officers, were ferried across until all the troops were over. Grant took not even his own horse, but borrowed one on the road from a soldier. Everything now depended on rapidity of motion, and Admiral Porter loaned his gunboats to ferry artillery and troops.

It was important to seize Port Gibson at once, so as to hold these various roads. The possession of this place secured Grand Gulf, which would be cut off entirely whenever Port Gibson fell. During the night McClernand's advance came in contact with the Confederates a few miles from the town, the garrison of Grand Gulf having marched promptly out to oppose the movement of Grant. At daylight the battle began. The Confederates were about eleven thousand strong; Grant heard the firing at the Landing, and started at once for the front, arriving at ten o'clock. The battle was even for several hours, the Confederates having great advantages of position, but about noon McPherson's corps arrived, giving Grant the superiority in numbers; he at once threw fresh troops both to the right and left of McClernand, and before night the position was completely turned, and the enemy driven in confusion to Port Gibson. The ground was very rugged, and completely unknown to the Union army, so that Grant was obliged to delay the pursuit until daylight, when, on pushing into the town, it was found to be evacuated. In this battle Grant had about nineteen thousand men engaged; he lost over eight hundred men killed and wounded, and took six hundred and fifty prisoners, besides killing and wounding more than as many of the enemy. His success was due entirely to the celerity and unexpected character of his movements. The enemy was admirably posted on a steep ridge, protected by a broken country covered with tangled vine and underbrush, and the Confederates fought well. Reinforcements of five thousand men had been ordered from Vicksburg and others from Jackson, but they only arrived in time to share the flight.

In their retreat, they burnt the bridges over several streams, and Grant next day was obliged to rebuild these, before he could make any progress. But extraordinary efforts were made, the houses in the neighborhood were torn down for timber, and officers and men worked up to their waists in the water. The two corps were pushed on, that day and the next, about fifteen miles, to the Big Black river, skirmishing with the enemy all the way. But Grand Gulf was now uncovered, and Grant himself rode off in that direction with a small escort. He found the town already in possession of the naval forces, which had landed early in the day.

Grant had not been undressed since crossing the river, three days before, and now went aboard the gunboats, where he borrowed a shirt, and wrote despatches nearly all night. He ordered Sherman to move down on the opposite side of the river and join the main army; he informed the government of his own movements, and gave orders to his subordinates to forward supplies as rapidly as possible. All his supplies, of every description, had to come seventy miles by land on the western bank, then to be ferried across to Bruinsburg, and so moved up to the army. Upon everybody he urged the overwhelming importance of celerity; for as soon as the enemy should become aware that the whole Union army was on the eastern bank, of course every possible effort would be made to destroy it.

At Grand Gulf, Grant got word from Banks that changed the whole character of his campaign. Heretofore he had intended to march to Port Hudson, several hundred miles, and to join Banks in the attack on that place; and when this was over, both armies were to move up against Vicksburg. But Banks now sent him word that he could not be at Port Hudson before the 10th of May, and even after Port Hudson had fallen, he could not march to Vicksburg with more than 12,000 men. This information decided Grant not to go to Banks at all. He would lose more than 12,000 men on the march to Port Hudson, and in the siege and probable battles there; so that he would be no stronger on his return than now. Besides this, he had already won a victory; he had got his army on dry ground, where he had been striving all winter to place it; he had captured Grand Gulf, and was on the high road to Vicksburg or Jackson. He made up his mind that night to commence the Vicksburg campaign. It was fortunate indeed for the country that Banks sent him the message of delay.

Vicksburg now was only twenty miles off, with one large river, the Big Black, in the way. It was defended by 52,000 men, either in the garrison or in the interior of the State; this force was under Pemberton. Another but smaller Confederate army at Jackson, fifty miles directly west from Vicksburg, was eventually commanded by Jo Johnston; at this time it amounted to 10,000 or 12,000 men, though before the campaign terminated it was quadrupled. To oppose these two formidable bodies of troops, Grant would have, when Sherman should arrive, not more than 35,000 men in column, and twenty light batteries. The Confederates had at least 300 guns. They were also on the defensive, and in a country with every inch of which they were familiar, and where every inhabitant was their friend, their partisan, their spy. The two Confederate forces, if combined, would certainly largely outnumber, and perhaps crush the Union army. Instead, therefore, of moving at once against Vicksburg, Grant determined to push directly between the two hostile forces, separate them completely, and attack the smaller one before the other could come to the rescue; to drive it east as far as Jackson, where all the railroads centre by which Vicksburg was supplied; and after destroying Johnston, and the Confederate stores and communications at Jackson, to return and capture Vicksburg at his leisure.

To perform it, he must abandon his base of supplies entirely; for, if he moved east after Johnston, Pemberton would be sure to fall upon his line of communications in rear; and to guard this line would weaken Grant, so that he could not be strong enough for the operations he contemplated. He therefore sent word to have the greatest possible amount of supplies forwarded him before starting, and determined to cut loose entirely from his base, depending on the country for all further rations and forage. He gave no notice of his intention to the government in advance, and it was lucky that he did not, for as soon as Halleck discovered the plan, he sent word to Grant to return; but it was too late; the order did not reach Grant till the campaign was decided.

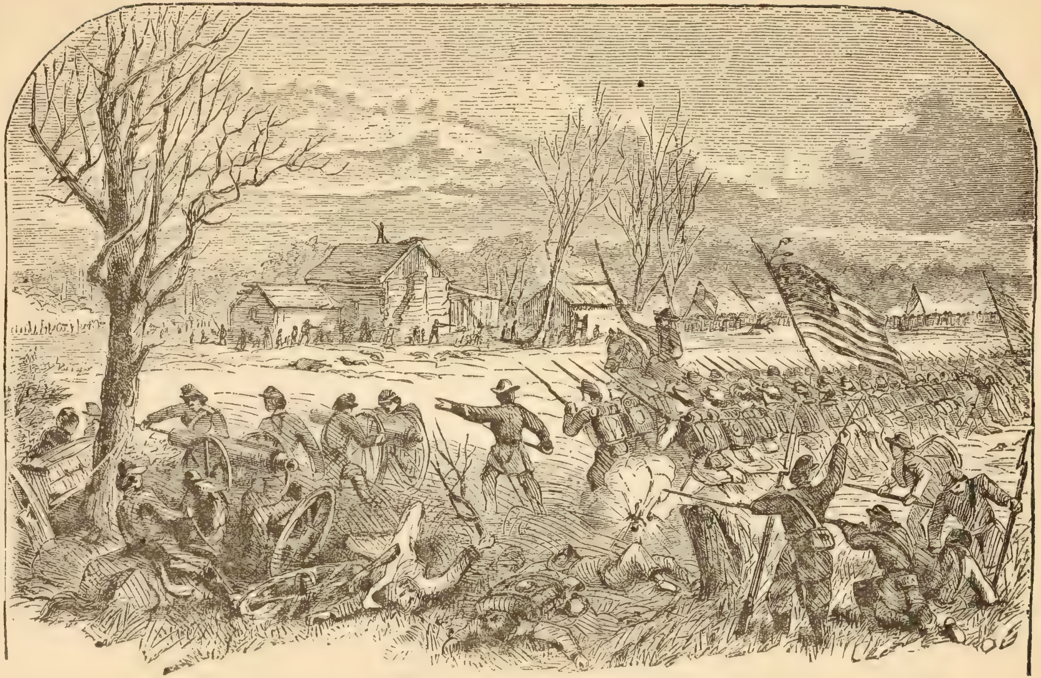
Sherman was hurried up, the greatest possible energy inculcated upon everybody, dispositions made of the troops which were to remain on the west side of the Mississippi and at Grand Gulf, and, on the 7th of May, the venturous column started for Jackson. Meanwhile, Grant's horses had arrived and his mess furniture. Hitherto he had depended on the hospitality of his subordinates, not only for a horse, but for every meal of the campaign. Sherman's corps arrived just as the advance of the army was starting; and he was directed by Grant to take three days' rations for men, and make them last seven. On the 11th, Grant informed Halleck, "As I shall communicate with Grand Gulf no more, you may not hear from me again for several days." This was the very day on which Halleck sent word to Grant to return and co-operate with Banks. The two despatches crossed each other on the way; but there was no telegraph communication, and each was a week in reaching its destination.

On this Sunday night, two friends and myself, anxious to get to the front, left Young's Point upon a tug towing two barges of forage and provisions, which Grant had ordered to run the batteries. After we had been under fire from the Vicksburg guns for three-quarters of an hour, and were almost out of range, a shot exploded and sunk our tug and fired our barges. Sixteen of us—out of the thirty-five on board—had the good fortune to be picked up in the river by the enemy, and one comrade and myself had the ill fortune, for nearly two years thereafter, to study the war and rejoice in Grant's victories from successive southern prisons. After the prisons reached the magic number of seven, we luckily escaped.

On our abrupt advent into Vicksburg, the Confederate officers cheerfully assured us that they expected to see Grant a prisoner there within a few days. We replied that they would undoubtedly see him, but not exactly in the capacity of a captive.

Colonel Grierson, who had left La Grange, Tennessee, with 1,700 cavalry, after traversing Mississippi lengthwise, destroying stores and arms, tearing up railways, burning bridges, capturing militia, and carrying consternation through the entire State, reached our lines at Baton Rouge, having travelled 600 miles in fifteen days, and lost less than thirty men in sick, wounded and missing. Nowhere did he meet with any serious resistance, and his daring raid convinced Grant that the Confederacy had become "a mere shell with all its resisting power on the outer edge."

The general, now at the Big Black, and facing northward, was between two wings of the enemy. On his left, Pemberton held Vicksburg and vicinity with 50,000 men. On the right, the enemies' reinforcements were approaching in unknown numbers. To annihilate this force before it could join Pemberton, and still be able to cope with the latter, would require rapid marching and more men than he had, if he should attempt to keep open communication with Grand Gulf, his present depot of supplies.



THE BATTLE OF RAYMOND, MISSISSIPPI.

Early in the morning of the 12th of May, McPherson, who held the extreme right, approaching the little town of Raymond, encountered 5,000 Confederates under Gregg, very strongly posted. The Union force was much the larger, but not until after three hours of stubborn fighting was the enemy driven back with a loss of 300 killed and wounded, and many prisoners.

Grant, concentrating his main force to meet Pemberton's army at Edwards' Depot, and Bolton north of him, had designed sending only a little expedition eastward into Jackson to destroy Confederate stores. But now Rawlins and Wilson rode back to inform him that the enemy on McPherson's front had retreated, not upon Vicksburg, but toward Jackson. He instantly surmised that reinforcements enough to swell Gregg's command to twelve or fourteen thousand must be concentrating in that direction. Even if he should whip Pemberton it would never do to turn toward Vicksburg, leaving this enemy in the rear.

Simply asking one or two questions, and without rising from his chair, he wrote orders to turn the entire army toward Jackson. This readiness to modify an old plan, or substitute a new one on the instant when emergencies required it, was one of his strongest and most characteristic points. On cutting loose from Grand Gulf, he said:

"I think we can reduce Jackson, and reopen communications with the fleet above Vicksburg *in about five days*."

It was like Cortez burning his ships. Grant sent out expeditions on every side for food and forage, and ordering no more supplies brought to his rear, turned back his extra wagons, and left his field hospitals at Port Gibson and Raymond in charge of Federal surgeons with flags of truce.

He found in the country enough of provisions and forage, abundance of horse and mule teams, and no end of negroes delighted to drive them; and thenceforth multitudes of cattle, sheep, turkeys, chickens, and pigs, indiscriminately mingled, followed in the wake of his army.

McPherson struck the railroad at Clinton, tore up the track, burned bridges, and captured despatches showing that Pemberton was still at Edwards Station, eighteen miles east of Vicksburg, expecting an attack.

Sherman, after making a feint at Haine's Bluff to deceive Pemberton, and then moving rapidly along the circuitous land and river route upon which the rest of the army preceded him, had now arrived with his fine corps eager for work. He and McPherson were ordered to reduce Jackson.

On the morning of May 14th both were marching upon the town, McPherson along the railway from Clinton, ten miles west, and Sherman across the country from a point fourteen miles southwest. They expected to arrive at the same moment, but Sherman's roads were so muddy that it was almost impossible to move artillery. His men, however, throwing away their boots and shoes, and floundering through the mud up to their knees, shouted, laughed, and sang, in the most exuberant spirits.

An hour before noon, in the midst of a driving rain, they approached the city from the south, and were stopped by a battery of six-pounders in a strip of woods, two miles out. Artillery skirmishing followed. Among the troops lying in a field a shell exploded now and then, and with natural scruples about keeping quiet to be murdered many jumped up and ran to the rear. Grant and staff, sitting twenty paces behind them, under some spreading trees for protection from the rain, persuaded them to return, until the storm of water grew so much more uncomfortable than the storm of shot that they sought shelter in some old shanties a hundred yards away.

What virtue in a general is equal to promptness? What general ever had it in a higher degree than Grant? Only the night before, Joseph E. Johnston, a most able Confederate commander, had arrived on his front. Very soon Johnston would have concentrated the scattered Confederates, and struck Grant on the flank before uniting with Pemberton, for whom he was amply competent to furnish brains. But our general falling upon him so unexpectedly quite spoiled his game. McPherson, after three hours' fighting on the west side, had already driven in the enemy, and Sherman soon swept forward. The Confederate cannoneers stood their ground until his infantry were within six feet of them. Then they flung down their rammers and surrendered, both they and their captors, including Grant, laughing heartily at their dare-devil tenacity. Soldiers soon get on familiar terms with death, and the tragedy of war has frequent interludes of comedy.

Though squads of Confederate cavalry were still in sight, and though the staff expostulated, the chief, remarking that he guessed there was no danger, galloped forward into the city. Fred rode with the party, and entered Jackson at the head of it. The streets were full of gleeful negroes, while from windows and half-open doors peered some anxious, pallid faces. But snowy flags flew from the houses, and many white families seemed overjoyed, for there was a good deal of Union sentiment.

Grant and staff rode to the leading hotel—a large building near the capital, where Johnston had slept the night before. They fancied themselves the first Yankees in Jackson, but private enterprise had outrun official routine, and the muskets were ahead of the shoulder-straps. Three of McPherson's cavalrymen were already raising the Stars and Stripes upon the State-house. The people flocked about the light-bearded, mud-stained general—who bore no mark of his rank—with all sorts of petitions, in response to one of which he instantly stationed guards to protect the inmates of the large Catholic convent.

The public stores had been left open, and the ransomed black sinners, confident that their year of jubilee had come, were making a haul of clothing and provisions. One, staggering under an enormous burden of garments, was accosted by a staff officer:

"Hallo, uncle; haven't you got more than your share of coats?"

"Dunno, mass'r; if you likes one, take it."

The next morning details were sent out to destroy all railways, machine shops, manufactories, and public stores. A large cotton factory was reported filled with duck. The owner piteously begged the general to spare it.

GENERAL GRANT AND HIS STAFF ENTERING JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI.

GRANT—"Whom are you making duck for?"

The proprietor answered, in evident embarrassment, that his customers were many.

GRANT—"Wilson, did you see any mark on that duck?"

WILSON—"Yes; it bears the stamp 'C. S. A.'"

GRANT—"Then, sir, I guess your factory must be burned with the rest."

Many alarmed citizens begged the general not to destroy the town. He replied, that while everything belonging to the Confederacy and all stores which could help it must be burned, he would do all in his power to protect private property. But he could not save it altogether. Our troops, for once, deserved the favorite epithet of the enemy, "Northern vandals," for they pillaged houses and fired a hotel and a church. It has been urged in extenuation, that several had previously suffered gross indignities while prisoners in Jackson.

The reinforcements that were coming up to the enemy were obliged to make wide and long detours to join their commander. But, although success had been so marked, it was still not complete. There was yet imminent danger of a concentration of the two Confederate armies; and before night Grant got possession of a despatch from Johnston to Pemberton, directing the concentration so much to be feared.

He determined to prevent this, and accordingly that afternoon ordered McPherson to retrace his steps, marching in the morning in the direction of Edwards' Station. McClernand was also informed of the defeat of Johnston, and of the danger of Confederate concentration. His troops were at once faced about in the same direction as McPherson's. The various corps were admirably located, so as to converge on the same point, which was Bolton, a station a few miles east of Edwards', where Pemberton was known to be. The men were fatigued, having been marching or fighting incessantly since the 7th, but there was no time now for rest. Accordingly, early on the morning of the 15th, the two corps had turned their faces towards Vicksburg, and were in motion for the enemy. Sherman

THE BATTLE OF CHAMPION'S HILL.

was to spend that day destroying the munitions and military resources in and around Jackson. Before night, McPherson and McClernand were within supporting distance of each other at Bolton, and ordered to march in the morning for Edwards' Station, while Pemberton still delayed, in disobedience of Johnston's orders. He did not dream that Grant had no communications with the Mississippi, and his idea was to march south and cut those communications. On the morning of the 15th he moved for this purpose southeast of Edwards' Station, away from Johnston, who had by this time been driven north from Jackson, so that the enemy was actually moving in an opposite direction, while Grant was converging between them; Pemberton striving to cut Grant's communications with the Mississippi, while Grant, who had cut them himself nine days before, was returning to Vicksburg, and seeking Pemberton to destroy him.

Pemberton moved slowly, and again received positive orders from Johnston to join him. On the 16th he finally concluded to obey, and reversed his column. But in the night Grant had got word of Pemberton's exact force and position, and of the design to attack the national rear. He instantly despatched to Sherman to start at once from Jackson to the support of the main army. "The fight may be brought on at any moment; *we should have every man on the field.*" A national division was now coming up alone from Grand Gulf, and this was also ordered to join the main army. "Pass your troops to the front of your trains, and *keep the ammunition in front of all others.*"

Three roads lead to Edwards' Station from the east, and on the northern one Grant had four divisions, under McPherson, while on each of the others were two divisions, all these last under McClernand. Sherman had not got up. The advance of McClernand encountered Pemberton's skirmishers just as the reverse movement of the Confederate column began, and the enemy at once fell into an admirable position, covering all three roads. The enemy's left was on a hill called Champion's Hill, and by eleven o'clock the force under McPherson assaulted here. Grant was with this portion of his command in person. The enemy had 25,000 men, a defensive position, and, as usual, complete knowledge of the country, of which, of course, the national troops were entirely ignorant. The battle raged with various fortune for several hours; the Union soldiers gained a point on the hill several times, but were driven back as often, and Grant sent repeated orders to McClernand to come up to the support; but that commander allowed an inferior force to delay him, and, in spite of Grant's positive directions to attack, he did not obey. Finally, Grant sent troops to the extreme Confederate left and rear, and these produced such an effect that, combined with another direct attack in front the enemy gave way, and the hill was carried, McClernand not having been engaged at all. One of his divisions had been on the right with Grant all day, and in the thickest of the fight, but those under McClernand's direct command were not in the battle.

The rout of the enemy was complete, and as McClernand now came up in force, Grant sent these fresh troops in pursuit. Grant had not had more than fifteen thousand men engaged. He lost about two thousand four hundred men in the battle of Champion's Hill, which was by far the hardest fought in the whole campaign. The enemy's loss was between three thousand and four thousand killed and wounded, and as many more prisoners, besides thirty cannon. In addition to this, one whole division was cut off from the bulk of the Confederate army in the precipitous flight. It struggled along, making a wide detour, and reported to Johnston several days afterwards, but Pemberton never commanded it again. The moral effects of this victory were prodigious. The Confederate troops broke and fled in every direction; artillerymen deserted their guns in the retreat, and many of the soldiers threw away their small arms, and gave themselves up prisoners before they were asked. The pursuit was continued till after dark, reaching fifteen miles. Grant himself was with the advance, and his party got so far ahead of the main column, that they were obliged to return to a more secure position for the night. That night Grant received Halleck's orders to return to the Mississippi and co-operate with Banks; but the best way to return now was to proceed in his career of victory.

It was nothing but the marvellous energy and promptness of Grant that won this battle. Pemberton was actually moving to join Johnston when he was struck by Grant; had the national commander delayed a day, the concentration would have been effected; but it was now forever impossible.

The next day the pursuit was pushed on; Sherman having arrived at Bolton by the close of the 15th, he was ordered to move at once to the right of the rest of the command. Grant reached the Big Black river, the only one now between his army and Vicksburg, early in the morning of the 17th, his advance having started before daylight. At the crossing of the railroad over this river, the enemy had established a formidable work; here the river makes a bend like a horse-shoe, open towards the east, and the line of fortifications was across this opening, reaching from the river above to the river again below. The ground in front was swampy and exposed to the enemy's fire, while still beyond, on the western bank of the river, rose steep bluffs, commanding the country for miles. This point was defended by twenty cannon and four thousand troops, who ought to have held it against direct assault forever. But the Union troops were inspired by the long series of successes, while the enemy was exhausted with disaster and retreat. At the first attack, by only about eleven hundred men, the enemy fled in dismay, abandoning all their guns, and only seeking to reach the river. The panic spread to the troops on the opposite shore, who set fire to the bridge, and nearly eighteen hundred prisoners, with eighteen pieces of artillery, were captured. Grant lost only two hundred and fifty men.

But their depression now was terrible. Many left their ranks, and vowed they would surrender rather than fight again under Pemberton. The people of the country joined them, and all fled into Vicksburg, from the conqueror who had won five battles in less than twenty days, captured six thousand five hundred of the enemy, and killed and wounded six thousand more. He had done this, after starting with an average of two days' rations, and he had subsisted his own army, besides beating two of the enemy's, and lost only seven hundred killed and three thousand four hundred wounded.

After rebuilding the bridges out of the wood of houses torn down for the purpose, he pressed rapidly on, and on the 18th of May Vicksburg was besieged.

The country around Vicksburg is broken and difficult in an extraordinary degree; full of rough hills and rougher ravines, with numerous creeks running between the various heights, and a thick growth of underbrush or forest covering the sides of the cliffs and chasms; a region expressly adapted for defence. These natural advantages had been developed to their utmost by the enemy, whose line of works, located on the most salient ridges, reached entirely around the city. Numerous detached forts were built at intervals, and between these stretched an uninterrupted line of rifle-pits, not less than eight miles long. Outside of the parapet, the enemy had formed an unusually difficult abatis of fallen trees. Within these lines, Pemberton had now nearly thirty-five thousand men, for he was of course reinforced by the garrison proper, of the town. A hundred guns at least were also ready to repel assault. Johnston, however, feared that even with all these defences, natural and artificial, Pemberton would finally be compelled to surrender; he therefore ordered his subordinate to evacuate the place. But again Grant's promptness intervened to frustrate the plans of his antagonist. Pemberton held a council of war on the 18th of May, and while it was still deliberating, Grant took his position on the outside and invested Vicksburg. The Union line at first was incomplete. Sherman had the right, McPherson the centre, and McClernand at this time the extreme left; but the troops of the last-named officer did not extend to the Mississippi; while Sherman's right rested on the very hills from which he had been repelled in January before.

Grant did not delay operations, but the day after arriving before the town, he ordered an assault. With his usual tactics, he wished to take advantage of the demoralization of the enemy, before they had time to recover. Accordingly, on the 19th of May, all three of his corps commanders were instructed to charge against the enemy's line; but the sight of the lofty hills shutting in Vicksburg on every hand, these hundred cannon directed against the assailants, the reinforcement of eight thousand men in garrison, and the knowledge of the extraordinary difficulties Grant must overcome before he could carry the works, so strong by nature and by art, reanimated the defenders. The corps of Sherman and of McPherson pushed up close to the enemy's works, but neither was able to make an impression; and McClernand, whose troops were farther from the city than either of the others, did not get up in time to really participate in the assault. The effort was therefore unsuccessful; no entrance was gained; but positions close to the enemy were obtained and held, which proved of vast importance during the siege.

Grant now spent two days in resting his troops after the wonderful campaign through which they had passed; in bringing up supplies, from the new base which was established on the Yazoo; and in preparing for a second and more determined assault; for he was loath to begin the tedious processes of a siege. His men, exhilarated by the success of the brilliant campaign, were also unlikely to set to work in the trenches with zeal until they knew that no other means would even yet suffice to conquer Vicksburg. After their successes at Champion's Hill and the Big Black, they thought themselves irresistible. Besides this, Johnston's army, still near Jackson, was daily receiving reinforcements, and would soon, perhaps, equal Grant's in numbers, and be able to raise the siege.

On the 22d of May a second assault was ordered. It was preceded by a vigorous bombardment both from the fleet and from a line of a hundred cannon mounted along the hills in the interior. At ten, the various columns moved against the enemy's works. The attack was made with great vigor all along the line; the men moved by the roads when this was practicable, and elsewhere down into the ravines and up the precipitous sides, on which the hostile fortifications awaited them. But the difficulties were insurmountable; the assailants were exposed for a distance of several hundred yards to the artillery and musketry fire of the besieged; they got entangled in the brushwood; they were shot down before they could scale the hills. Everywhere they were repelled; and although prodigies of valor had been performed, it was all in vain. The national flag in front of each had been planted on the enemy's works, and still remained there, but the troops were unable to penetrate farther, while the enemy dared not take the flags away. The battle was over, and no result was gained.

At this moment McClernand sent a despatch to Grant, announcing the capture of two forts. This message was three times repeated, and Grant was urged to order another assault, to support the advantage said to have been gained by McClernand. Supposing that McClernand must know when a fort was gained, Grant complied with the request, and a second assault was ordered by Sherman's and McPherson's worn-out men. This met with a similar result with the former one; the loss of life was nearly doubled, and no more success was attained; while it proved that McClernand had originally secured no advantage like that which he had proclaimed. He had carried no fort, and when the assault he requested was renewed solely to support him, he did not himself attain any advantage beyond what the others had already procured.

At night three thousand national soldiers had been killed or wounded; about thirty thousand had been engaged. Pemberton declared that he had eighteen thousand five hundred men in the trenches; he lost about one thousand soldiers in this fight. The disparity of course was occasioned by the enemy being under cover. Shortly after this assault, McClernand was relieved by General Ord, at the command of Grant.

Johnston now was reinforced, till his army amounted to forty thousand men, and moved up on Grant's rear to relieve the city. But Grant now commanded seventy thousand soldiers, half of whom he kept in the trenches, and the other half he formed into a corps of observation against Johnston. These built a line of works facing east, protecting the besiegers, who were thus enclosed between two lines—one in front and one in rear.

Towards the last of June the sufferings of the besieged became very great. They were forced to put the men on quarter rations, and finally, after it became apparent to Pemberton that all hope of rescue had disappeared; when it was certain that Johnston, with his forty thousand men, would not dare attack Grant in rear, although he would be supported by the entire garrison in front; when neither the siege could be raised nor the garrison escape; when the blockade by land and river was so effectual, that attempts to build boats and cross the Mississippi were detected; when scouts were intercepted, bringing word to Pemberton that Johnston could do no more for him, and from Pemberton, that his supplies of food and ammunition were both exhausted; when for forty-seven days the besiegers and besieged had lain in the hot trenches, working, digging, mining, countermining, assaulting, repelling, advancing, retreating, sickening, dying; those inside almost starving, those outside often suffering from lack of water; both sides exposed to miasma and heat, and rain, and fatigue, and incessant danger from bursting shells and sharpshooters' rifles, and sudden attacks by night and day—finally, the mighty siege was about to terminate.

On the 3d of July, Pemberton made overtures to Grant, and the same day a meeting of the two generals was held between their lines, and in sight of both armies. It took place under an oak tree, which has since been cut down to furnish mementos of the occasion. The troops for miles around hung over their parapets on either side, watching the interview on which the destinies of the two armies depended. But Pemberton was haughty, and refused the simple surrender which Grant demanded. In the night, however, he consulted with his subordinates, and came to a

PEMBERTON SURRENDERING VICKSBURG TO GENERAL GRANT.

better mind. By morning, he had agreed to deliver up the garrison, with all its munitions, as prisoners of war. Grant did not wish the trouble of feeding another army, and could not, in many weeks, procure transports sufficient to send his prisoners North; he therefore stipulated that they should be paroled and sent into the interior, not to fight again until exchanged. Nearly the same terms which Napoleon granted to the Austrians at the famous surrender of Ulm.

On the 4th of July, therefore, the capture was consummated. Grant generously allowed the officers to retain their swords, and both officers and men their private property; but the muskets were all stacked by the enemy themselves outside their works, between the lines. It took them nearly all day to march out of their defences, and lay down their colors and their arms, the national army looking on.

The value of the reduction of Vicksburg was not only great in a moral, political and strategical point of view; but it possessed still further importance by inflicting a severe loss upon the enemy, in both men and material.

The following is a rough estimate of the number of officers, soldiers and ordnance, which fell into the hands of the United States authorities with the city of Vicksburg:

One Lieutenant-General, John C. Pemberton, late commandant of the army for the defence of Vicksburg.

Nineteen major and brigadier-generals, as follows: Major-General Bowen, Major-General Martin L. Smith and Major-General Forney; Brigadier-Generals Barton, Cochran, Lee, Vaughn, Reynolds, Baldwin, Harris, Taylor, Cummings, Stevenson of Georgia, Hebart, Wall of Texas, commanding Texan Legion; Moore, Schoep, Buford and Cockerell.

Over four thousand field, line and staff officers.

About twenty-three thousand effective men, non-commissioned officers and privates, and over six thousand men in hospital.

Ninety siege-guns.

One hundred and twenty-eight field-pieces.

Thirty-five thousand (approximately) muskets and rifles, principally Enfield, and in excellent order.

Powder and shell for ordnance of different calibre in abundance.

A large quantity of miscellaneous matter, such as wagons, a few animals, armorers' tools, machinery, etc.

Among the military establishments taken possession of were the arsenal, well supplied with unused rifles, and the foundry, with all conveniences for casting shot, shell and cannon, and capable of doing a great deal of other work of a similar character, such as casting.

The troops taken prisoners were mainly composed of Mississippians, called "The State troops," Georgians, Alabamians, Louisianians, Missourians and regulars.

The following is a table compiled from various sources, and showing, at a glance, the estimated losses of the enemy, in men, from the commencement of the campaign, on April 30th, to the final surrender of the city:

*Prisoners.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Lieutenant-General | 1 |
| Major and brigadier-generals | 19 |
| Field, staff and line officers | 4,600 |
| Non-commissioned officers and privates | 30,000 |
| Total, without regard to rank | 34,620 |

*Killed, Wounded and Stragglers.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Killed in battles and skirmishes | 1,000 |
| Wounded in battles and skirmishes | 4,000 |
| Captured in hospitals in Vicksburg and elsewhere | 6,000 |
| Stragglers, including men cut off and unable to rejoin their commands | 800 |
| Total | 11,800 |

*Recapitulation.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Total prisoners | 34,620 |
| Killed, wounded and in hospital | 11,000 |
| Stragglers, etc | 800 |
| Making a loss to the enemy, in sixty-five days, of | 46,420 |

The following table also shows the losses of material sustained by the enemy during the same length of time:

| *Field Artillery.* | *Pieces.* |
|---|---|
| Captured in battle | 83 |
| At Vicksburg | 128 |
| Total | 211 |
| *Siege Artillery.* | |
| At Vicksburg | 90 |
| *Captured Small-Arms.* | |
| In battle | 10,000 |
| At Vicksburg | 35,000 |
| Total | 45,000 |
| *Recapitulation.* | |
| Artillery captured | 301 |
| Muskets and rifles | 45,000 |

Besides this, a number of field-pieces and siege-guns were destroyed at Jackson, Haine's and Snyder's Bluffs, which are not included in the above estimate.

General Grant, in his official report, sums up the Union losses, during the series of battles of the Vicksburg campaign, as follows:

| | *Killed.* | *Wounded.* | *Missing.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Port Gibson | 130 | 718 | 5 | 853 |
| Fourteen-Mile Creek (skirmish) | 4 | 24 | — | 28 |
| Raymond | 69 | 341 | 32 | 442 |
| Jackson | 40 | 240 | 6 | 286 |
| Champion's Hill | 426 | 1,842 | 189 | 2,457 |
| Big Black Railroad Bridge | 29 | 242 | 2 | 273 |
| Vicksburg | 245 | 3,688 | 303 | 4,236 |
| Grand Total | 943 | 7,095 | 537 | 8,575 |

| *General Recapitulation.* | |
|---|---|
| Confederate losses in killed, wounded, stragglers and prisoners | 46,420 |
| Union losses in killed, wounded, stragglers and prisoners | 8,575 |
| Balance in favor of Grant | 37,845 |

In addition, therefore, to the immense quantity of stores secured with the reduction of Vicksburg, a balance of nearly thirty-eight thousand men had to be placed to the credit of Grant's services during this campaign.

The following extract, from General Grant's report, will show how the army subsisted during the first twenty days of the Vicksburg campaign:

"In the march from Bruinsburg to Vicksburg, covering a period of twenty days, before supplies could be obtained from the government stores, only five days' rations were issued, and three days of those were taken in haversacks at the start, and were soon exhausted. All other subsistence was obtained from the country through which we passed. The march was commenced without wagons, except such as could be picked up through the country. The country was abundantly supplied with corn, bacon, beef and mutton. The troops enjoyed excellent health, and no army ever appeared in better spirits, or felt more confident of success."

General Halleck, in his Annual Report of the War, thus speaks of the administration and success of the Department of the Tennessee:

"At the date of my last Annual Report, Major-General Grant occupied West Tennessee and the northern boundary of Mississippi. The object of the campaign of this army was the opening of the Mississippi river, in conjunction with the army of General Banks.

"General Grant was instructed to drive the enemy in the interior as far south as possible, and destroy their railroad communications; then to fall back to Memphis and embark his available forces on transports, and with the assistance of the fleet of Admiral Porter, reduce Vicksburg. The first part of this plan was most successfully executed, but the right wing of the army sent against Vicksburg, under Major-General Sherman, found that place much stronger than was expected.

"Two attacks were made on the 28th and 29th of December; but failing in their object, our troops were withdrawn, and while waiting for reinforcements from General Grant, moved up the Arkansas river to Arkansas Post, which place was, with the assistance of the gunboats, captured on the 11th of January.

"General Grant now assumed the immediate command of the army on the Mississippi, which was largely reinforced. Being satisfied by the result of General Sherman's operations that the north line of the enemy's works was too strong to be carried without a very heavy loss, he directed his attention to opening the canal, which had been commenced the year before by General Williams, across the peninsula on the west bank of the river.

"This canal had been improperly located—its upper terminus being in an eddy, and the lower terminus being exposed to the enemy's guns; nevertheless, it was thought that it could be completed sooner than a new one could be constructed. While working parties under Captain Prince, chief-engineer of that army, were diligently employed upon this canal, General Grant directed his attention to several other projects for turning the enemy's position. These are fully described in his official report. The canal proving impracticable, and his other plans being unsuccessful, he determined to move his army by land down the west bank of the river, some seventy miles, while transports for crossing should run past the enemy's batteries at Vicksburg.

"The danger of running the batteries being very great, and the roads on the west side in horrible condition, this was a difficult and hazardous expedient; but it seemed to be the only possible solution of the problem. The execution of the plan, however, was greatly facilitated by Admiral Farragut, who had run two of his vessels past the enemy's batteries at Port Hudson and Grand Gulf, and cleared the river of the enemy's boats below Vicksburg; and finally, through the indomitable energy of the commanding general and the admirable dispositions of Admiral Porter for running the enemy's batteries, the operation was completely successful.

"The army crossed the river at Bruinsburg, April 30th, turned Grand Gulf, and engaged the enemy near Port Gibson on the 1st, and at Fourteen-Mile Creek on the 3d of

May. The enemy was defeated in both engagements, with heavy loss. General Grant now moved his forces by rapid marches to the north, in order to separate the garrison of Vicksburg from the covering army of Johnston. This movement was followed by the battles of 'Raymond,' May 12th; of 'Jackson,' May 14th; of 'Champion's Hill,' May 16th, and of 'Big Black River Bridge,' May 17th—in all of which our troops were victorious. General Grant now proceeded to invest Vicksburg.

"In order to facilitate General Grant's operations by destroying the enemy's lines of communication, and prevent the early concentration of any reinforcements, Colonel (now Brigadier-General) Grierson was sent with a cavalry force from La Grange on the 17th of April to traverse the interior of the State of Mississippi. This expedition was most successfully conducted. It destroyed many of the enemy's railroad bridges, depots and much rolling stock, and reached Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in safety on the 2d of May. On returning to Vicksburg, General Grant found his forces insufficient to entirely invest the enemy's works. There was, therefore, danger that the two bodies of the enemy under Pemberton and Johnston might yet effect a junction, as it was known that the latter was being largely reinforced from Bragg's army in Middle and East Tennessee. Under these circumstances General Grant determined to attempt to carry the place by assault.

"Two unsuccessful attacks were made May 19th and 22d; but as reinforcements reached him in a few days after, sufficiently large to enable him to completely invest the Confederate defences, he resorted to the slower but more certain operations of a regular siege. By the 3d of July his saps were so far advanced as to render his success certain, and on that day General Pemberton proposed an armistice and capitulation, which were finally accepted, and Vicksburg surrendered on the 4th of July.

"When we consider the character of the country in which this army operated, the formidable obstacles to be overcome, the number of forces and the strength of the enemy's works, we cannot fail to admire the courage and endurance of the troops, and the skill and daring of their commander. No more brilliant exploit can be found in military history. It has been alleged, and the allegation has been widely circulated by the press, that General Grant, in the conduct of his campaign, positively disobeyed the instructions of his superiors. It is hardly necessary to remark that General Grant never disobeyed an order or instruction, but always carried out to the best of his ability every wish or suggestion made to him by the government. Moreover he has never complained that the government did not furnish him all the means and assistance in its power, to facilitate the execution of any plan he saw fit to adopt."

When the news of this glorious victory officially reached the President, he wrote an autograph letter to General Grant, of which document the following is a copy:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *July 13th*, 1863.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL GRANT:

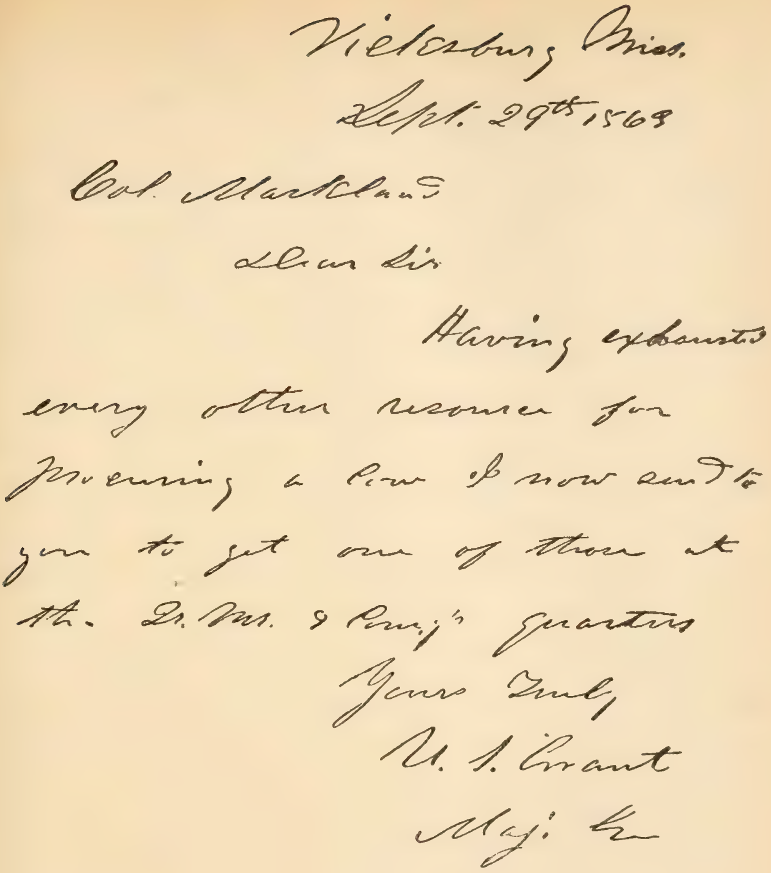
MY DEAR GENERAL: I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for *the almost inestimable service you have done the country*. I wish to say a word further. When you first reached the vicinity of Vicksburg, I thought you should do what you finally did—march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports, and thus go below; and I never had any faith, except a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition and the like could succeed. When you got below and took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf, and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks; and when you turned northward east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make a personal acknowledgment *that you were right and I was wrong*.

Yours, very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

A newspaper of strong Southern proclivities, after the surrender of Vicksburg, wrote the following:

"We pardon General Grant's smoking a cigar as he entered the smouldering ruins of the town of Vicksburg. A little stage effect is admissible in great captains, considering that Napoleon at Milan wore the little cocked hat and sword of Marengo, and that snuff was the inevitable concomitant of victory in the great Frederick. General Grant is a noble fellow, and by the terms of capitulation he accorded to the heroic garrison showed himself as gen-



Vicksburg Miss.
Sept. 29th 1863

Col. Markland

Dear Sir

Having exhausted every other resource for procuring a cow I now send to you to get one of those at the Qr. Mr. & Comy's quarters

Yours Truly
U. S. Grant
Maj. Gen

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VICKSBURG, MISS., *Sept. 29th*, 1863.

COL. MARKLAND—*Dear Sir:*—Having exhausted every other resource for procuring a cow, I now send to you to get one of those at the Quartermaster's and Commissary's quarters.

Yours truly,

U. S. GRANT, *Maj.-Gen.*

erous as Napoleon was to Wurmser at the surrender of Mantua. His deed will read well in history, and he has secured to himself a name which posterity will pronounce with veneration and gratitude. There is no general in this country or in Europe that has done harder work than General Grant, and none that has better graced his victories by the exercise of humanity and virtue. What we learn of the terms of capitulation is sufficient to prove General Grant to be a generous soldier and a man. A truly brave man respects bravery in others, and when the sword is sheathed considers himself free to follow the dictates of humanity. General Grant is not a general that marks his progress by proclamations to frighten unarmed men, women, and children; he fulminates no arbitrary edicts against the press; he does not make war on newspapers and their correspondents; he flatters no one to get himself puffed; but he is terrible in arms and magnanimous after the battle. Go on, brave General Grant; pursue the course you have marked out for yourself, and Clio, the pensive muse, as she records your deeds, will rejoice at her manly theme."

Among the results of the fall of Vicksburg is one that must not be overlooked—Port Hudson. As soon as the garrison had surrendered General Grant notified General Banks of the fact, and that officer at once imparted the glorious intelligence to his command. Like lightning the welcome news flew along the line, and the Union pickets joyously informed the Confederate sentinels that their boasted stronghold had fallen. It did not take long for the tidings to reach the enemy's head-quarters, and the same day the commandant at Port Hudson sent the following despatch to General Banks:

HEAD-QUARTERS, PORT HUDSON, LA., *July 7th*, 1863.

GENERAL: Having received information from your troops that *Vicksburg has been surrendered*, I make this communication to ask you to give me the official assurance whether this is true or not, *and if true, I ask for a cessation of hostilities*, with a view to the consideration of terms for surrendering this position.

I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

FRANK GARDNER,

*Major-General commanding Confederate States forces.*

General Banks, early the next morning, replied in the affirmative, and the following announces the result of the surrender:

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
NINETEENTH ARMY CORPS, PORT HUDSON, *July 10th*, 1863.

TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK:

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that, with this post, there fell into our hands over five thousand five hundred prisoners, including one major-general and one brigadier-general; twenty pieces of heavy artillery, five complete batteries, numbering thirty-one pieces of field artillery; a good supply of projectiles for light and heavy guns, 44,800 pounds of cannon-powder, five thousand stand of arms, and one hundred and fifty thousand rounds of small-arm ammunition, besides a small amount of stores of various kinds. We captured also two steamers, one of which is very valuable. They will be of great service at this time.

I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
N. P. BANKS, *Major-General Commanding.*

On the day that Grant received propositions for Pemberton's surrender, he sent orders to Sherman to get his command in readiness to march against Johnston's army; and on the 4th, as soon as the capture of the town was consummated, he sent Sherman in pursuit of the enemy outside. Johnston, however, fell back in haste when he heard of the fall of Vicksburg, and a hot chase was made, Sherman following as far as Jackson; but thence Johnston escaped into the interior, Sherman not pursuing farther. Great destruction was again made of railroads and resources, at and around Jackson, and the undisturbed possession of the State of Mississippi was thus secured; Sherman then returned to Vicksburg, and the troops were allowed a month or two of rest after their long labors in the trenches and the field.

Honors, of course, were heaped upon Grant after this unprecedented triumph. He was made a major-general in the regular army; the President and the general-in-chief each wrote him letters of congratulation; the legislatures of various States passed resolutions of thanks; swords were presented to him; and his name passed to the head of all the defenders of the Union.

# CHAPTER VII.

## WAR OF THE REBELLION—*Continued.*

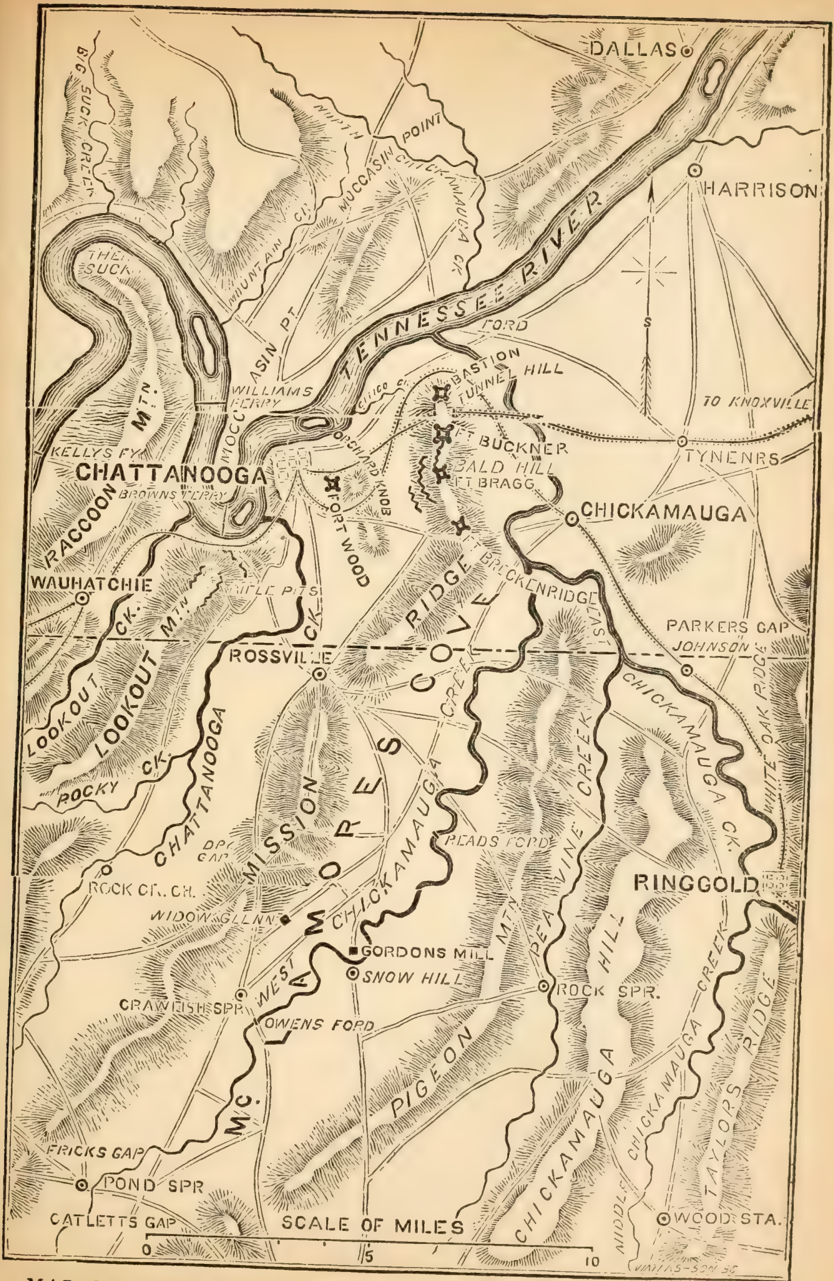
Grant goes to New Orleans—Consults with Banks—Thrown from his horse—Rosecrans at Chattanooga—Grant assigned to the command of the Military Division of the Mississippi—Rosecrans relieved by Thomas—Army of the Cumberland besieged in Chattanooga—Grant telegraphs to Chattanooga—Bragg on Lookout Mountain—Precarious situation of the Army of the Cumberland—Grant equal to the emergency—Re-possession of Lookout valley—Sherman approaching from Memphis—Preparations for battle—Battle of Lookout Mountain—Battle of Chattanooga—Grant's generalship—Votes of thanks and a gold medal for General Grant—The grade of lieutenant-general revived—Grant ordered to Washington—Receives his commission—Visits the Army of the Potomac—Assumes command of the armies of the United States—Joins the Army of the Potomac.

In August General Grant went to New Orleans to consult with Banks about a combined movement against Mobile, which he still hoped he could persuade the government to allow; and while there, he was thrown from his horse at a review, and received a hurt that lamed him for months. For twenty days he was confined to one position, and while thus suffering, word came to him of great apprehensions felt by the government for the safety of the Union army at Chattanooga.

This place, on the confines of Tennessee and Northern Georgia, and shut in by the Cumberland mountains and the Tennessee river, is at the junction of two great railroads, one passing north and south, the other east and west. It was parallel in military importance to Corinth farther west; and, since the beginning of the war, the efforts of national commanders had been directed to secure its possession. If this were obtained, Richmond, the Confederate capital, was cut off from all direct communication with the centre and west of the rebellious region. In September, by a series of masterly movements, Rosecrans succeeded in driving the enemy's army that defended Chattanooga a few miles south of it, and himself stepped in to occupy the town. But it was certain that the enemy would make an effort to regain the prize, and Grant was directed to send all his available force to the support of Rosecrans.

Grant did not get these orders until his return from New Orleans, and, though still confined to his bed, at once despatched a whole corps under Sherman towards Chattanooga. All expedition was made for the movement, but the distance was nearly a thousand miles by the shortest route; half of this was by the river, and transports had to be procured; then there were 400 miles to be marched through a hostile country. Long before Sherman could reach Rosecrans, the latter had been attacked by a superior force and driven into Chattanooga. The government became greatly alarmed, and at once sent for Grant to take command of Rosecrans' army. He started, still a cripple, sailed up the Mississippi to Cairo, and then went by rail to Louisville; on the way he met the secretary of war, and received from him an order placing him in command of all the armies west of the Alleghenies, except those of Banks in Louisiana and Texas. His immediate task was to secure Chattanooga and the army there, which was now besieged, and to relieve East Tennessee, where Burnside also was in great straits, in command of another and smaller army.

He had now absolute command of 200,000 men; but these were widely separated. He had a territory reaching from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi to hold and to guard, and large hostile armies to intercept and overthrow. At Chattanooga the army which Rosecrans had commanded was crowded into a small area south of the Tennessee, and encircled by mountains, on which the enemy, so lately victorious, were encamped; there was but one railroad line of communication with this town, and that the enemy had just cut off; so that the solitary route by which all supplies could reach Chattanooga was a rugged mountain road seventy miles long, and now almost impassable on account of heavy rains. The army was on half rations, 10,000 mules and horses had died of starvation, and there seemed no possibility of rescue. Burnside was 200 miles away in



MAP OF CHICKAMAUGA AND CHATTANOOGA, SHOWING SOME IMPORTANT CAMPAIGNS UNDER GENERAL GRANT.

East Tennessee, equally isolated though not besieged; and Sherman was in Mississippi, with 400 miles to march before he could relieve Chattanooga; and even when he reached that place, unless the enemy were driven away, he would only add to the miseries of the Union troops, as those already there could not be supplied with either food or ammunition. This was the condition of affairs when Grant assumed his new command.

His first act was to place General George H. Thomas in the position lately occupied by Rosecrans. Grant assumed command on the 19th of October, but could not reach Chattanooga on account of the break in communication, until the 23d. He telegraphed Thomas, however, on the 19th, "Hold Chattanooga at all hazards;" and Thomas replied, "I will hold the town till we starve." Grant reached Chattanooga after dark, and that night was spent in looking over maps and studying the situation, apparently the gloomiest one in which a commander could be placed.

Next morning he made a reconnoissance of the country in the neighborhood of Lookout Mountain, and immediately gave directions for an aggressive movement in that direction. Portions of two corps from the Army of the Potomac had been sent by Halleck to relieve Rosecrans, some weeks before; but these were still at Bridgeport, sixty miles away to the west, as their presence at Chattanooga would only serve to enhance the difficulties of supply. But Grant directed these troops, under Hooker, to move up to the western side of Lookout Mountain, which is only a mile or two in width, and at the same time ordered a co-operative movement from Chattanooga. Troops were sent on the night of the 27th, in boats, down the Tennessee, who eluded the Confederate pickets, till they reached a point called Brown's Ferry, on the south side of the river, some nine miles below the town. Here they landed, seized the ferry, drove in or captured the enemy's out-guards, and maintained themselves while a bridge was laid, and a considerable force, that had been sent on the north side of the river, could be moved across the bridge. By ten o'clock, on the 28th, the position was secured. On the morning of the 26th Hooker had moved from Bridgeport; at six on the evening of the 28th he had marched around the foot of Lookout Mountain without serious opposition, secured the railroad, and connected with the force at Brown's Ferry.

The enemy, however, at once saw how important it was that this connection should be broken; for, if Grant was able to maintain it, his railroad communication would be open again with the north, and supplies of men, ammunition, and provisions could be sent him. Accordingly, that night they attacked Hooker in force, and a severe battle ensued, the result of which was that the enemy was driven off in confusion, and the railroad secured to Grant. The Union troops lost over four hundred men in killed and wounded, but the price was not too great to pay, for it secured the army in Chattanooga. Thus, in five days after Grant's arrival, the railroad to Nashville was opened, and the immediate danger repelled. Bragg, indeed, was now on the defensive, not Grant; for Hooker's position threatened Lookout Mountain, and it was certain that as soon as supplies and ammunition could be procured, an offensive operation would begin. The army and the country were electrified at this immediate effect of Grant's presence, this reversal of the entire situation; while the enemy were chagrined in an equal degree.

Still, Grant's difficulties were gigantic. Burnside's twenty-five thousand men were a hundred miles from any navigable river by which they could be supplied, and farther yet from a railroad; they had to be supplied by a route over six hundred miles long; while Sherman, in his march from the Mississippi, had to be met with provisions at various points; and all these lines of supply ran through a hostile country. Grant directed and superintended these operations as closely as he did the tactical movements in a battle; he even instructed Sherman what roads he should take; he sent word to Admiral Porter to convoy the steamers that carried supplies, and that officer, never hesitating, furnished the protection desired.

But, on the 4th of November, Bragg, feeling the necessity of doing something to compensate for the disaster he had incurred at Brown's Ferry, sent an entire corps, under Longstreet, into East Tennessee, to destroy Burnside. Grant got word of the movement at once, and his situation became vastly more complicated. If Sherman had been up, he would have rejoiced at Bragg's movement, for he should at once have attacked the enemy in his front, now weakened by this abstraction. But the strength of Bragg's position, on the precipitous ridge and on the lofty crest of Lookout, was such, that no assault could be made until further reinforcements arrived. Meanwhile, Burnside was in immediate peril.

Grant at once despatched word to Sherman of this new danger, and urged him to increased speed. Still, Sherman's difficulties were great; he had rivers to cross where there were no bridges, mountains to climb, enemies to meet; but, on the 13th of November, he reached Bridgeport with his command, and was summoned at once in person to Chattanooga.

The battle-field of Chattanooga is an irregular field, with Missionary Ridge on the east and the Tennessee river on the west. On what was Grant's left, Chickamauga creek empties into the Tennessee, and at the extreme right is Lookout Mountain; both extremities were in the hands of the enemy. Grant's plan was to bring Sherman along the north side of the river, from Brown's Ferry to the point opposite Chickamauga creek, then to cross this portion of the command so as to form his new left; Thomas was to be the centre, and to attack Missionary Ridge directly in his front; while Hooker, on the right, would assail and carry Lookout Mountain. Sherman's principal endeavor was to be to reach and turn the northern extremity of Missionary Ridge, behind which was Chickamauga Station, on the southern railroad, where Bragg's base and depot of supplies were situated; Sherman was to move up from Brown's Ferry along a road concealed from the enemy by the opposite mountains; but as Bragg seemed to be expecting an attack on his left flank, Grant ordered Sherman to confirm this notion, by advancing one division in that direction, and building large camp-fires there at night.

BATTLE OF LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN

At this crisis, Grant got word that Burnside and Longstreet had really begun the battle for the possession of East Tennessee, and still Sherman was delayed by more rains, and freshets, and broken bridges. In consequence of these obstacles, Sherman did not arrive at his post on the north side of the Tennessee until the 23d of November.

During the night of the 22d, however, a deserter from Bragg's army brought news that a division of the enemy was being sent to Longstreet; and Grant had other reasons for supposing that Bragg might be intending to fall back from Missionary Ridge. He accordingly ordered an advance by Thomas to ascertain the truth of this report. It would not do to let Bragg escape, without the battle for which the national commander had been waiting and preparing so long. Thomas accordingly moved a whole corps forward to develop the strength of the enemy. The movement was measured, and the enemy so little anticipated it, that even after the troops were in line, the enemy leaned lazily on their muskets, mistaking the advance for a parade. They were soon undeceived by a heavy fire of musketry, and in fifteen minutes their whole advanced line of rifle-pits was carried, and nothing remained in the possession of the enemy west of the rifle-pits but the line at the foot of the ridge. Intrenchments were at once thrown up by Grant, protecting the ground thus gained, and Thomas' whole army was moved forward about a mile. Only one hundred men had been killed or wounded, but over two hundred of the enemy were captured. This success infused great animation into the Army of the Cumberland.

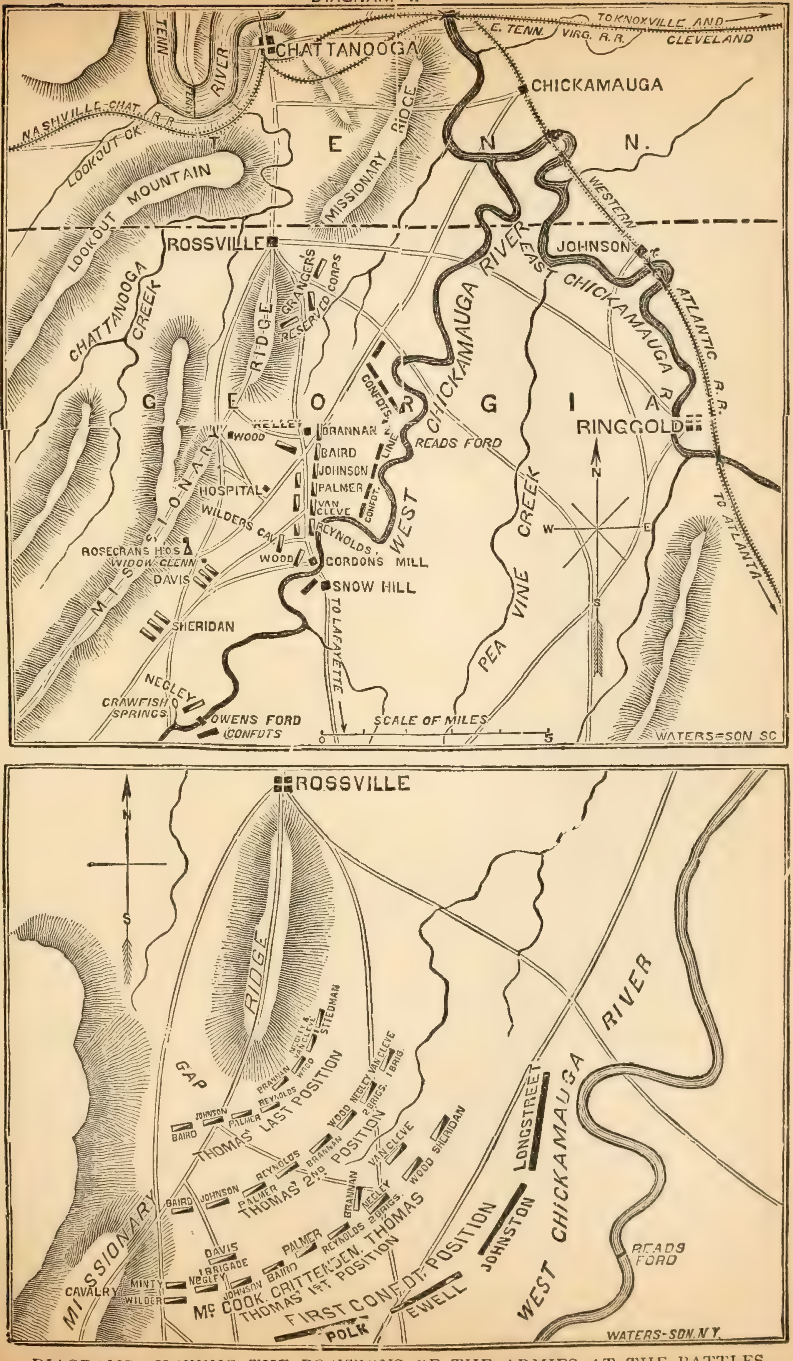
Meanwhile Sherman was laboring up on the north bank of the Tennessee, where pontoon boats were hidden in the creeks that empty from that side of the river; and during the night of the 23d these were floated to the enemy's picket-station, at the mouth of the Chickamauga. Troops were landed, the enemy's pickets seized, intrenchments thrown up, and by daylight eight thousand Union soldiers were ashore. Immediately the building of the bridge began. At twenty minutes past twelve o'clock it was complete, and at one o'clock Sherman began his march at the head of twenty thousand men for the northern end of Missionary Ridge. He began the fight by three and a half, pushed his troops up the hill, and before night had gained possession of an important hill which he had supposed was the extremity of Missionary Ridge; this, however, he discovered to be separated from the ridge by a deep ravine, which would cost him dear to cross. He intrenched, however, during the night, preparing for his grand attack on the morrow.

Thomas' command this day remained in the position that had been gained the day before, waiting for the two wings of the grand army to get into position for the combined effort which Grant intended to make. Hooker, meanwhile, had moved his troops against Lookout Mountain with energy and skill; and Bragg, who had become alarmed at Thomas' dispositions the day before, withdrew a portion of his force on the mountain to reinforce his centre and right. This rendered Hooker's task easier, and by four o'clock he had climbed the mountain, in spite of prodigious natural difficulties, carried important works at its base and on the sides, and established important connection with the right of Thomas' command. Thomas also connected on his left with Sherman, so that, on the night of the 24th, Grant's line was all advanced and in direct communication. Battles had been fought by the centre and each wing, and each had been successful. Hooker's fight had thus far been the hardest, and late in the afternoon his progress was obscured from those in the valley by heavy clouds that settled on the mountain side, so that his troops seemed fighting in mid-air. That night the enemy evacuated the crest of the mountain, falling back on Bragg, and early in the morning the stars and stripes waved on the summit of Lookout.

Grant was busy all night sending directions to his three armies. He directed Sherman and Hooker to advance at dawn, each attracting as much force of the enemy as possible to one extremity, and when this was accomplished Thomas was to attack the weakened centre. Grant himself remained on a mound near Thomas' command, from which he could watch all the evolutions in the field. He was so near to Missionary Ridge, that when day dawned Bragg's head-quarters could be plainly seen.

Sherman began his attack shortly after daylight. The ground in his front was extremely difficult, and had been strongly fortified. It was held in great force, for it was the key-point of the field. If this height was carried the Confederate army was cut off from its base, and from all communication with other portions of the Confederacy. Sherman assaulted with great vigor and gained some ground; after this he repeatedly advanced, and was more than once repelled, losing, however, none of the ground originally seized. The fight here was fierce and stubborn, and Bragg repeatedly sent large reinforcements to maintain the position. Hooker, too, descended from Lookout Mountain to move against Bragg's new left. The enemy, retreating from the mountain in the night, however, had destroyed all the bridges, so that Hooker was delayed until nearly two o'clock before he reached the ridge. Sherman, meanwhile, was bearing the brunt of the battle, and Grant finally perceiving the enemy in a large column moving towards Sherman, he determined that the hour had come for Thomas to advance.

Accordingly he himself gave the order, and two whole corps moved forward in one grand line against Missionary Ridge. Sherman fighting on the north end, not five miles away, Hooker in the plain to the south, and here, at Grant's feet, four divisions of men on the run, their bayonets glancing in the afternoon sun. The enemy at the foot of the hill were unable to resist the effect of this waving, glittering mass of steel; they flung themselves in the trenches, and the national troops passed over, sending their prisoners hurriedly to the rear across the open plain. The order had been for the men to halt when the first line of pits was carried, and to reform before they attempted to mount the hill; but now their blood was up, and it was impossible to restrain them. A tremendous fire of artillery poured down upon them from the ridge, nearly five hundred feet high, and half way up was another line of trenches, DIAGRAM I.



DIAGRAMS SHOWING THE POSITIONS OF THE ARMIES AT THE BATTLES OF CHICKAMAUGA AND MISSIONARY RIDGE.

from which more deadly musketry now struck down many a gallant soldier. But the line stopped not for this; the flags went on in advance, first one ahead and then another, and at last all along the ridge Grant's colors were planted on the enemy's line. Still there was another line of works on the crest, and now the ascent became almost perpendicular. The storm of musketry and artillery became more furious, but the men lay on their faces to avoid it, working their way thus up the front of the mountain.

The enemy was seized at once with a panic which all the exertions of Bragg and his officers could not restrain; here and there a slight resistance was offered, but the great mass of the enemy's army went tumbling in confusion down the eastern side of the ridge, the national soldiers not even stopping to reload their pieces, but driving the enemy with stones. At this moment Hooker appeared on the enemy's left and completed the rout; Bragg was obliged not only to give up the ground in front of Thomas and Hooker, but to withdraw his right, which still offered resistance to Sherman. Grant had ridden up at once on the ridge to direct the pursuit, and forty pieces of artillery were captured in the open field. Sheridan, then a division commander in Thomas' army, pursued for seven miles. Six thousand prisoners were taken before morning. Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, and all the rifle-pits in Chattanooga valley were Grant's. The great Confederate army that had threatened him so long was routed and in disgraceful flight, and early on the 26th Sherman took possession of Chickamauga Station.

That day and the next the pursuit was continued, Hooker in the advance. Everywhere the road was strewn with the wrecks of the dissolving army. On the 27th Hooker came up with Bragg's rear-guard at a gap in the mountains, and here the enemy made his last stand. A fight of several hours occurred, but the enemy finally withdrew, leaving the place in the hands of Grant, who now directed the pursuit to be discontinued. It was necessary to send reinforcements at once to Burnside.

Grant lost in this series of battles seven hundred and fifty-seven killed, four thousand five hundred and twenty-nine wounded, and three hundred and thirty missing; the enemy, three hundred and sixty-one killed, two thousand one hundred and eighty wounded, and over six thousand prisoners, besides forty cannon. Their loss in killed and wounded was smaller, because they fought with every imaginable advantage of cover and position. They had forty-five thousand men engaged, and Grant had about sixty thousand; but the extraordinary position they occupied was worth to them, according to all the rules of the military art, five times an equal number of assailants. Bragg said, in his official report of the fight, that the strength of the position was such that a line of skirmishers ought to have maintained it against any assaulting column.

The news of the splendid victories in Tennessee filled the loyal States with rejoicing. Mr. Lincoln appointed a day of thanksgiving "for this great advancement of the national cause;" while Congress, in grateful appreciation of the glorious victories he had gained, passed a joint resolution of thanks to General Grant and the troops which had fought under him. They also ordered a gold medal, with suitable emblems and devices, to be struck and presented to him, and Legislatures of various States presented him with a vote of thanks. But, better than all this, a movement was at once set on foot by the Hon. E. B. Washburne, member of Congress from Illinois, to revive the grade of lieutenant-general, and to call General Grant to the chief command of all the armies of the United States. On the 1st of March, 1864, this bill became a law by the approval of President Lincoln. A resolution requesting Mr. Lincoln to appoint General Grant was also passed by Congress. On the next day Mr. Lincoln sent to the Senate the nomination of Ulysses S. Grant, to be lieutenant-general. The nomination was confirmed at once, and an order was sent directing Grant to repair to Washington for the purpose of receiving his commission. Before leaving Nashville he wrote to Sherman, his faithful lieutenant:

"Whilst I have been eminently successful in this war, in at least gaining the confidence of the public, no one feels more than I do how much of this success is due to the energy, skill, and the harmonious putting forth of that energy and skill, of those whom it has been my good fortune to have occupying subordinate positions under me. There are many officers to whom these remarks are applicable to a greater or less degree, proportionate to their ability as soldiers; but what I want, is to express my thanks to you and McPherson as the men to whom, above all others, I feel indebted for whatever I have had of success. How far your advice and assistance have been of help to me, you know; how far your execution of whatever has been given you to do entitles you to the reward I am receiving, you cannot know as well as I. I feel all the gratitude this letter would express, giving it the most flattering construction."

This letter was intended as much for McPherson as for Sherman, and while it reflects the highest credit upon the magnanimous heart of the writer, it does those able and gallant generals no more than simple justice. Grant had that about him which drew true men irresistibly towards him, causing them to cheerfully exert their entire strength in the performance of the duties assigned them. No man was ever more devotedly or worthily served by those who came within his immediate influence, and no man ever rewarded merit more unselfishly or promptly.

Sherman, in replying to Grant's letter, says:

"You do yourself injustice, and us too much honor, in assigning to us too large a share of the merits which have led to your high advancement. I know you approve the friendship I have ever professed to you, and will permit me to continue to manifest it on all proper occasions.

"You are now Washington's legitimate successor, and occupy a position of almost dangerous elevation; but if you can continue as heretofore, to be yourself, simple, honest and unpretending, you will enjoy through life the respect and love of friends and the homage of millions of human beings, that will award you a large share in securing to them and their descendants a government of law and stability.

"I repeat, you do McPherson and myself too much honor. At Belmont you manifested your traits—neither of us being near. At Donelson, also, you illustrated your whole character. I was not near, and McPherson in too subordinate a capacity to influence you.

"Until you had won Donelson, I confess I was almost cowed by the terrible array of anarchical elements that presented themselves at every point; but that admitted a ray of light, which I have followed since.

"I believe you are as brave, patriotic and just as the great prototype, Washington; as unselfish, kind-hearted and honest as a man should be; but the chief characteristic is the simple faith in success you have always manifested, which I can liken to nothing else than the faith the Christian has in the Saviour.

"This faith gave you victory at Shiloh and Vicksburg. Also, when you have completed your best preparations, you go into battle without hesitation, as at Chattanooga—no doubts, no answers—and I tell you, it was this that made us act with confidence. I knew wherever I was, that you thought of me; and if I got in a tight place you would help me out if alive.

"My only point of doubt was in your knowledge of grand strategy, and of books of science and history; but I confess your common sense seems to have supplied all these.

"Now as to the future. Don't stay in Washington. Come West; take to yourself the whole Mississippi Valley. Let us make it dead sure; and I tell you the Atlantic slopes and Pacific shores will follow its destiny as sure as the limbs of a tree live or die with the main trunk. We have done much, but still much remains. Time and time's influences are with us. We could almost afford to sit still and let these influences work. Here lies the seat of coming empire; and from the West, where our task is done, we will make short work of Charleston and Richmond, and the impoverished coast of the Atlantic."

# CHAPTER VIII.

## WAR OF THE REBELLION—*Continued.*

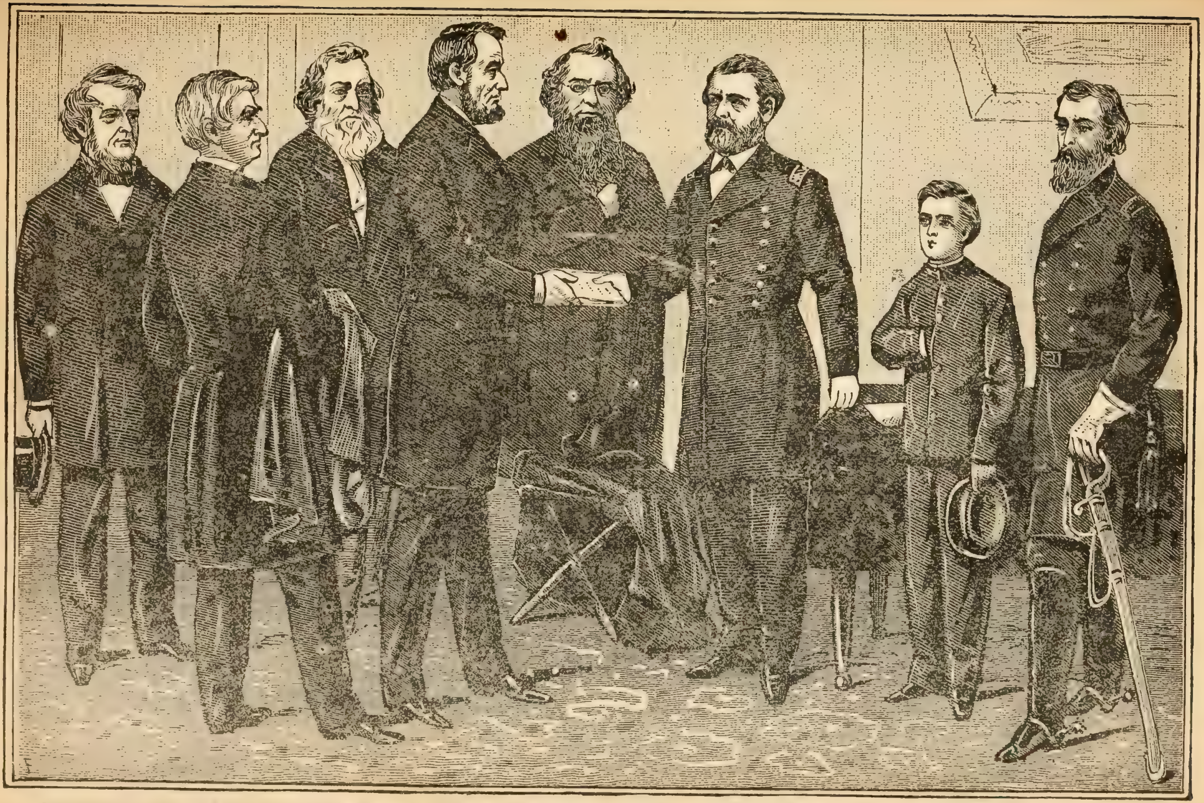
Grant with the Army of the Potomac—The situation of military affairs—General Grant's plan of operations—Butler's and Sigel's positions—Lee at Orange Court-House—Grant's instructions to General Meade—The engagement at Parker's Store—Wilson encounters Stuart's cavalry—The battle of the Wilderness—Sheridan's operations—Alsop's Farm—Spottsylvania Court-House—Death of General Sedgwick—Hancock's success—Cold Harbor—Sheridan's raid—Burnside's and Sigel's co-operative movements—Hunter's and Sheridan's operations in the Shenandoah Valley.

On the 8th of March Grant arrived at the capital, and the next day, at one o'clock, he was received by the President in the Cabinet Chamber. The different Cabinet officers, General Halleck, and a few other persons were there by the President's invitation. General Grant was accompanied by an aid-de-camp, Colonel Comstock, and General Rawlins, his chief-of-staff, and after being introduced to the Cabinet was addressed as follows, by the President:

"General Grant:—The expression of the nation's approbation of what you have already done, and its reliance on you for what remains to be done in the existing great struggle, are now presented with this commission, constituting you Lieutenant-General in the Army of the United States. With this high honor devolves on you an additional responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need to add, that with what I here speak for the nation, goes my own hearty personal concurrence."

General Grant replied with feeling:

"Mr. President:—I accept the commission with gratitude for the high honor conferred. With the aid of the noble armies that have fought on so many battle-fields for our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the



PRESIDENT LINCOLN PRESENTING TO GRANT THE COMMISSION OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL.

responsibilities now devolving on me; and I know that if they are met, it will be due to those armies, and, above all, to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men."

The next day the President assigned the new lieutenant-general to the command of all the armies, with his head-quarters in the field. Grant made a hurried trip to the Army of the Potomac at Culpeper Court-House, to confer with General Meade, and then returned to Nashville for the purpose of making arrangements to enter upon the performance of the duties of his new position. Here, on the 17th day of March, he issued his order assuming command of the armies of the United States, and announced that till further notice his head-quarters would be with the Army of the Potomac. At his request the Secretary of War had already assigned Sherman to the Military Division of the Mississippi, including the Department of Arkansas in addition to those departments already within it; McPherson succeeded Sherman in the command of the Department of the Tennessee; and, as a matter of course, Halleck, who had so long filled the place of general-in-chief, was relieved from that position. He was, however, soon afterwards assigned to duty in Washington by General Grant as chief-of-staff of the army, for which position, charged with the details of military administration, it was thought, his capacities peculiarly fitted him.

On the 23d of March, Grant arrived at Washington, and on the next day he took actual command—his first act being to reorganize the Army of the Potomac by consolidating it into three corps—to be known thereafter as the Second, Fifth, and Sixth, to be commanded respectively by Major-Generals Hancock, Warren, and Sedgwick. The Ninth corps, under Burnside, lately from East Tennessee, had been reorganized at Annapolis, and was added to the Army of the Potomac, but acted for a time independently of Meade, on account of Burnside's older commission. Generals Barlow, Gibbon, Birney, J. B. Carr, Wadsworth, Crawford, Robinson, Griffin, Wright, and Prince, commanded divisions. The cavalry of the army was consolidated into a corps under General Sheridan, with Generals Gregg, Torbert, and Wilson commanding divisions. These officers had all distinguished themselves in the war, and were selected for their services and their zeal in the national cause.

The staff organization of the Army of the Potomac remained unchanged, with Brigadier-General H. J. Hunt as Chief of Artillery; Major J. C. Duane, Chief of Engineers; Brigadier-General Rufus Ingalls, Chief Quartermaster. Major-General A. A. Humphreys, an able officer of engineers, distinguished also as a division commander, was Chief-of-Staff; while Brigadier-General Seth Williams was Adjutant-General.

The law creating the grade of lieutenant-general enabled Grant to reorganize his own staff also. General Rawlins, his constant companion from the beginning of the war, was retained as Chief-of-Staff, and Colonel T. S. Bowers as Adjutant-General; Colonel Wilson, his Inspector-General, who had been promoted to be brigadier-general after Chattanooga, and had been ordered to Washington for the purpose of reorganizing the Cavalry Bureau, was assigned to the command of a division under Sheridan. His place on the staff was filled by Colonel Comstock of the Engineer corps; Colonel Horace Porter and Colonel O. E. Babcock, two young officers of the regular army, who had already given great promise of usefulness and ability, were designated as Aids-de-Camp; while Colonels Adam Badeau and Ely S. Parker (a hereditary chief of the Six Nations) were assigned as Military Secretaries.

No clearer statement of the situation of military affairs, or of the plan of operations adopted for the future conduct of the war can be made, than that given in General Grant's own words:

"From an early period in the rebellion," he says, in his comprehensive and admirable report, "I had been impressed with the idea that active and continuous operations of all the troops that could be brought into the field, regardless of season and weather, were necessary to a speedy termination of the war. The resources of the enemy and his numerical strength were far inferior to ours; but, as an offset to this, we had a vast territory, with a population hostile to the government, to garrison, and long lines of river and railroad communications to protect, to enable us to supply the operating armies.

"The armies in the East and West acted independently, and without concert, like a balky team—no two ever pulling together—enabling the enemy to use to great advantage his interior lines of communication for transporting troops from East to West, reinforcing the army most vigorously pressed, and to furlough large numbers during seasons of inactivity on our part, to go to their homes and do the work of providing for the support of their armies. It was a question whether our numerical strength and resources were not more than balanced by these disadvantages and the enemy's superior position.

"From the first I was firm in the conviction that no peace could be had that would be stable and conducive to the happiness of the people, both North and South, until the military power of the rebellion was entirely broken.

"I therefore determined, first, to use the greatest number of troops practicable against the armed force of the enemy, preventing him from using the same force at different seasons against first one and then another of our armies, and the possibility of repose for refitting and producing necessary supplies for carrying on resistance; second, to hammer continuously against the armed force of the enemy and his resources, until, by mere attrition, if in no other way, there should be nothing left to him but an equal submission with the loyal sections of our common country to the constitution and laws of the land.

"These views have been kept constantly in mind, and orders given and campaigns made to carry them out. Whether they might have been better in conception and execution is for the people, who mourn the loss of friends fallen, and who have to pay the pecuniary cost, to say. All I can say is, that what I have done has been done conscientiously, to the best of my ability, and in what I conceived to be for the best interests of the whole country.

"At the date when this report begins, the situation of the contending forces was about as follows: The Mississippi river was strongly garrisoned by Federal troops from St. Louis, Missouri, to its mouth. The line of the Arkansas was also held, thus giving us armed possession of all west of the Mississippi north of that stream. A few points in Southern Louisiana, not remote from the river, were held by us, together with a small garrison at and near the mouth of the Rio Grande. All the balance of the vast territory of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, was in the almost undisputed possession of the enemy, with an army of probably not less than 80,000 effective men that could have been brought into the field, had there been sufficient opposition to have brought them out. The *let-alone-policy* had demoralized this force so that probably but little more than one-half of it was ever present in garrison at any one time. But the one-half, or 40,000 men, with the bands of guerrillas scattered through Missouri, Arkansas, and along the Mississippi river, and the disloyal character of much of the population, compelled the use of a large number of troops to keep navigation open on the river, and to protect the loyal people to the west of it. To the east of the Mississippi we held substantially with the line of the Tennessee and Holston rivers, running eastward to include nearly all of the State of Tennessee. South of Chattanooga a small foothold had been obtained in Georgia, sufficient to protect East Tennessee from incursions from the enemy's force at Dalton, Georgia. West Virginia was substantially within our lines. Virginia, with the exception of the northern border, the Potomac river, a small area about the mouth of James river covered by the troops at Norfolk and Fort Monroe, and the territory covered by the Army of the Potomac lying along the Rapidan, was in the possession of the enemy. Along the sea-coast, footholds had been obtained at Plymouth, Washington, and Newbern, in North Carolina; Beaufort, Folly, and Morris islands, Hilton Head, Fort Pulaski, and Port Royal, in South Carolina; Fernandina and St. Augustine, in Florida. Key West and Pensacola were also in our possession, while all the important ports were blockaded by the navy.

"Behind the Union lines there were many bands of guerillas, and a large population disloyal to the government, making it necessary to guard every foot of road or river used in supplying our armies. In the South a reign of military despotism prevailed, which made every man and boy capable of bearing arms a soldier, and those who could not bear arms in the field acted as provosts for collecting deserters and returning them. This enabled the enemy to bring almost his entire strength into the field.

"The enemy had concentrated the bulk of his forces east of the Mississippi into two armies, commanded by Generals R. E. Lee and J. E. Johnston, his ablest and best generals. The army commanded by Lee occupied the south bank of the Rapidan, extending from Mine Run westward, strongly intrenched in position at Dalton, Georgia, covering and defending Atlanta, Georgia, a place of great importance as a railroad centre, against the armies under Major-General W. T. Sherman. In addition to these armies, he had a large cavalry force under Forrest in Northeast Mississippi; a considerable force, of all arms, in the Shenandoah valley, and in the western part of Virginia and extreme eastern part of Tennessee; and also confronting our sea-coast garrisons, and holding blockaded ports where we had no foothold upon land.

"These two armies, and the cities covered and defended by them, were the main objective points of the campaign.

"Major-General W. T. Sherman, who was appointed to the command of the military division of the Mississippi, embracing all the armies and territory east of the Mississippi river to the Alleghenies, and the department of Arkansas, west of the Mississippi, had the immediate command of the armies operating against Johnston.

"Major-General George G. Meade had the immediate command of the Army of the Potomac, from where I exercised general supervision of the movements of all our armies.

"General Sherman was instructed to move against Johnston's army, to break it up, and to go into the interior of

GRANT WRITING DESPATCH WHILE ARMY WAS CROSSING THE RAPIDAN.

THE LAST CAVALRY CHARGE OF THE WAR.

the enemy's country as far as he could, inflicting all the damage he could upon their war resources. If the enemy in his front showed signs of joining Lee, to follow him up to the full extent of his ability, while I would prevent the concentration of Lee upon him if it was in the power of the Army of the Potomac to do so. More specific written instructions were not given, for the reason that I had talked over with him the plans of the campaign, and was satisfied that he understood them and would execute them to the fullest extent possible.

"Major-General N. P. Banks, then on an expedition up Red river against Shreveport, Louisiana (which had been organized previous to my appointment to command), was notified by me, on the 15th of March, of the importance it was that Shreveport should be taken at the earliest possible day, and that if he found that the taking of it would occupy from ten to fifteen days' more time than General Sherman had given his troops to be absent from their command, he would send them back at the time specified by General Sherman, even if it led to the abandonment of the main object of the Red river expedition, for this force was necessary to movements east of the Mississippi; that should his expedition prove successful, he would hold Shreveport and the Red river with such force as he might deem necessary, and return the balance of his troops to the neighborhood of New Orleans, commencing no move for the further acquisition of territory unless it was to make that then held by him more easily held; that it might be a part of the spring campaign to move against Mobile; that it certainly would be if troops enough could be obtained to make it without embarrassing other movements; that New Orleans would be the point of departure for such an expedition; also, that I had directed General Steele to make a real move from Arkansas, as suggested by him (General Banks), instead of a demonstration, as Steele thought advisable.

"On the 21st of March, in addition to the foregoing notification and directions, he was instructed as follows:

"'1. If successful in your expedition against Shreveport, that you turn over the defence of the Red river to General Steele and the navy.

"'2. That you abandon Texas entirely, with the exception of your hold upon the Rio Grande. This can be held with 4,000 men, if they will turn their attention immediately to fortifying their positions. At least one-half of the force required for this service might be taken from the colored troops.

"'3. By properly fortifying on the Mississippi river, the force to guard it from Port Hudson to New Orleans can be reduced to 10,000 men, if not to a less number; 6,000 more would then hold all the rest of the territory necessary to hold until active operations can be resumed west of the river. According to your last return, this would give you a force of over 30,000 effective men with which to move against Mobile. To this I expect to add 5,000 men from Missouri. If, however, you think the force here stated too small to hold the territory regarded as necessary to hold possession of, I would say, concentrate at least 25,000 men of your present command for operations against Mobile. With these, and such additions as I can give you from elsewhere, lose no time in making a demonstration, to be followed by an attack upon Mobile. Two or more ironclads will be ordered to report to Admiral Farragut. This gives him a strong naval fleet with which to co-operate. You can make your own arrangements with the Admiral for his co-operation, and select your own line of approach. My own idea of the matter is, that Pascagoula should be your base; but, from your long service in the Gulf department, you will know best about the matter. It is intended that your movements shall be co-operative with movements elsewhere, and you cannot now start too soon. All I would now add is, that you commence the concentration of your forces at once. Preserve a profound secrecy of what you intend doing, and start at the earliest possible moment.'

"Major-General Meade was instructed that Lee's army would be his objective point; that wherever Lee went he would go also. For his movement two plans presented themselves:—one to cross the Rapidan below Lee, moving by his right flank; the other above, moving by his left. Each presented advantages over the other, with corresponding objections. By crossing above, Lee would be cut off from all chance of ignoring Richmond or going North on a raid. But if we took this route, all we did would have to be done whilst the rations we started with held out; besides it separated us from Butler, so that he could not be directed how to co-operate. If we took the other route, Brandy Station could be used as a base of supplies until another was secured on the York or James rivers. Of these, however, it was decided to take the lower route.

"The following letter of instructions was addressed to Major-General B. F. Butler:

"FORT MONROE, VA., *April* 2, 1864.

"'GENERAL: In the spring campaign, which it is desirable shall commence at as early a day as practicable, it is proposed to have co-operative action of all the armies in the field, as far as this object can be accomplished.

"'It will not be possible to unite our armies into two or three large ones, to act as so many units, owing to the absolute necessity of holding on to the territory already taken from the enemy. But, generally speaking, concentration can be practically effected by armies moving to the interior of the enemy's country from the territory they have to guard. By such movement they interpose themselves between the enemy and the country to be guarded, thereby reducing the number necessary to guard important points, or at least occupy the attention of a part of the enemy's force, if no greater object is gained. Lee's army and Richmond being the greater objects towards which our attention must be directed in the next campaign, it is desirable to unite all the force we can against them. The necessity of covering Washington with the Army of the Potomac, and of covering your department with your army, makes it impossible to unite these forces at the beginning of any move. I propose, therefore, what comes nearest this of anything that seems practicable: The Army of the Potomac will act from its present base, Lee's army being the objective point. You will collect all the forces from your command that can be spared from garrison duty—I should say not less than 20,000 effective men—to operate on the south side of James river, Richmond being your objective point. To the force you already have will be added about 10,000 men from South Carolina, under Major-General Gilmore, who will command them in person. Major-General W. F. Smith is ordered to report to you, to command the troops sent into the field from your own department.

"'General Gilmore will be ordered to report to you at Fortress Monroe, with all the troops on transports, by the 18th instant, or as soon thereafter as practicable. Should you not receive notice by that time to move, you will make such disposition of them and your other forces as you may deem best calculated to deceive the enemy as to the real move to be made.

" 'When you are notified to move, take City Point with as much force as possible. Fortify, or rather intrench at once, and concentrate all your troops for the field there as rapidly as you can. From City Point, directions cannot be given at this time for your further movements.

" 'The fact that has already been stated—that is, that Richmond is to be your objective point, and that there is to be co-operation between your force and the Army of the Potomac—must be your guide. This indicates the necessity of your holding close to the south bank of the James river as you advance. Then, should the enemy be forced into his intrenchments in Richmond, the Army of the Potomac would follow, and by means of transports the two armies would be a unit.

" 'All the minor details of your advance are left entirely to your direction. If, however, you think it practicable to use your cavalry south of you, so as to cut the railroad about Hick's Ford about the time of the general advance, it would be of immense advantage.

" 'You will please forward, for my information, at the earliest practicable day, all orders, details, and instructions you may give for the execution of this order.'

"On the 16th these instructions were substantially reiterated. On the 19th, in order to secure full co-operation between his army and that of General Meade, he was informed that I expected him to move from Fort Monroe the same day that General Meade moved from Culpeper. The exact time I was to telegraph him as soon as it was fixed, and that it would not be earlier than the 27th of April; that it was my intention to fight Lee between Culpeper and Richmond if he would stand. Should he, however, fall back into Richmond, I would follow up, and make a junction with his (General Butler's) army on the James river; that, could I be certain he would be able to invest Richmond on the south side so as to have his left resting on the James, above the city, I would form a junction there; that circumstances might make this course advisable anyhow; that he should use every exertion to secure footing as far up the south side of the river as he could, and as soon as possible, after the receipt of orders to move; that if he could not carry the city, he should at least detain as large a force as possible.

"In co-operation with the main movements against Lee and Johnston, I was desirous of using all other troops necessarily kept in departments remote from the fields of immediate operations, and also those kept in the background for the protection of our extended lines between the loyal States and the armies operating against them.

"A very considerable force, under command of Major-General Sigel, was so held for the protection of West Virginia, and the frontiers of Maryland and Pennsylvania. Whilst these troops could not be withdrawn to distant fields without exposing the North to invasion by comparatively small bodies of the enemy, they could act directly to their front and give better protection than if lying idle in garrison. By such movement they would either compel the enemy to detach largely for the protection of his supplies and lines of communication, or he would lose them.

"General Sigel was therefore directed to organize all his available force into two expeditions, to move from Beverly and Charleston, under command of Generals Ord and Crook, against the East Tennessee and Virginia railroad. Subsequently, General Ord having been relieved at his own request, General Sigel was instructed, at his own suggestior, to give up the expedition by Beverly, and to form two columns, one under General Crook, on the Kanawha, numbering about 10,000 men, and one on the Shenandoah, numbering about 7,000 men, the one on the Shenandoah to assemble between Cumberland and the Shenandoah, and the infantry and artillery advanced to Cedar Creek, with such cavalry as could be made available at the moment, to threaten the enemy in the Shenandoah Valley, and advance as far as possible; while General Crook would take possession of Lewisburg with part of his force and move down the Tennessee railroad, doing as much damage as he could, destroying the New River bridge and the salt-works at Saltville, Virginia.

"Owing to the weather and bad condition of the roads, operations were delayed until the 1st of May, when, everything being in readiness and the roads favorable, orders were given for a general movement of all the armies not later than the 4th of May.

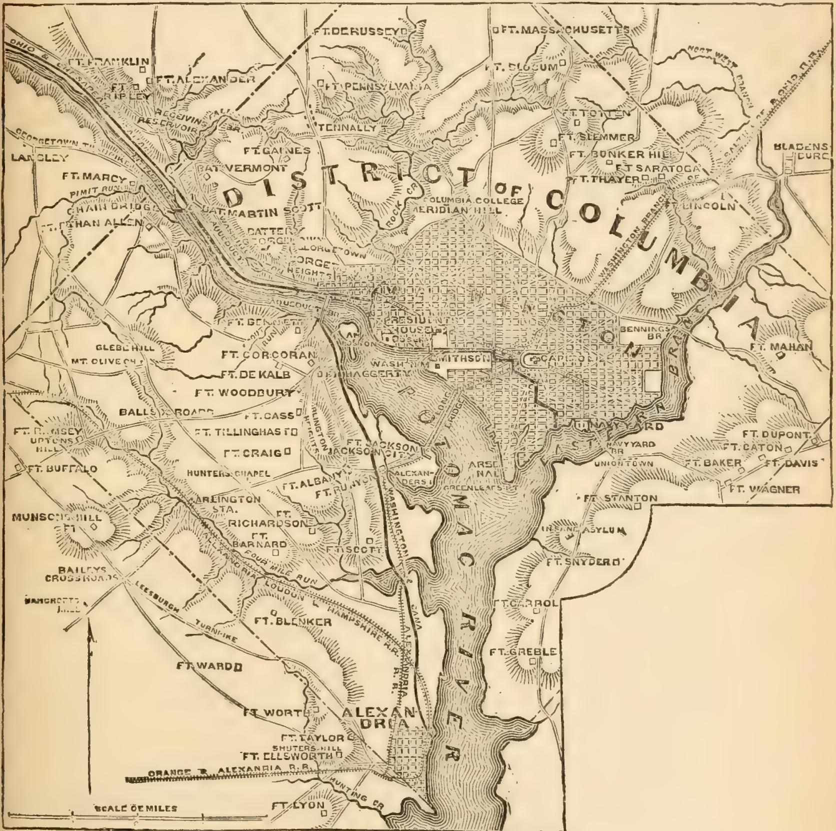
"My first object being to break the military power of the rebellion, and capture the enemy's important strongholds, made me desirous that General Butler should succeed in his movement against Richmond, as that would tend more than anything else, unless it were the capture of Lee's army, to accomplish this desired result in the East. If he failed, it was my determination, by hard fighting, either to compel Lee to retreat, or to so cripple him that he could not detach a large force to go North, and still retain enough for the defence of Richmond. It was well understood, by both Generals Butler and Meade, before starting on the campaign, that it was my intention to put both their armies south of the James river, in case of failure to destroy Lee without it.

"Before giving General Butler his instructions, I visited him at Fort Monroe, and, in conversation, pointed out the apparent importance of getting possession of Petersburg, and destroying railroad communication as far south as possible. Believing, however, in the practicability of capturing Richmond, unless it was reinforced, I made that the objective point of his operations. As the Army of the Potomac was to move simultaneously with him, Lee could not detach from his army with safety, and the enemy did not have troops elsewhere to bring to the defence of the city in time to meet a rapid movement from the north of James river.

"I may here state that, commanding all the armies as I did, I tried, as far as possible, to leave General Meade in independent command of the Army of the Potomac. My instructions for that army were all through him, and were general in their nature, leaving all the details and the execution to him."

The particular plan of operations for the Army of the Potomac has been severely criticised by various writers upon the war. From the first Grant was "firm in the conviction that no peace could be had that would be stable and conducive to the happiness of the people, both North and South, until the military power of the rebellion was entirely broken." How he expected to break this military power is stated with clearness, and is based upon the soundest military principles:

"I therefore determined, first to use the greatest number of troops practicable against the armed force of the enemy, preventing him from using the same force at different seasons against first one and then another of our armies;" and, "second, to hammer continuously against the armed force of the enemy and his resources, until by mere attrition, if in no other way, there should be nothing left to him but an equal submission with the loyal section of our



FORTIFICATIONS IN AND AROUND WASHINGTON CITY.

common country, to the Constitution and the laws of the land."

It will be observed that he says nothing here in reference to strategic points, converging or diverging lines of operations, but has steadily kept in view only the armed forces of the enemy. But as if to leave no room for doubt on this point, he instructed Meade that Lee's army, the very head and front of the Confederate cause, "would be his objective point; that wherever Lee went, he would go also." In the entire range of all that has ever been said, either by the writers or the fighters, there cannot be found a more comprehensive plan of a great war, nor a more judicious statement of the principles upon which it should be conducted. If it be true, as has been stated, that the General who conceived and carried this plan into execution, although educated as a soldier, never read a treatise on grand tactics or strategy, and, like Bagration, knew nothing of those sciences, except what he learned from his own experience and reflection, his countrymen may justly ascribe to him the possession of military genius of the highest order.

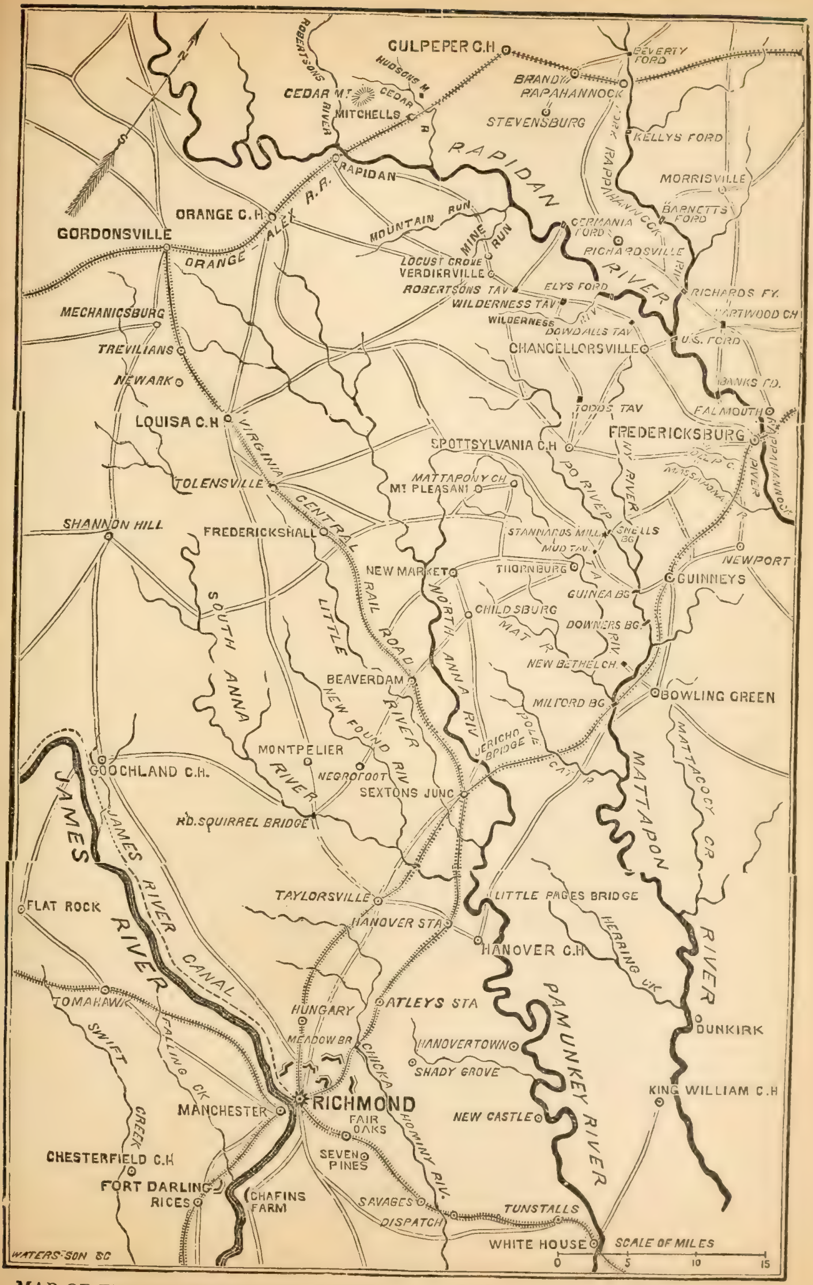
The position of Lee's army was as well known as that of the Army of the Potomac, when Grant moved his headquarters to Culpeper Court-House; but even if there had been a reasonable doubt on this point, past experience had shown that the national forces would not be permitted to get far in the right direction without obtaining the desired information. This fact alone ought to have settled, as it did, all questions in reference to the line of operations to be pursued in the coming campaign; and yet it is claimed that Grant should have withdrawn from Lee's front, marched to Washington or Acquia creek, transported his army to the James, and there begun his campaign, by moving directly upon Richmond or its communications. It is asserted, in support of this plan, that Grant himself, before being called to the command of all the armies, wrote a letter to Halleck recommending a plan similar to that devised by Generals Franklin and Smith. The country has good reason to be thankful that Grant, when he became charged with the actual responsibility of making and executing a plan for the

Army of the Potomac, saw sufficient reason, after careful investigation and study, to change his views, and adopt a plan more strictly in accordance with the principles of war. The Army of the Potomac had already tried the Peninsula route to its sore cost. The long array of unfortunate events, beginning with the seven days' battle, including the closing events of Pope's disastrous campaign; the indecisive battle of Antietam; the bloody disaster of Fredericksburg; the inglorious failure of Chancellorsville, scarcely counterbalanced by the expulsion of Lee from Pennsylvania by the uncompleted victory of Gettysburg, the Mine Run campaign, followed by the rapid retreat on Washington, had their beginning in the attempt to take Richmond by advancing upon it by the way of the Peninsula.

It was by holding his army well in hand that Lee was enabled to plant himself with such address across Grant's line of march, in time to prepare those intrenched positions which covered him almost as effectively as the regular intrenchments of Richmond could have done. It was this and not the physical features of the theatre of operations which gave the overland campaign its destructive peculiarities,—making it "a kind of running siege" instead of a campaign subject to the ordinary rules of warfare.

Grant has been also severely criticised for permitting Butler to advance from Fortress Monroe, and Sigel from West Virginia, instead of uniting them with Meade before the campaign began; but it must not be forgotten that Butler was united with Meade before the army reached Richmond, and that Sigel's advance from West Virginia was made with troops "which, under no circumstances, could be withdrawn to distant fields, without exposing the North to invasion." It was hoped, too, that the latter command, if it did not succeed in breaking up important railroad communications, would at least neutralize the large force which must necessarily be detached by Lee for their protection. Its success in the latter respect was sufficiently realized in the earlier stages of the campaign, as well as subsequently when, under Crook, it formed a part of Sheridan's army in the Shenandoah Valley.

The defensive line occupied by Lee at Orange Court-House was well selected and thoroughly strengthened. Covered by the Rapidan, a stream of considerable size with steep banks and difficult fords, flanked on the east by the Wilderness, and on the west by the foot-hills of the Blue Ridge, a direct attack was entirely out of the question, and to turn it was exceedingly difficult. But Grant was not the man to remain long in doubt as to what policy to pursue. A turning movement towards his right, avoiding the Wilderness, throwing him into the open country, and more directly upon the Confederate lines of communication, seemed to promise better results in case of immediate success; but on the other hand it would carry him away from his own communications and leave him in greater danger in case of a drawn battle, or a counter attack from the enemy. He hoped to be able to crush Lee at a single blow or at most in a few days, but he was too sagacious to count certainly upon this. He therefore determined to move by the left flank, crossing the Rapidan by the lower fords and pushing through the Wilderness towards the open country in the direction of Spottsylvania. Accordingly on the 3d of May all arrangements having been perfected, the troops fully equipped, armed, and supplied with three days' cooked rations, the cavalry and artillery horses newly shod and the army concentrated in the neighborhood of Culpeper and Brandy Station, he issued his instructions to Meade for the movement to begin. That officer arranged the details as follows: Wilson with the Third cavalry division, about 3,000 strong, was ordered to move from his camp near Stevensburg at one o'clock, on the morning of Thursday, May 4th, and to cross the Rapidan at Germania Ford, covering the construction of a pontoon bridge at that place and clearing the way for the infantry of Warren's corps, which was directed to follow close upon him. As soon as Warren's advanced division had crossed the river, Wilson was to move out by the old Wilderness Tavern and take the road to Parker's store, scouting the country in all directions and keeping the infantry informed of the enemy's movements. Sedgwick was directed to follow Warren,



MAP OF THE COUNTRY FROM CULPEPER COURT-HOUSE TO RICHMOND, VA.

keeping close up. Gregg, with the Second cavalry division, about 3,500 strong, was ordered to move at the same time to Ely's Ford, still lower down the river, covering the march and clearing the way for Hancock's corps towards Chancellorsville. Torbert with the First cavalry division, about 3,500 strong, was to cover the trains and the rear of the army; strongly picketing the river from Rapidan Station to Germania Ford, and holding the line from Mitchell's Station to Culpeper; as soon as the crossing should be secured he was to rejoin Sheridan at Chancellorsville.

Precisely at midnight the movement began. Wilson's advance guard crossed the river at 3.50 A. M., driving back the Confederate pickets, and by six o'clock the bridge was laid and his division formed in line a mile in advance of the ford. Warren began crossing soon afterwards, and by noon his advanced division, covered by the cavalry, had reached Wilderness Tavern, at the crossing of the Orange Turnpike and the Germania Ford roads, where he bivouacked for the night. Sedgwick kept well closed up, crossed the bridge during the afternoon, and encamped before dark about a mile beyond the ford. Hancock's corps reached the river also at an early hour in the morning, found the cavalry across and the bridge ready, and therefore lost but little time in following, camping for the night on Hooker's old battle-ground. Neither column had encountered the enemy, except the small force of pickets which had been watching the river. These were rapidly driven back by Wilson's advance, and were pursued by a small force as far as Mine Run. The country was thoroughly scouted along all the roads leading towards the stream without encountering Lee's forces in any strength. The crossing was evidently a surprise, but the Confederate general was in no manner cast down by it. He knew that he could not hold the line of the Rapidan, a fordable river, so strongly as to keep it intact, and therefore wisely held his army concentrated in an advantageous position, ready to strike in whatever direction circumstances might require. His pickets gave him timely notice, and with ready determination he moved to the attack.

On the morning of the 5th of May Grant's army, between 90,000 and 100,000 strong, lay in the Wilderness in the following order: Wilson at Parker's store, Warren and Sedgwick on the road from Germania Ford to Wilderness Tavern, Hancock at Chancellorsville, Sheridan with Gregg and Torbert near by. The orders of the day did not contemplate a battle, although the troops were disposed in such a manner as to be prepared for attack. Wilson was directed to move at five o'clock A. M. to Craig's meeting-house on the Catharpen road, keeping out parties on the Orange Court-House pike and plank-road, and sending scouts well out on all the roads to the south and west. Warren was directed to move at the same hour to Parker's store, extending his right towards Sedgwick, who was to move to old Wilderness Tavern as soon as the roads were clear. Hancock was to march towards Shady Grove Church, extending his right towards Warren's left at Parker's store. Sheridan, with Gregg and Torbert, was directed against the enemy's cavalry at Hamilton Crossing. Wilson moved promptly at the hour designated, leaving the Fifth New York cavalry, Colonel John Hammond commanding, to hold Parker's store till relieved by Warren's advance; but by dawn this gallant regiment was hotly attacked, of which due notice was given to the troops in the rear.

Lee had taken his determination to fall upon Grant while still entangled in the Wilderness, and during the night put his entire army in motion by the two roads leading from his position to Fredericksburg, intersecting the roads from the Rapidan to Richmond at right angles. Ewell's corps was thrown forward on the old turnpike, and Hill's on the plank-road, while Longstreet's corps, which had occupied the extreme left of Lee's line, was rapidly withdrawn from Gordonsville, and ordered to the front. The two armies had bivouacked within five or six miles of each other, and both were on the alert at an early hour.

Griffin's division of Warren's corps had been thrown to the right of old Wilderness Tavern on the turnpike the evening before, relieving the cavalry and posting its own pickets well out.

Warren had hardly got his column in motion when his covering division was attacked with great vehemence, his pickets falling back rapidly. His orders to Crawford, commanding his advance division, were to push forward to Parker's as rapidly as possible, but that officer, although informed by Colonel McIntosh, who commanded a brigade of Wilson's division, and had just joined Hammond's hard-pressed regiment, that the enemy was advancing in force, moved with great deliberation, and did not reach Parker's at all. The intensity of the enemy's attack in the meantime had increased to such a pitch that a general battle was now certain. Warren lost no time in deploying Wadsworth's division abreast of and to the left of Griffin's on the plank-road. Robinson's division was held in reserve, with one brigade in line on Wadsworth's left. Wright's division of the Sixth corps was also ordered into position on the right of this line. With this force a vigorous attack was made upon the advancing enemy, driving them back rapidly and in confusion: the heaviest of the fighting being done by Ayres' and Bartlett's brigades. But Ewell's leading division was soon supported by the rest of his corps, and in turn drove back Warren's entire line. The woods were so tangled and thick that the alignment could not be kept; Crawford's division was separated from Wadsworth, and the latter from the main force formed on the turnpike; while Wright, for a similar reason, found it impossible to bring his division properly to Warren's support. Under such circumstances these sub-divisions of his command were unable to make head against the force bearing down upon them, although they struggled gallantly.

Warren had, therefore, nothing to do but to withdraw his troops to a new line somewhat to the rear but still in front of Wilderness Run.

Grant directed Meade to recall Hancock's column, which had moved at the appointed time southward by the way of Todd's Tavern. It was ordered to countermarch by the Brock road, and take position on Warren's left. In the meantime Hill's corps moving on the Orange plank-road had encountered Hammond's regiment, and, after a severe engagement, in which Colonels Hammond and McIntosh behaved with great gallantry, had driven it from Parker's, but not till Getty's division of the Sixth corps had reached the cross-roads four miles to the eastward, and put itself in position to check Hill's advance. The intention of the latter was evidently to march down the Orange plank-road till he reached the Brock road, and then turning to the northward to throw himself upon what he supposed to be the flank of Grant's army. Fortunately his purpose was counteracted by the immovable stand made by Getty at the intersection of the roads. Hancock reached this position at three o'clock, and after beginning the construction of a line of breastworks along the Brock road, he was ordered to advance against Hill, and if possible drive him beyond the position at Parker's store. A few minutes past four o'clock the attack was made in fine style by Getty's division, which encountered the enemy in great strength only a few hundred yards to the front. Hancock went to his support with Birney's and Mott's divisions, and soon afterwards the greater part of Gibbon's and Barlow's divisions, with all the artillery, became engaged, pressing forward with great ardor; but our troops could not carry the enemy's position or break their lines, although they did not relinquish the effort until after nightfall.

In order to relieve the pressure on Hancock's front, and to strike Hill on the flank, Warren was directed to send a force from his left towards Parker's store. Wadsworth's division and Baxter's brigade were selected, and began the movement at about four o'clock, but they experienced such difficulty in penetrating the tangled forest that it was dark before Wadsworth could make himself felt by the enemy. Wilson's division, in the meantime, reached Craig's meeting-house at an early hour in the morning, and just beyond there encountered the Confederate cavalry under Stuart, driving it rapidly back more than a mile. His ammunition becoming exhausted, he was in turn repulsed, and shortly afterwards ascertained that the Confederate infantry had dislodged his regiment from Parker's store, and interposed between him the main army. Uniting his division as rapidly as possible, he struck across the country, and, after severe fighting, succeeded in forming a junction with Gregg's division at Todd's Tavern. Sheridan, having learned early in the day that the enemy's cavalry at Hamilton Crossing had rejoined Lee, concentrated his corps on the left of the army, confronting the Confederate cavalry under Stuart, defeating all his attempts to reach our trains, and holding all the country from Hancock's left, by the way of Todd's Tavern, to Piney Branch Church. The Ninth corps, under Burnside. had been instructed to hold a position on the north side of the Rapidan for twenty-four hours after the army had crossed. It was now ordered to the front, and, after a long and fatiguing march, reached the field on the morning of the 6th, where it was assigned a position between Warren and Hancock. Longstreet was also hastening to reinforce Lee.

The operations of the 5th, as has been seen, were of somewhat desultory character, the principal efforts of both armies being to secure a position for delivering battle favorably. It has been said that Grant's moving columns were surprised and caught in flank, but this is not so; for although he had hoped to get through the Wilderness before encountering Lee, he had disposed of his forces to the best possible advantage, in anticipation of a battle.

The field upon which the contending armies were concentrated is one of the most remarkable ever known. It is a wild and desolate region of worn-out tobacco-fields, covered with scraggy oaks and pines, sassafras and hazel, and intersected with narrow roads and deep ravines. It is a strange battle-ground; yet it is here, amid these jungles, on these narrow wood roads, and in these deep ravines, that is about to be fought one of the mightiest and most bloody, if not most decisive, battles of the war. Manifestly, Grant had not intended that the battle should take place in the forest. He felt proud because of the success which had attended the crossing of the Rapidan. It was confessedly a perilous operation; and the fact that it had been accomplished "in the face of an active, large, well-appointed, and ably-commanded army," was well fitted to relieve his mind of the most "serious apprehensions." It was his hope, if not his conviction, that another day's march would enable him to push the army beyond the Wilderness, and, using it as a mask, to advance rapidly on Gordonsville, and take a position between Lee's army and the Confederate capital. It was Grant's expectation, in fact, that Lee, as soon as he was made aware of the movements of the national army, would fall back towards Richmond. With this end in view, Sheridan was instructed to move, with Gregg's and Torbert's divisions, against the Confederate cavalry in the direction of Hamilton's Crossing; Wilson, with the Third cavalry division, was to move to Craig's Meeting-House on the Catharpin Road, and thence to send out detachments along the different avenues by which the enemy might approach; Hancock, with his Second corps, was to advance to Shady Grove Church, and thence to extend his right towards the Fifth corps, at Parker's Store; Warren, with his Fifth corps, was to move to Parker's Store, and to extend his right towards the Old Wilderness Tavern, where Sedgwick was ordered to take position.

On the morning of Thursday, the 5th of May, these orders were put in execution. As early as five o'clock the different columns were in motion, and pushing towards the positions respectively assigned them.

The ground on which the struggle was about to begin—a struggle greatly more severe than was anticipated by the national leaders—was a sort of clearance in the forest. As seen from Warren's head-quarters, near the Old Wilderness Tavern, there was a little brook flowing in a north-easterly direction. The brook is bridged at the turnpike, which soon afterwards rises to a ridge, on the southern slope of which is Major Lacy's house, in the midst of a lawn and green meadows. Beyond, the hills were covered with pines and cedars. On the right of the turnpike the thicket was very dense. A little more to the right was a ravine which divided the forces of Griffin and Ewell. At noon the preparations were completed; and Warren, with the divisions of Griffin and Wadsworth, advanced to the attack. It was made with tremendous energy, and at first with complete success. The Confederate advance, which consisted of Johnson's division alone, was easily driven back; and if the brigades of Ayres and Bartlett had been more vigorously supported, Ewell's corps might have been involved in hopeless disaster. As it was the nationals, in what seemed the moment of victory, were speedily brought to a standstill. Johnson had been driven back to the main body of Ewell's command. Rodes, with his fresh division, rushed to the rescue, when the shattered column quickly reformed. At this moment the battle raged with tremendous fury. It had been intended that Warren's right should be sustained by Wright's division, of the Sixth corps; but owing to the denseness of the woods, and the total absence of roads, Wright was unable to get up in time. On Warren's exposed flank, therefore, the Confederates fell with fearful energy. The tide of battle was now turned. Griffin's brigades, overwhelmed by the force of the enemy, were driven back with the loss of two guns and several prisoners. Wadsworth's division, on the left, had been equally unfortunate. In striving to form a connection with that of Griffin, it had moved in a wrong direction, completely exposing its left flank. On this the Confederates opened a murderous fire, compelling the entire division to fall back in disorder. McCandless' brigade, of Crawford's division, which was stationed to the left of Wadsworth, fared even worse. Occupying an isolated position, and exposed at all points, it offered peculiar temptation for attack. The Confederates rushed upon it with great fury and in overwhelming numbers. For a moment it seemed as if the entire brigade was doomed to capture or destruction. After severe fighting, McCandless succeeded in cutting his way through, but not without the loss of two whole regiments. Warren, having thus lost all he had gained by the first successful onset, and having sacrificed at least 3,000 men, fell back and formed a new line of battle more to the rear, but still in front of the Old Wilderness Tavern, and across the turnpike.

While Warren was thus engaged in the centre, Sedgwick, with the Sixth corps, having come up, was ready to take position on his right. Hancock, however, had not had time to return, as ordered, and take position on his left. Some four miles east of Parker's Store, as has already been indicated, the plank-road is intersected by the Brock road. Hill, it will be remembered, was pressing along the plank-road. Hancock, by the Brock road, was pushing forward to the point of intersection. It was all-important that this strategic point should not fall into the hands of the enemy. As there was danger that Hill might reach that point before the arrival of Hancock, Meade ordered General Getty, with his division of the Sixth corps, to advance and hold the position. It was not, however, a moment too soon, for Hill's divisions were already well forward; and Getty, long before the arrival of Hancock, felt the presence and pressure of the foe. In spite of the rapidly increasing weight of his antagonist, Getty stoutly held his position. It was now near three o'clock in the afternoon. There was a lull in the fight. Suddenly there was heard a loud resounding cheer. It came from Hancock's men, who, with almost incredible rapidity, were pushing through the defiles of the forest.

On his arrival, Hancock took position along the Brock road facing westward. He immediately commenced to throw up breastworks. These, however, were not yet completed, when he was ordered to attack with his whole corps, Getty supporting the advance. Birney, with his own command and that of Mott, was thrown forward on Getty's right and left, on both sides of the plank-road. A section of Ricketts' battery, and a company of the First Pennsylvania artillery, followed close in the rear of the infantry. It soon became manifest that the enemy was present in great force, although such was the density of the forest that neither army could see the other. Getty, strengthened as he was by Birney and Mott, was making no headway. Hancock, now pushing forward the brigades of Carroll and Owen, of Gibbon's division, and the Irish brigade, of the Second Delaware, under Colonel Smythe, made, to use the language of General Lee, "repeated and desperate assaults;" but it was all in vain. Hill's corps, which consisted of the divisions of Anderson, Heth and Wilcox, all of them West Point men, not only successfully resisted but repelled every attack. The afternoon was wearing away. During the heat of the fight, and when the Confederates made one of their desperate and apparently successful onslaughts, the section of Ricketts' battery, which was moved along the plank-road, was actually captured, the men and horses suffering terribly. It was soon, however, recaptured by Carroll's brigade, and afterwards withdrawn and replaced by a section of Dow's Sixth Maine battery. Hancock had done his best, but apparently in vain. Mott's command had already given way; and Hays, while attempting to fill up the break in the line, was shot dead, at the head of his brigade.

The heavy and long-continued firing towards the junction of the plank and Brock roads had already attracted the attention of Grant and Meade. It was evident that the battle was fierce—that the Confederates were present in great force, and that Getty and Hancock were being taxed to the very utmost. By way of furnishing relief to these two commanders, Wadsworth, with his own division and Baxter's brigade, of Robinson's division, was ordered to move southward through the forest, and strike Hill on the flank and rear. Such was the density of the forest, and so great were the obstacles encountered in the face of skirmishers who were evidently familiar with every inch of the ground, that darkness had set in before Wadsworth was in a position to strike as directed. His troops rested on their arms for the night, ready to take advantage of their favored position in the morning. Towards midnight, all was silent in the Wilderness. Hancock had failed to drive Hill back on the plank-road. Hill had been equally unsuccessful in his attempt to dislodge Hancock. All along the line the nationals and Confederates lay so close to each other that the soldiers of both armies drew water from the same brook. As in the earlier part of the day, a ravine divided both the opposing armies in two. Hancock was separated from Warren and Sedgwick. Ewell was unable to form a connection with Hill. The battle-ground was thickly strewn with dead and dying men. Such was the end of the first day in the Wilderness.

Night was spent by both commanders in preparing for the conflict of the coming day. Burnside, it will be remembered, had been left at Culpeper Court-House with the Ninth corps, his instructions being to hold that place for at least twenty-four hours after the departure of the main body of the army. He had already been ordered forward; and shortly after day-break, on the morning of the 6th, he was on the field, and taking position between the troops of Warren and Hancock. He had marched with great rapidity a distance of thirty miles, and crossed both the Rappahannock and the Rapidan. Grant's order was given as soon as he heard the reports of the different commanders. It was simple. "Attack along the whole line at five in the morning." Lee had decided to deliver an overwhelming blow on Grant's left; but as it would be impossible to do so before the arrival of Longstreet, he resolved to distract attention, and so gain time by making a demonstration on the national right. Just fifteen minutes before the time appointed by Grant for the general attack, a sudden discharge of musketry in the direction of Sedgwick announced the fact that Lee was as ready for battle as his antagonist. This attack, however, was not pushed with vigor. Sedgwick was able to hold his own, and even to push his front forward a few hundred yards. The general plan of battle, as Grant had arranged it, was undisturbed.

At five o'clock precisely, Warren and Hancock advanced to the attack. Hancock, however, was doomed to bear the principal burden of the fight. With him, therefore, we must remain and witness the tide of battle, as it ebbs and flows in his front. Dreading an attack in great force, he had taken the precaution to throw up earthworks on the Brock road. Holding these works with his left, he threw forward his right and centre, consisting of two divisions, under Birney, Getty's command, and the brigades of Owen and Carroll, of Gibbon's division. Half and half work formed no part of Hancock's calculations. He meant to strike a firm and decisive blow. While Birney and Getty made the direct attack along the plank-road and on both sides of the same, Wadsworth, having worked his way across that part of the Second corps which was advancing along the right of the plank-road, was ready to strike Hill clean on the left flank. The direct and flank movements were made almost simultaneously; and so furious was the onset that, after an hour's severe fighting, the ground along Hill's entire front was carried, and some parts of the line driven back through the woods fully half a mile. Hill's troops, in fact, could not be halted until they had overrun the trains, artillery, and even the head-quarters of the Confederate commander. The rifle-pits had been captured, with many prisoners, and five stands of colors. It seemed as if the battle were already won. Another vigorous onset, and the presumption is that Lee's army will be cut in two. The divisions of Heath and Wilcox, of Hill's corps, have been literally shattered to pieces.

At this supreme moment the victors paused in their triumphant progress. The pause was fatal. It was now about seven o'clock. Hancock set about rearranging his troops and getting them into battle order. He had been reinforced by Stevenson's division of Burnside's corps, and Wadsworth's division was now brought into proper line of battle. Getty's division, now completely exhausted, was replaced by Webb's brigade from Gibbon's command on the left, and Frank's brigade, of Barlow's division, was pushed forward from the same flank. In making these arrangements, however, two precious hours were wasted. These hours of inaction proved a great gain to the Confederates. Hill's remaining divisions found time to come up. Longstreet, too, was already close at hand. Hancock was as yet ignorant of the near presence of Longstreet. He had looked for him in another direction. It was known the night previous that he was marching up from Orange Court-House, and the unavoidable conviction was that his object was to strike Hancock in the left flank and rear. It was because of this conviction that Hancock had only advanced his right divisions, leaving his left, under Gibbon, in charge of the works on the Brock road. Hancock had correctly judged. Longstreet had really been making such a movement. So sudden, however, and so overwhelming had been the attack on his front that Lee, fearing for the safety of his whole army, ordered Longstreet to discontinue his flank movement and to come to the assistance of Hill. His arrangements completed, Hancock resumed the advance with great energy. The line in his front no longer yielded to his touch. Again and again he attempted to press back the enemy, but it was all in vain. The battle now raged again with great fury, deeds of daring being performed on both sides. Lee had exhibited great personal bravery. When Gregg's Texans came up he put himself at their head, and was with difficulty dissuaded from leading them to the attack. For two hours the tide of battle ebbed and flowed. It soon began to be evident that Longstreet was present in force, and that he was directing the movements of the Confederates in Hancock's immediate front. Finding it impossible to make any headway, nay, feeling more and more the irresistible pressure of the foe, Hancock ultimately falls back and reforms on the original line along the Brock road. It is now about eleven o'clock. The situation is becoming more critical every moment. Wadsworth, after exhibiting great gallantry, has just fallen, pierced through the head with a bullet, and his command is in utter rout. At this supreme moment, when the Confederates seem about to reap the rewards of victory, there is a sudden pause in the battle. Why, no one could tell. It afterwards appeared that, when about to deal a decisive blow both on Hancock's front and left flank, Longstreet was shot, by mistake, by his own men. He had been riding with his staff at the head of his column, when the cavalcade suddenly confronted a portion of the flanking force, and was mistaken for a party of national horsemen. It was an unfortunate occurrence for Longstreet, and, indeed, for the whole Confederate army; but it was the salvation of Hancock, and, probably, of the entire Army of the Potomac.

Although the fighting had, so far, been mostly done by the national left, the centre and right had not been idle.

Sedgwick, who was attacked in the early morning, but who had successfully maintained his position, had labored in vain to carry certain intrenchments, behind which Ewell had sheltered his men. His attempts had been frequently repeated; his losses in consequence were great. Two of Warren's divisions had been detached and sent to the assistance of Hancock. The other two divisions held a simply defensive attitude. It was part of the plan of the day that Burnside, advancing through the opening between Warren and Hancock, should co-operate in the general advance. It was not, however, until the afternoon that he became engaged with the enemy, and the results were unimportant.

After the repulse of Hancock by Longstreet, there was an almost unbroken lull along the whole line of battle until about four o'clock. When Longstreet was wounded Lee took formal charge of that part of the field. Hancock had turned to good account the time which had been allowed him. Reinforcements had been sent him by Meade; his position had been greatly strengthened; and his front having been cleared by a well-executed movement made by Colonel Leasure, he was fully prepared to meet the enemy. He had already received orders from Grant to resume the attack at six o'clock. Shortly after four o'clock Lee, who by this time had got the troops of Longstreet and Hill well in hand, hurled them against Hancock's lines. The Confederate columns, four in number, came rolling forward. Without halting or firing a shot they approached the edge of the abatis, less than a hundred paces from Hancock's front. Here they paused and opened a furious fire of musketry, which was kept up with great vigor. It had little effect, however, on Hancock's men, who were safe behind their breastworks, and who replied with becoming energy to the Confederate musketeers. While this was going on a fire, which had broken out in the woods in the afternoon, communicated with the log-breastworks, which soon became a mass of flame. The smoke and flame, which were driven by the wind in the faces of the nationals, thus preventing them from firing from the parapet, gave an advantage to the Confederates. Not slow to seize the opportunity Lee's men rushed forward, broke through the first line, pressed

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into the breastworks, and crowded them with their standards. At this critical moment, when some of the nationals were already in full retreat towards Chancellorsville, Carroll, of Gibbon's division, in obedience to orders from General Birney, rushed forward by the left flank, and, falling with tremendous fury on the Confederates, routed them with great slaughter, reclaimed the works, and saved the day.

Later in the day, and just before dark, a vigorous attack was made by Ewell on the right and front of Sedgwick's corps, on the extreme national right. It was a complete surprise to the nationals; and, although Sedgwick quickly got his corps into order and repelled the attack, it was not until Generals Seymour and Shaler, of Rickett's division, had been captured, with about 4,000 of their officers and men. It was now dark. The sound of battle ceased. The wearied soldiers, lying in many cases besides dead or wounded comrades, fell asleep on their arms. The piteous moanings of the wounded alone disturbed the surrounding solitude. The battle of the Wilderness, properly so-called, was ended.

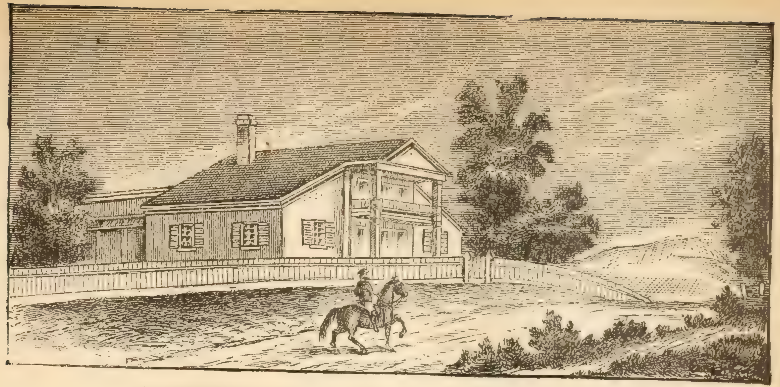
The two days' fighting had resulted in serious loss to both armies. The loss on the national side reached the high figure of 20,000 men, of whom probably 5,000 were made prisoners. On the part of the Confederates the loss was proportionately great, the lowest estimate being 10,000, of whom but few were captured. Among the killed on the national side were Generals Wadsworth, Hays, and Webb, and Hancock, Getty, Gregg, Owen, Bartlett, and Carroll were wounded, some of them severely. Of the Confederate officers, Generals Jones, Jenkins, and Stafford were killed, and Generals Longstreet, Pegram, Pickett, and Hunter were wounded. Such a bush-fight had never been fought before.

On the morning of the 7th of May the rival armies still confronted each other in the Wilderness. Both were exhausted, and on neither the one side nor the other was there any disposition to renew the contest. In the national ranks there were not a few who were of the opinion that a backward march across the Rapidan would soon be ordered. Such thoughts, however, found no place in the mind of General Grant. His eye was fixed on Richmond. During the course of the day it became more and more apparent that Lee was falling back in the direction of Richmond. It was Grant's belief that Lee, convinced of his inability to maintain the contest in the open field, had decided to retire and await an attack behind his own works. His own mind was quickly made up, and he resolved, by a flank movement on the Confederate right, to interpose his whole force between Lee and Richmond. Orders were given accordingly, and shortly after nightfall the entire national army was on its way to Spottsylvania Court-House, some thirteen miles farther to the southeast. Warren led the way, followed by Hancock, both on the Brock road. Sedgwick and Burnside moved on an exterior route, by way of Chancellorsville, where, during the course of the afternoon, the army trains had been parked. By this movement Grant abandoned the Germania Ford, and gave Lee an opportunity to cut off his communications. This, however, was of the less consequence, that the latter general was now under the necessity of taking care of his own communications, his right flank being already seriously threatened. Germania Ford, in fact, was now of little use to Grant, and Lee might take possession or not as he thought fit. Lee was not slow to discover the real object of his antagonist, and to take measures accordingly. Anderson, who now commanded Longstreet's corps, received orders to move from the breastworks and take a position from which he would be able to advance on Spottsylvania Court-House in the early morning. Not finding a suitable place for bivouacking, in consequence of the fire in the woods, Anderson kept moving all night in the direction of the Court-House. It thus happened that Warren and Anderson, the former by the Brock road, the latter by a parallel road a little farther to the west, were simultaneously marching to the same point.

It was about nine o'clock in the morning when Warren began to move his column. His desire was to reach Spottsylvania Court-House before the enemy could have time to be there in anything like force. Unfortunately, however, his course was greatly obstructed, and his progress hindered. At Todd's Tavern he was delayed for two hours, the road being blocked by Meade's cavalry escort. About two miles farther on, and near one of the tributaries of the Po, he was again brought to a standstill by the cavalry division of General Merritt, who, the day before, and up to a late hour of the night, had been engaged fighting Stuart. At this point he lost three hours. It was already daylight; and when he resumed the advance, the road was obstructed with barricades of heavy trees. Considerable time was consumed in removing these; and it was not until eight o'clock on Sunday morning that the head of Warren's column, composed of two brigades, under Robinson, emerged from the woods, and took position on the open ground at what was called Alsop's Farm. This open ground or clearing covered a space of about 150 acres, and was distant from Spottsylvania Court-House some two miles. At this point the road from Todd's Tavern forks—one branch leading to the Court-House, and the other to Laurel Hill. The open space was traversed by an inconsiderable stream called the Ny; and the ground beyond, which ascended towards Spottsylvania, was again covered with woods. Warren's advance was half way across the clearing, and on the point of commencing the ascent of the crest, when, all of a sudden, the ridge blazed with cannon, and a murderous musketry fire burst forth from the woods. The national line staggered and fell back. A stampede seemed to be imminent. Robinson exerted himself to the utmost to hold his men to their work. Getting his batteries into position on the right, he returned the enemy's fire promptly and with vigor. He was soon severely wounded in the knee; his men, thus left without their leader, and retaining a recollection of their bitter experience in the Wilderness, fell back to the woods, where, through the personal exertions of General Warren himself, they were rallied and reformed. Soon afterwards came up Griffin's division, which met with a similar reception, with a like result. Meanwhile, Crawford's division and that of Wadsworth, now commanded by Cutler, had reached the battle-ground.

Crawford advanced on Griffin's left; Cutler advanced on his right; and, in a brief space, the woods on both flanks were cleared of the enemy. Warren's entire corps was now drawn up in battle-line; and the troops, as if convinced that another fierce and bloody battle was about to be fought, proceeded of their own accord to throw up intrenchments. Such was the commencement of the great struggle at Spottsylvania Court-House. The fighting had been severe. The losses were heavy. On the national side about 1,300 men were put *hors du combat*. Some of the regiments were almost cut to pieces. The First Michigan, which went into the fight 200 strong, came out with only 23 men uninjured. The heat was most intense; and large numbers of the men suffered from sunstroke. The engagement of Sunday morning, the 8th of May, is known as the battle of Alsop's Farm.

It was the head of Longstreet's corps, commanded, as we have already seen, by Anderson, with which Warren had come in collision. If Anderson had not been at Spottsylvania Court-House ahead of Warren, there can be no doubt but that the story of that morning's fight would have been altogether different. Every obstruction put in Warren's way was a benefit to Lee. Every moment Warren was delayed was a double gain to the Confederates. But for the fire in the woods, which hastened Anderson's onward march, and but for the unfortunate obstructions which hindered Warren's progress, the national advance, it is reasonable to presume, would first have reached the clearing at Alsop's Farm. In such a case, the first great purpose of General Grant would have been accomplished—General Lee's right would have been turned. As it was, Lee had succeeded in planting his army right across Grant's line of march, and in establishing a powerful bulwark of defence on the Spottsylvania Ridge. This movement upon Spottsylvania brought prominently into view, and shed fresh lustre on, the great abilities of the two rival commanders. The hand of Lee and the hand of Grant were distinctly visible. Skill in combination, promptitude of action and rapidity of movement entitled the one to the victory; and to the north of the Court-House. His left rested on Glady Run, bending to the north, and was sheltered by strong works; his right, curving also to the north, rested on the Ny; his centre, slightly thrown forward, was posted on commanding ground. The entire position was well supported by breastworks. Not much fighting had been done on the Monday. Towards the evening, Hancock made a movement across the Po, his object being to capture a wagon train which was seen moving along the road leading to Spottsylvania. The river was crossed without difficulty; but night came on before the operation could be completed. When morning dawned, the original object of the movement no longer existed; for the Confederate train was already safe behind the lines at the Court-House. Hancock, however, was bent on giving effect to his purpose, to the extent, at least, of securing a lodgement nearer the enemy's position. In developing his movement, he found it necessary again to cross the Po, which runs first almost due east, and then, as it nears the Court-House, makes a sharp bend to the south. Two miles west of the Court-House, it is spanned by a wooden bridge. The approaches to the bridge, however, were all so completely commanded by the enemy, that a passage at that point was deemed impracticable. Not to be hindered in his purpose, Hancock had just succeeded in throwing across the brigade of Brooke, a short distance above, when, by order of General Meade, the whole movement was suspended. It had been decided at head-quarters to make an attack on Laurel Hill, a strong position in front of Warren and Wright; and Hancock was ordered to send two divisions to assist in the proposed assault. The divisions of Gibbon and Birney were at once retired, the enemy taking advantage of the backward movement, and falling heavily on Birney's rear. Barlow's division, of Hancock's corps, was left alone on the south side of the Po. It was already almost too late; for Barlow's skirmishers were already yielding to the vigorous pressure of the enemy. Two brigades of the division were got off without serious difficulty; but the brigades of Brooke and Brown were fiercely attacked, and compelled to hold off the



GRANT'S HEAD-QUARTERS NEAR CHATTANOOGA.

GRANT'S HEAD-QUARTERS IN THE WILDERNESS.

foe at every step of their backward progress. The difficulties of their position were aggravated by a fire, which broke out in the woods between them and the river. Those five brigades, however, were not to be dismayed. They succeeded at once in repelling the assailants and in recrossing the stream. The remarkable coolness and self-possession of the men alone saved them from great disaster. As it was, they sustained the loss of many men in killed and wounded, and one gun—the first gun ever lost by the Second corps. Not a few of the wounded were left to perish in the flames.

Meanwhile, the nationals had made two unsuccessful attempts on Laurel Hill. It had been attacked in the forenoon by the brigades of Webb and Carroll. It was attacked more fiercely in the afternoon by the divisions of Crawford and Cutler. These attempts but revealed the enormous strength of the position. When Hancock arrived and joined Warren, arrangements were made for a united assault by the entire strength of the Fifth and Sixth corps. It was now five o'clock in the afternoon. In the face of a most withering fire, the nationals in thousands—now in steady line, now as if in broken groups, their standard-bearers always conspicuous—were seen struggling up the slopes, and, at one or two points, even penetrating the breastworks. It was found impossible, however, to effect a lodgement or to press on against the decimating fire. The nationals were compelled to fall back, and not without dreadful loss. An hour later, notwithstanding the fearful loss of life in the previous encounter, the assault was repeated. It was made, if possible, with even greater bravery: it was repulsed with a still more dreadful slaughter. The Army of the Potomac had already witnessed much dreadful work. It had never before witnessed such work as this. Not once, since the commencement of the war, had such masses of men, in obedience to orders, marched to destruction. In these two assaults alone, the nationals lost nearly 6,000 men. Among the killed were Generals J. C. Rice and T. G. Stevenson.

It was not, however, a day of disaster along the whole line. To the left of Warren, a vigorous assault was made on what seemed a weak point in the Confederate line by two brigades of the Sixth corps—twelve picked regiments, under Colonel Upton. The attack was a complete success. The first line of intrenchments was carried; and several guns, with over 900 prisoners, were captured. Upton expected assistance from Mott; but the latter failed to come to the rescue. Unable, without support, to maintain the advantage he had won, Upton fell back to the national lines, carrying with him his prisoners, but leaving the captured guns behind.

Such was the terrible 10th of May at Spottsylvania Court-House. The losses on both sides, for the whole day, were heavy. The national loss was estimated at 10,000. The Confederate loss, including killed, wounded and missing, was probably not under 9,000. On neither side, however, was there any disposition to yield. On the contrary, both commanders were resolved to renew the conflict on the morrow; and preparations were made accordingly.

On the morning of the 11th day of May, General Grant sent a characteristic despatch to the secretary of war. "We have now," he wrote, "ended the sixth day of very hard fighting. The result to this time is much in our favor. Our losses have been heavy, as well as those of the enemy. I think the loss of the enemy must be greater. We have taken over 5,000 prisoners in battle, while he has taken from us but few, except stragglers. *I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer.*" As to the wisdom of the determination expressed in this final sentence, different opinions have been entertained and expressed.

The 11th was Wednesday. The morning rose bright and clear. The two opposing armies lay in close proximity to each other. As the day advanced there was some skirmishing; but on neither side was any attempt made to provoke a general engagement. Both commanders, it was evident, were preparing for battle; nor could doubt remain in any mind that, whatever might be the result, another and even more fearful encounter at Spottsylvania was imminent. Grant was still bent on carrying out his policy of continuous hammering. It was resolved, therefore, to strike a bold and

BATTLE OF SPOTTSYLVANIA COURT-HOUSE.

effective blow on the enemy's right centre. At that point, and near the Landrum House, Lee's lines formed a salient. It was Grant's conviction that the point was vulnerable. Hancock, who was chosen to strike the blow, was ordered to leave his intrenchments in front of A. P. Hill, and, by moving to the left, to take position between the Sixth and Ninth corps. Wright was to extend his left, and to concentrate on that wing. Warren was to make a diversionary movement on the Confederate left, in his own front, the object being to give the enemy sufficient employment in that direction, and so prevent the withdrawal of his troops for the relief of the menaced point. Burnside, for a similar reason, was to make a vigorous assault on the extreme left. Rain fell heavily in the afternoon. When night came the rain-storm had not abated; and, as the moon was in its first quarter, the night was dark and dismal. Soon after midnight, under cover of the darkness and the storm, Hancock moved out from his intrenchments, and, guided by the compass, passed in rear of Warren and Wright, and took position within 1,200 yards of the enemy's front, at the point to be attacked. Barlow's division, in two lines of masses, was placed on the left; Birney's division, in two deployed lines, was placed on the right; Mott's division, Hancock's Fourth, supported Birney; and Gibbon's division was held in reserve. Of the actual strength of the position about to be attacked, the nationals knew nothing. Hancock was ready, waiting for the first streak of early dawn, to launch forth his brave battalions to victory or to death.

It is now half-past four o'clock on the morning of Thursday, May the 12th. A heavy fog is resting on the entire surrounding country; and the feeble light of the rising sun struggles hard to penetrate the gloom. Hancock's divisions are already in motion. Steadily and silently they move towards the salient—Barlow over open ground, which extends up to the Confederate lines, Birney through the thickly wooded ground more to the right. Not a shot has yet been fired—not a word uttered. More than half of the intervening distance has already been crossed. Suddenly, there is a loud-resounding cheer, which rings along the whole line. Spontaneously, the men take the double-quick. They have reached the abatis, torn it up, and tossed it aside. With wild cries, they rush bounding over the intrenchments, Barlow and Birney's men entering almost simultaneously. Inside the intrenchments there is a terrible hand-to-hand struggle, the bayonet and the clubbed musket being freely used. Some 4,000 men, including General Johnson, of Ewell's corps, and General George H. Stewart, are surrounded and captured; and with them thirty pieces of artillery and as many colors. Meanwhile, the remainder of the Confederate force, stricken with terror and thrown into the wildest confusion, have fallen back, seeking safety in the rear.

This attack of Hancock's was justly regarded as the most brilliant feat of arms yet accomplished in the campaign. The officers were taken at their breakfast. The captured generals were greatly mortified. When brought into his presence, Hancock received them courteously, extending his hand. Johnson took it, but, with tears in his eyes, declared that he would rather have died than been made a prisoner. Stewart behaved with less gallantry. Hancock had known him before. "How are you, Stewart?" said Hancock, as he offered him his hand. The reply was haughty and indignant. "I am General Stewart, of the Confederate army; and, under present circumstances, I decline to take your hand." "And under any other circumstance, general," said Hancock, with great coolness, "I should not have offered it."

An hour only had elapsed since the column of attack was formed. Along with the prisoners which he sent to Grant, Hancock sent a note hastily written in pencil, saying: "I have finished up Johnson, and am now going into Early." This second task, as we shall soon see, he found to be less easy of accomplishment than the former. Early, like Johnson, commanded a division of Ewell's corps. At the point penetrated, Lee's army, as we have seen, formed a salient. Hancock had, therefore, by his first success, thrust a wedge between the Confederate right and centre. It was his hope that he would be able to cut Lee's army in two; and there can be no doubt that if sufficient provision had been made promptly and in force, to follow up the advantage Hancock had won by his first brilliant assault, the desired end would have been accomplished. As it was, Hancock's troops, flushed with success, and incapable of being restrained after the capture of the intrenchments, pressed on through the forest in the direction of Spottsylvania, driving the flying enemy before them. At the distance of half a mile they were suddenly brought to a halt in their triumphant career. They had reached a fresh line of breastworks. Behind these works Ewell had taken shelter, and reinforcements had reached him from the corps of Anderson and Hill. Gathering themselves up for a supreme effort, the Confederates, in overwhelming numbers and in magnificent array, rushed from the breastworks, and, falling with crushing weight on Hancock's men, now slightly disordered by their fearless rush through the woods, drove them back to the line which they had captured in the early morning. Here, however, Hancock managed to rally his troops; and, getting them into line on the right and left of the angle of the works, he stoutly resisted the fierce and repeated onsets of the enemy, and firmly held his position. His situation, however, was becoming every moment more critical. Lee was resolved, if possible, to recover the lost line of works; and, with this end in view, he was putting forth the most herculean efforts, and bringing his entire strength to bear on the one point. It was now six o'clock —one hour and a half since the first onset. Hancock was still holding his position; but relief was sorely needed. At this opportune moment, when most needed, relief came. Wright, who had been hurried forward with his Sixth corps, arrived on the ground, and took position on the right of the salient. Hancock, thus relieved, concentrated his troops on the left of the angle. A little later, about eight o'clock, and with a view to relieve the pressure on Hancock and Wright, Burnside and Warren were ordered to attack along their whole fronts. The battle now raged furiously at every point. No evidence was given that Lee had changed his purpose. The last line at the salient was still the object of his ambition. On Hancock and Wright he dealt his heaviest and most terrific blows. Again and again, and in rapid succession, he rolled against them his heavy masses. He seemed resolved to dislodge them. Seeing this, and becoming convinced that Burnside and Warren were producing no impression on their respective fronts, Grant detached two divisions from the Fifth corps—those of Cutler and Griffin—and sent them to the aid of the Second and Sixth corps at the angle which was still regarded as the prize of battle, and where was the focus of the fight. Five times did Lee hurl his heavy columns against the national lines entrusted with the defence of this position. Five times, after severe hand-to-hand fighting, in which the slaughter on both sides was dreadful, were the attacking columns repulsed. It was not until after midnight that Lee withdrew his shattered and bleeding lines and reformed them in his interior position. Hancock held the works he had captured in the morning. The battle had lasted twenty hours. The losses on either side were about 10,000 men.

Such was the great battle of Spottsylvania Court-House. Although not a decisive victory, it was a positive gain to the national cause. Its moral effect was great. It was one of the bloodiest battles of the war.

On the morning of the 13th of May the two armies confronted each other, Hancock holding his advanced position and the Confederates firmly intrenched behind an inner and shorter line. Lee's position, in truth, was as invulnerable as ever. The troops on both sides, as well they might be, were sorely exhausted. The rain which set in on the 11th continued to fall. The ground in consequence was soaked, and the roads were heavy. On this day there was some manœuvring, and a severe engagement, which lasted several hours, took place between the forces of Burnside and those of A. P. Hill. Nothing was gained on either side. It was now the ninth day since the Army of the Potomac crossed the Rapidan. In that brief space of time it had lost nearly 30,000 men, including a large number of officers. It was a fearful sacrifice of human life, sufficient to appall the stoutest heart. There were, indeed, throughout the land not a few, who, looking only at the sacrifice, and heedless of the results, pronounced the battles in the Wilderness and at Spottsylvania useless butcheries. Such was not the opinion of the generals in the field. It was not the opinion of Secretary of War Stanton, who nobly sustained Grant, and who, by his daily bulletins, cheered and buoyed up the hopes of the people.

There were outside movements which were being carried on simultaneously with those events connected with the main army in the Wilderness and at Spottsylvania. These were Sheridan's raid and the co-operative movements of Burnside and Sigel.

Sheridan, it will be remembered, in obedience to orders, set out on the morning of the 9th of May with portions of the three divisions of his corps, commanded respectively by Merrit, Wilson, and Gregg. His instructions were to engage the enemy's cavalry, to destroy the Fredericksburg and Virginia Central railroads, to threaten Richmond, and finally to communicate with and draw supplies from Butler's force on the James river. Cutting loose from the main army, he swept over the Po and the Ta, and crossing the North Anna he struck the Virginia Central and captured Beaver Dam Station. Sending out his men, he destroyed about ten miles of the track, also two locomotives, three trains of cars, and 1,500,000 rations. There, too, he recaptured 400 nationals who had been made prisoners in the Wilderness, and who were on their way to Richmond. At Beaver Dam Station he was overtaken by a body of Confederate cavalry under General J. E. B. Stuart, who had followed him from the Rapidan. Stuart fell upon him heavily, both on flank and rear, but Sheridan, although he sustained some losses, was not hindered in his onward progress. He crossed the South Anna at Ground-squirrel bridge, and by daylight on the morning of the 11th he had captured Ashland Station on the Fredericksburg road. After destroying six miles of the road, a train, and a large quantity of stores, he proceeded towards Richmond. On the same day, at Yellowstone Tavern, a few miles north of

Richmond, he again came into collision with Stuart. A severe contest ensued, Sheridan finally obtaining possession of the turnpike, and driving the Confederate cavalry back towards Ashland and across the north fork of the Chickahominy. In this encounter General Stuart was mortally

GENERAL SHERIDAN.

wounded; and thus passed out of sight one of the most conspicuous figures of the war. Sheridan pushed on, his men greatly emboldened by their success at Yellowstone Tavern; and approaching Richmond, he made a bold dash on the outer line of works. This he easily carried—Custer's brigade capturing a section of artillery and 100 men. Finding the second line too strong to be assailed with any prospect of success, Sheridan retraced his steps, and retired rapidly to the crossing of the Chickahominy at Meadow Bridge. There he found the bridge partially destroyed, with the enemy in some force in his front and pressing also on his rear. Repulsing the enemy in his rear, he rebuilt the bridge under a most galling fire, and crossed a portion of his troops. The remainder made a detour by way of Cold Harbor, and crossed the Chickahominy at Bottom Bridge—ground rendered forever memorable by the Peninsular campaign. Haxall's Landing was reached on the 14th. Communication from that point was opened with General Butler, supplies were received, and the wearied troops were allowed three days to rest and refit. Sheridan then returned leisurely by way of Baltimore Store, White House and Hanover Court-House, and on the 25th of May he rejoined the Army of the Potomac.

On the 19th of May, however, a Confederate corps came out of its works on the extreme right of Grant, and attacked him with great fury, but was repulsed with immense loss. This was the last attack in force ever made by Lee on Grant, though the war lasted ten months longer. The battles of the Wilderness and of Spottsylvania so crippled the enemy's strength and affected the Confederate spirits, that their commander never again dared trust his troops outside of their works in any great assault.

On the night of the 21st Grant began another movement by the left flank, towards the North Anna river, with a view again of placing himself between Lee and Richmond. Of course, he exposed himself to the same risk of Lee getting between him and Washington, but he always took risks; and Lee never ventured to avail himself of the chance. As fast as Grant threatened to cut off the Confederate communications, the enemy fell back to protect them, and thus, when Grant reached the North Anna, Lee was there before him, having necessarily, from his position in all these movements, the shorter line. The North Anna, however, was crossed by a portion of Grant's army, despite severe opposition.

Meanwhile, Butler had moved promptly, on the 4th of May, seized City Point, at the mouth of the Appomattox river, as well as Bermuda Hundred, on the opposite bank of that stream. His movements for some days afterwards, however, were not productive of any result of importance. On the 13th and 14th he moved up to the rear of Drury's Bluff, a fort on the south side of the James, and about seven miles below Richmond. But the enemy had meantime collected all their scattered forces in North and South Carolina; and, on the 16th, they attacked Butler, and forced him back to his intrenchments between the forks of the James and Appomattox, where he was completely safe indeed, but entirely useless for offensive operations. Lee, in consequence, was able to reinforce his army in front of Grant with at least a division brought from before Richmond. Sigel's operations had also been unfortunate; he had advanced up the Valley of Virginia, as far as New Market, where he suffered a severe defeat, and retreated behind Cedar creek. In consequence of this result, Lee was able to bring several thousand reinforcements from the Valley of Virginia to oppose the Army of the Potomac.

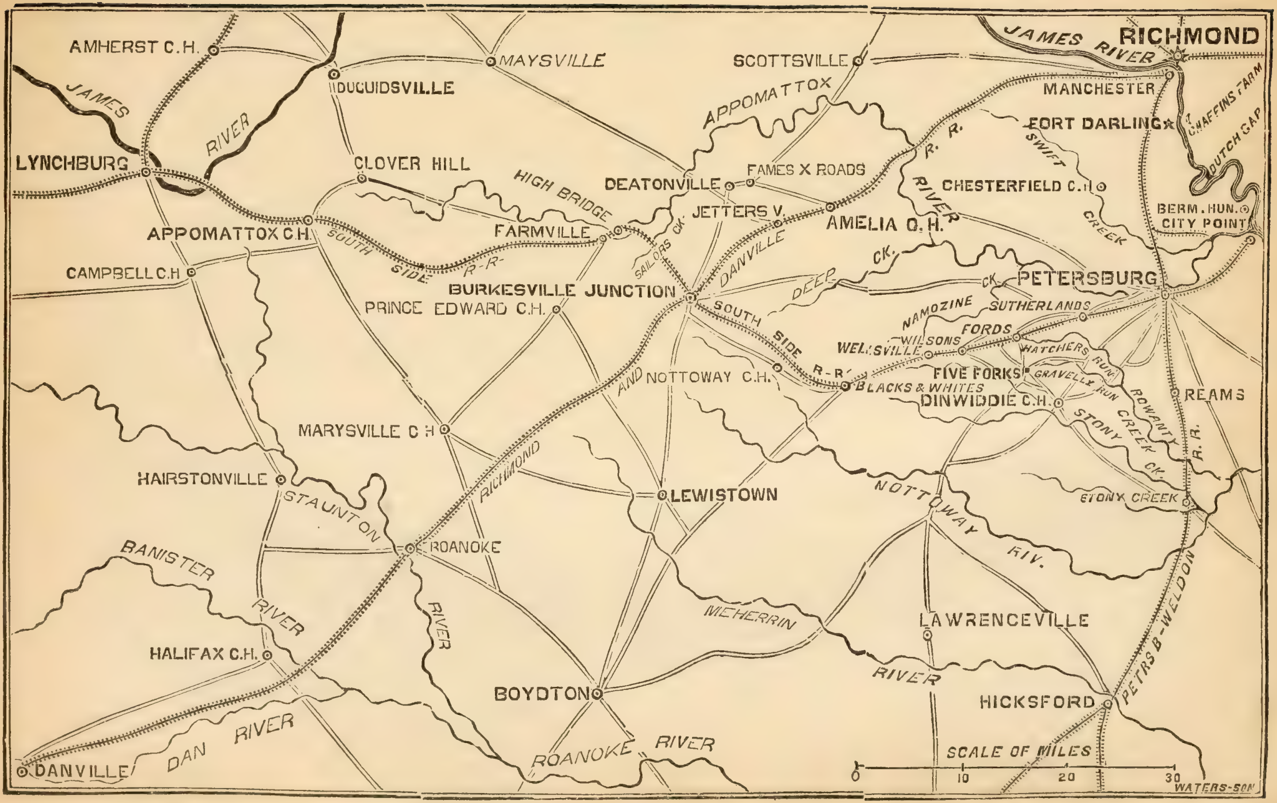
Grant, however, learning that Confederate troops had been moved from Butler's front to reinforce Lee, immediately ordered Butler to send all his available force to the Army of the Potomac, retaining only enough on the south side of the James to secure what had already been gained.

Before these reinforcements reached Grant, he had made a third movement to the left, finding that the position of the enemy on the North Anna was stronger than either of those they had previously held. On the night of the 26th the Union forces withdrew to the north bank of the

North Anna, then marched south and east, and crossed the Pamunkey river at Hanovertown. The enemy, however, made a corresponding movement, and, when Grant arrived at Cold Harbor, and the Chickahominy, Lee was again in his front.

The additions to the forces on each side had brought the armies of both Lee and Grant up to nearly the numbers with which they started from the Rapidan, when both approached Cold Harbor, about ten miles from Richmond. Several indecisive conflicts occurred here, and, on the 3d of June, Grant ordered a general assault upon the enemy's works, but met with the same result as at Spottsylvania; the enemy, behind his bulwarks, was doubled in strength, according to all the estimates of the military art, and the national troops were unsuccessful in the attempt to penetrate the works. This was the only encounter of the campaign in which Grant did not inflict upon the enemy a damage which compensated for his own. When he started from the Rapidan, Grant made up his mind that only the annihilation of Lee's army, and the exhaustion of all his forces, would allow the suppression of the rebellion. All these battles—of the Wilderness, of Spottsylvania and Cold Harbor—were fought and persisted in with the intention of gradually weakening and finally destroying Lee. They effected their purpose, at the price of precious lives, it is true, but at that price the Union was saved, and could alone be saved; all other means had failed; no skill had proved sufficient, no courage had availed, until Grant came, and dealt those tremendous blows, which were the real death-blows from which the rebellion never recovered. They did what he set out to do.

They not only depleted Lee so terribly that he never again assaulted Grant, but they drove the Confederate commander step by step from the Rapidan to the James, from which he never afterwards advanced except in the direction of Appomattox Court-House. Grant at Cold Harbor was master of the region between Richmond and Washington; his communication with the latter city was open, while the enemy were shut up within the doomed



MAP SHOWING MOVEMENTS OF GRANT'S AND LEE'S ARMIES FROM RICHMOND TO APPOMATTOX COURT-HOUSE.

town, which so many of our leaders had striven to reach in vain.

When Grant started from the Rapidan, it had been his intention to cross the James and attack Richmond on the south side, unless he should sooner overthrow Lee on the way. Richmond was supplied from the south by three railroads, that run, one, the Weldon road, directly into North Carolina, and so on through the Atlantic States; another, reaching west to Chattanooga, and connecting with the entire southwestern region of the attempted Confederacy; the third, running southwest into the interior, as far as Danville. Grant saw, by a glance at the map, that when these railroads were in his power, Richmond must fall. Before the campaign began, he declared to those in his confidence, his intention to seize these roads, as soon as Lee should be driven into Richmond. This was now accomplished. Lee was within ten miles of the city which he defended and Grant besieged. Lee's army and Richmond were now become one objective point, and Grant at once set about carrying out the secondary plan he had formed six weeks before.

He marched his army across the James, making a fourth movement to the left, in the very sight of the enemy, who was too weak and had suffered too greatly to come out and obstruct the operation. Grant's pickets were within hailing distance of Lee's; his army front was not five hundred yards from the Confederate works at Cold Harbor; but he withdrew his forces from this close propinquity, made a fourth flank movement in the very presence of his enemy, built bridges across the James two thousand two hundred feet in length, and crossed his whole army, with an immense wagon train, without the loss of a man, Lee not daring to come out of his works once, not offering the slightest opposition to an operation of such combined delicacy and magnitude.

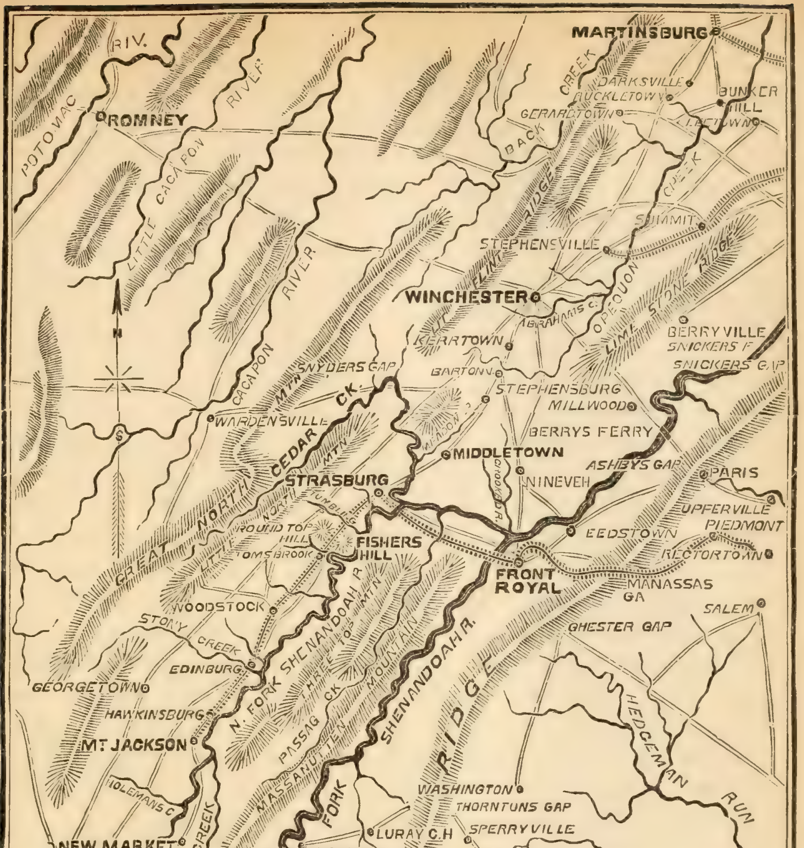
During this campaign Grant had fought the battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna and Cold Harbor, besides a dozen smaller skirmishes, some of which rose to the proportions of an ordinary battle; and after each fight he had advanced and Lee had withdrawn. While covering and protecting Washington, the Union commander had steadily proceeded from the Rapidan to the James. He had lost, from the 5th of May to the 12th of June, six thousand killed, twenty-six thousand wounded, and nearly seven thousand missing; total, less than forty thousand men, of whom half eventually returned to duty. The losses of the enemy can never be definitely known, as so many of their records have been destroyed; but Grant captured in this period over ten thousand of the enemy, while his own loss in missing, as has already been stated, was less than seven thousand; so that Grant took about four thousand more prisoners than Lee.

Grant was still following Lee and aiming at Richmond. The James river was crossed on the 13th of June, 1864.

Meanwhile, Hunter, who had superseded Sigel, was sent into the region to the northwest of Richmond, with the idea of living off the country there, so as to destroy its supplies, and, if possible, cut the enemy's communication with the west. By this expedition, and another simultaneously despatched under Sheridan towards Staunton, Virginia, Grant meant to act upon the principle with which he set out, of weakening the enemy in every quarter at once. While he himself should be making the main attack at the heart of the rebellion, his subordinates, in every part of the theatre of war, were to exhaust, and annoy, and tire out the enemy.

The movements in Virginia were strictly co-operative. They, too, were only a part; their aim and object are obscured, their greatness is not sufficiently apparent, if it is forgotten that Grant was at the same time directing operations all over the continent; that he thought it worth while to incur great risk here, because he thus withheld the enemy from reinforcing their armies a thousand miles away. For Sherman was by this means able to slowly penetrate into Georgia. By the time Grant had crossed the James, Sherman had driven Johnston back in battle and on the march as far as Kenesaw mountain, a distance of fifty miles, and Hunter had reached and invested Lynchburg. At the end of what is called the Wilderness campaign, Grant had reached the James river; the other great armies of the Republic were also penetrating to the very interior of the enemy's region; the practical concentration that had been aimed at was being effected; the enemy were losing heart and men and resources, as well as ground, all of which could never be regained; and though the price that had been paid was great, not otherwise or cheaper could the result have been obtained. Through fire and blood and suffering only are nations saved. Grant had every reason to be satisfied that his plans had proceeded thus far to their consummation. The enemy felt certainly that the toils were being drawn closer on every side; that their new antagonist was a master; that unity of action and clearness of design and energy of effort had succeeded to distraction, and indecision and spasmodic struggles on the part of the Union. So far, the nation had great cause for gratitude to God and its armies, and to him who, under God, was the leader of those armies.

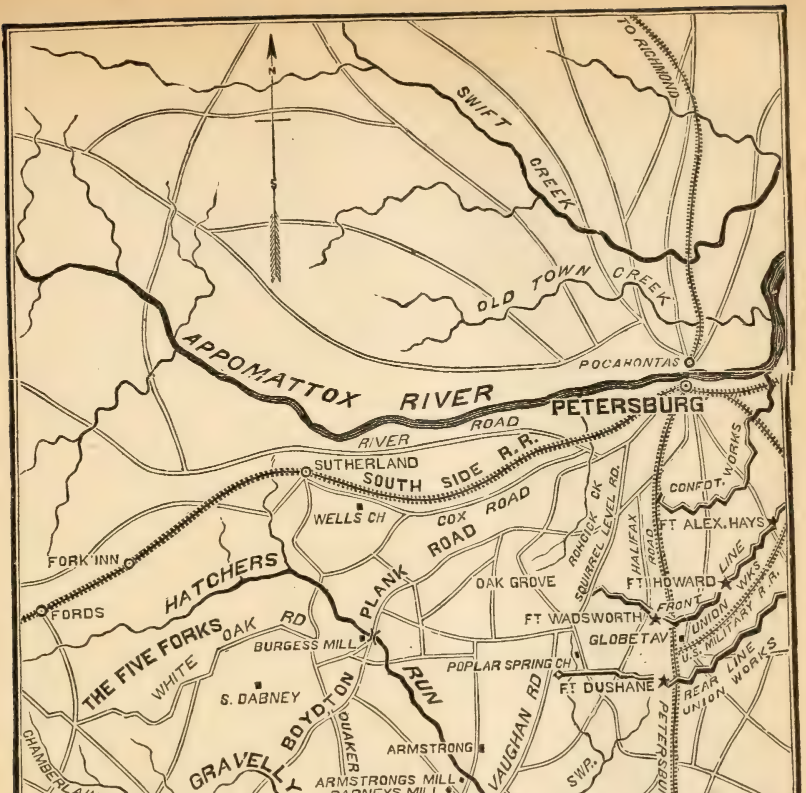
Before Grant began to remove the Army of the Potomac to the southern side of the James, he despatched Sheridan, as has been seen, upon another of those raiding expeditions which formed so important a part of his plan. Sheridan, therefore, had been sent to destroy the Virginia Central railroad, at the same time that Hunter had been moved south from Winchester, on the route that Sigel had attempted at the outset of the campaign. The region where Hunter was to operate is known as the Valley of Virginia, and is one of the most fertile spots in the Union. It had furnished supplies of vast importance to the Confederates all through the war, and was the only really important source yet left open to Lee on the north side of Richmond. Grant planned for Sheridan and Hunter to advance towards each other, from opposite directions, doing all the destruction possible to railroads, canals, and crops, and forming a junction in the heart of the fruitful region. After the work laid out for them was thoroughly done, they were to join the Army of the Potomac; either making a circuit in the rear of Lee, or returning by Sheridan's route, as should seem most advisable at the time.



THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY, THE SCENE OF SHERIDAN'S GREAT RAID.

Hunter drove the enemy in his front, occupied temporarily nearly all the Valley of Virginia, fought a battle in which he carried everything before him, while Sheridan moved up in the same direction, though from a different starting-point, doing great damage to railroads and crops. But Hunter thought it advisable to move westward instead of towards Sheridan, as had been planned and ordered; so the junction was not formed, and Sheridan, meeting with greater opposition than his force alone was able to overcome, returned to Grant, while Hunter marched direct on Lynchburg, a place of the greatest importance in the rear of Richmond. Lee at once perceived the necessity of retaining Lynchburg, and despatched a large force, under Early, to oppose Hunter. Grant had not hoped that Hunter, without Sheridan, would be able to capture Lynchburg, which, being on the Chattanooga railroad, must of necessity be vigorously defended by Lee; but Hunter had been so successful thus far, that he made the attempt. Lee, however, having, as usual, a greatly shorter line, threw a force into Lynchburg before Hunter reached it; and Hunter, getting short of ammunition, was obliged to retire. He had now no choice of routes, but was obliged to return north by way of the Kanawha valley; and this occupied him several weeks, during which the region that it was intended he should cover was necessarily left exposed.

Unfortunately, all this happened at the very moment when Grant was making his movement across the James. Grant, not knowing of Hunter's change of plan, supposed of course that the latter was protecting the Shenandoah valley; and proceeded with his movement to the south side. W. F. Smith, who was in command of the troops from Butler's army, was moved out in the night to White House, on the York river, where he took transports, which conveyed him by the Chesapeake bay and James river, to City Point and Bermuda Hundred. Butler, thus reinforced with his own troops, was to seize Petersburg, a point in the interior lying directly on the road to Richmond. It was impossible to advance farther up the James river than Bermuda Hundred, on account of the elaborate defences with



MAP SHOWING THE POSITIONS OF THE ARMIES NEAR PETERSBURG, VA.

which that stream was guarded. Grant, however, hoped to secure Petersburg by surprise, before the enemy could become aware of his intention or fortify the place. Smith moved with great secrecy and celerity, and meanwhile Grant had directed the laying of a pontoon-bridge over the James, by which the Army of the Potomac was to cross. The bridge was laid some twenty miles from Petersburg, which is on the Appomattox, about ten miles in a direct line from the James. The idea was for Smith, who went on transports, to advance rapidly and seize Petersburg, while the Army of the Potomac would cross by the bridge and march up at once to his support. Smith reached Petersburg early on the 15th of June, but did not assault until sundown; he then attacked with a part of his force, and carried a portion of the Confederate lines with ease, capturing fifteen cannon and three hundred prisoners by seven o'clock P. M. Meanwhile, the advance of the Army of the Potomac had been hurried across the James, extraordinary exertions had been made to supply it with rations, and it was pushed rapidly forward to the support of Smith. Hancock was in command of this advance. He reached Petersburg before dark, and, being the senior officer, was entitled to command. As Smith, however, had already gained so great advantages, Hancock waived his rank and offered his troops to Smith, to be used as that officer should desire. Smith, however, thought he had accomplished enough, and although it was a bright moonlight night, and there were no indications that the Confederates were reinforced, he did not push the assault. In the night the enemy discovered Grant's withdrawal from the north side and the attack on Petersburg, and before morning Lee was in force in front of Hancock and Smith.

Grant, meanwhile, had been superintending and expediting the crossing of the Army of the Potomac, and, early on the 16th, rode up to Smith's lines hoping to find him in possession of Petersburg; for there had been ample time, opportunity, and force. But he found the enemy fortifying, Smith occupying an outer line, with Lee in strength behind the enemy's works, and it was not till evening that the

Army of the Potomac was up in sufficient force to assault the now increased strength of the enemy. Attacks were made on the 16th, 17th, and 18th, and important positions gained; but the enemy could not be dislodged from his interior line.

Disappointed in his hopes of seizing the town, Grant now determined to envelope Petersburg, not attacking fortifications again, but extending his line as far as possible towards two of the railroads, so important to Richmond, and which both passed through Petersburg. Lee, of course, perceived this change in Grant's tactics, and, as Hunter was at this time advancing against Lynchburg, the enemy were able to send off a corps with safety to repel Hunter.

But Grant was not idle, although he had determined to cease assaulting Petersburg. His aim was to reach the South-Side road, and he despatched two small divisions of cavalry, under Wilson, to strike that road at a distance of fifteen miles from Petersburg. Wilson reached the road, and destroyed it for a distance of many miles, doing serious damage to the enemy's communications; but, in his return, he was intercepted by a force sent out by Lee to pursue him. He divided his command and endeavored to avoid the enemy, but was foiled in the attempt, and only succeeded in rejoining the Army of the Potomac with the loss of all his guns and trains.

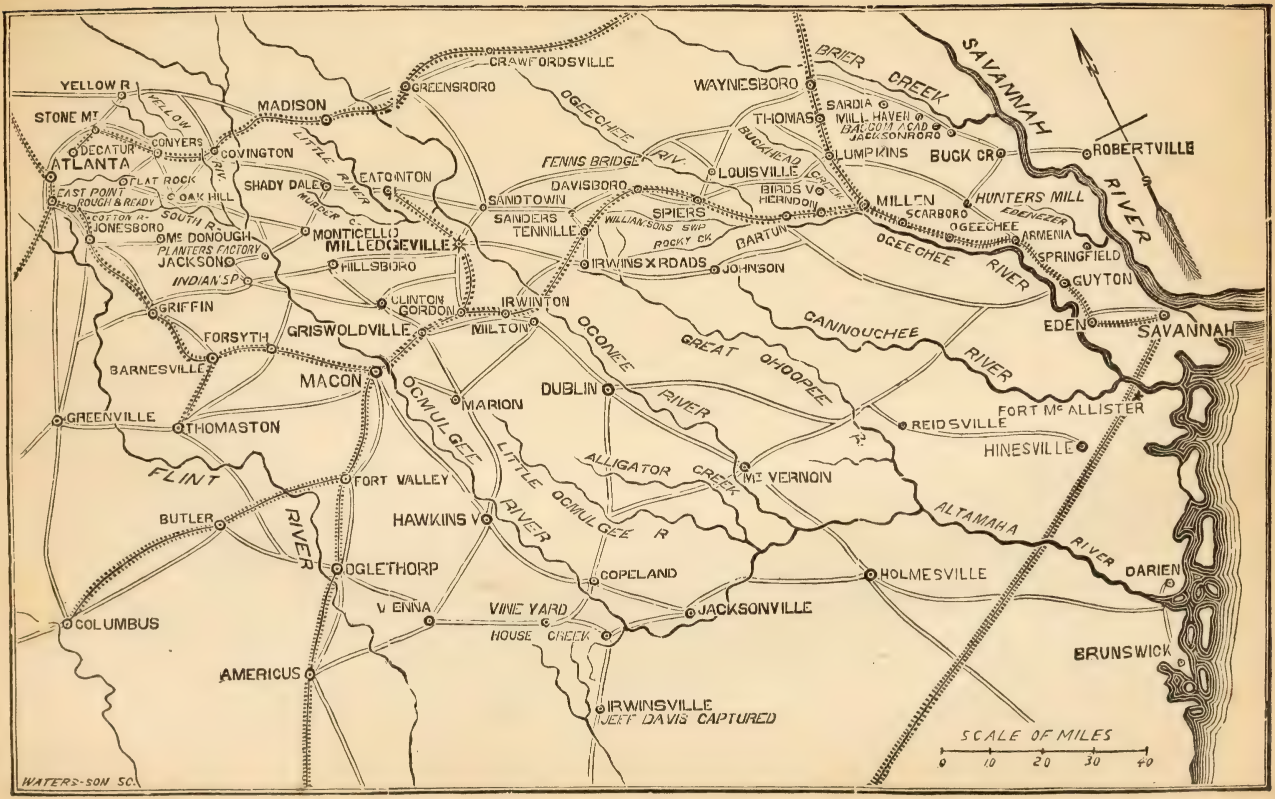
Meanwhile Grant had effected a lodgement on the north side of the James, at a point called Deep Bottom, some miles nearer to Richmond than City Point; and, on the 26th of July, he moved a large force to that place, crossing the James by a pontoon-bridge above Bermuda Hundred. The object of this move was, if possible, to cut again the enemy's railroads on the north side; or, if it should seem more desirable, to take advantage of the withdrawal of the enemy's troops from before Petersburg, which this demonstration on the north side would necessitate, and explode a mine which had been dug under the enemy's line at Petersburg.

# CHAPTER IX.

## WAR OF THE REBELLION—*Continued.*

Early's raid through the Shenandoah valley and Maryland—Threatening Baltimore and Washington—An engagement in front of the defences of Washington—The Sixth corps to the rescue—Sheridan's great raid up the Shenandoah valley—Fisher's Hill—The siege of Petersburg—Co-operation of Sherman—From Atlanta to Savannah—Thomas' campaign—Hood defeated—Sheridan's victory at Five Forks—Lee's surrender at Appomattox—Magnanimous treatment of the Confederates by Grant—Assassination of President Lincoln—Andrew Johnson President—Surrender of Johnston's army to Sherman—The collapse of the Confederate government—Gratitude to Grant.

Lee was a great general, and as soon as he discovered that Hunter was retreating westward from Lynchburg, and that, in consequence, the Shenandoah valley was left open and Washington uncovered, he determined to avail himself of this opportunity. Before Grant could learn the fate of Hunter, the Confederate chief despatched the corps which had been sent to the defence of Lynchburg into the Shenandoah valley. The command was under Early, and moved rapidly down the valley, reaching the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry by the 1st of July. Great alarm was immediately felt at the national capital. The government had relied so exclusively on Grant, that, he being absent in front of Petersburg, all its action seemed paralyzed. He was urged to move his army at once from the James back to the Potomac, and abandon all the advantages he had gained through the two months of fighting and marching, in order to save the capital. He, however, had no idea of doing this. He felt that he had his hand at the throat of the rebellion, and he meant never to let go his grasp. He saw how vastly more important it was for him to maintain his army at the vital military point; and he had the genius to perceive that point, as well as the courage to do as he



MAP SHOWING THE ROUTE TAKEN BY SHERMAN IN HIS MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA.

thought right, in spite of entreaties and advice from soldiers and civilians of place and reputation at the rear.

But he still had no notion of losing Washington. He despatched first one division, and then two more of the Sixth corps to the defence of the region near the Potomac; he sent orders to the officials at Washington to gather up all the forces in that neighborhood, at Baltimore, and in the garrison of the capital; and at last sent the Nineteenth corps, which he had ordered from Banks when he became convinced that nothing effective against Mobile could be done with the command of that officer during this campaign. This corps arriving north at this crisis to join the forces on the James, was immediately ordered by Grant to Washington; so that, before the Confederate force had reached that city, the Union strength was sufficient to defend it. Reinforcements came in rapidly from these various quarters, and Grant telegraphed for General Wright, who commanded the Sixth corps, to be placed at the head of all the troops for the defence of Washington, and directed that officer to move at once on the offensive against Early. Wright obeyed promptly, and Early was driven back into the valley. Hunter now arrived, after his circuitous return from West Virginia, and joined Wright at the entrance of the valley; he was the ranking officer and took command.

Thus Lee's plan of forcing Grant to abandon Richmond for the sake of saving Washington was defeated. It had been a skilful move on the military chessboard, and, with many other generals to deal with, would have succeeded; but Grant never wavered for a moment. He had no more idea of abandoning the goal at which he was aiming, on account of any such distraction as Early's campaign, than he had of returning to Washington after the battle of the Wilderness. He knew what was his real object, and he suffered nothing to divert his attention. Still, he was able to carry on a manifold campaign. Because he chose to direct his principal strength against a certain point, was no reason why he should not control all the subordinate movements, which were to tend to the same object, through different channels.

The Confederates had annoyed Grant by this valley movement, and they were determined to persist in it; as, in consequence of the addition to their strength, which the fortifications of Petersburg afforded, they were able to afford the subtraction of enough men to create a serious distracting element in Grant's campaign near home. Lee annoyed his antagonist considerably for a while, until the Union commander became provoked, and finally turned and dealt a blow to the Confederates from which they never recovered. The weapon with which he dealt the blow was Sheridan.

The confusion and mismanagement, and alarm around Washington during all these movements, had convinced Grant that there existed the same necessity for one supreme commander of all the forces in the neighborhood of the capital. He determined that the four departments of West Virginia, Washington, Susquehanna, and the Middle Department must be consolidated, and that a capable soldier must be placed at the head of them, who could be allowed sufficient independence of action and discretion to secure success in his movements, but who at the same time must be really subordinate, and willing to make the movements of his command thoroughly co-operative with those more important ones of the army in front of Lee. Grant, therefore, visited Washington in person, informed the government of his views, to which they immediately deferred, and then went forward to the valley to view the situation for himself, and determined what he wanted done and by whom. He at once decided that the true course was to concentrate all the troops in that region, and push the enemy as far as possible. He, indeed, never believed in remaining on the defensive. Sheridan, as commander of the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac, had already displayed the characteristics, the splendid vigor, the persistency, the determination, the sagacity, and the moral courage which Grant required for the position he was now creating. He sent for Sheridan, who joined him at Monocacy, Maryland, and then placed him in command. Sheridan was directed: "Concentrate all your available force; and if it is found that the enemy has moved north of the Potomac in large force, push North, follow him, attack him wherever he can be found. Follow him, if driven south of the Potomac, as long as it is safe to do so." Two divisions of his old cavalry were sent from the Army of the Potomac to assist in carrying out these orders, and he was informed: "In pushing up the Shenandoah valley it is desirable that nothing should be left to invite the enemy to return. Take all provisions, forage, stock, wanted for the use of your command; such as cannot be consumed, destroy. The people should be informed that so long as an army can subsist among them, recurrences of these raids must be expected, and we are determined to stop them at all hazards. Bear in mind, the object is to drive the enemy south, and to do this *you want to keep him always in sight.* Be guided in your course by the course he takes."

These orders show that he believed in always taking the offensive, in concentration of troops and efforts, in "pushing," driving, following, attacking the enemy whenever he could be found, in *keeping him always in sight*, but that he was guided in his course by the course of the enemy.

During August and the early days of September he remained near Winchester. By biding his time for weeks, until the opportunity came for a telling blow, he proved his discretion as he had already proved his valor.

The general's old regiment, the Fourth regular infantry, which had been terribly cut up during the Wilderness campaign, was now detailed as his body-guard. It did not contain a single man who had belonged to it in the days when he was lieutenant and captain, but all were zealous in serving him, and plumed themselves not a little that he began his career as a soldier in the "Old Fourth."

In August as an ordnance boat at the City Point wharves was discharging ammunition, one case fell to the ground and the whole cargo exploded, killing many men and destroying several steamers, and two millions of dollars' worth of property.

The thundering reports shook the earth for miles, and planks, fragments of human bodies, and clouds of other

COOLNESS OF GENERAL GRANT AT THE CITY POINT EXPLOSION.

missiles dropped about head-quarters like rain. Terror-stricken officers and men ran wildly to and fro, wondering if the general destruction of the universe had come. Grant only stepped out of his tent, took his cigar from his mouth, glanced calmly around, and seeing that he could do no good, returned quietly to his camp-chair.

General Grant was one of the plainest dressed men in the army, and had always the welfare and comfort of his men in mind. The following is an example of his kindness toward his soldiers:

The first time General Grant left Culpeper Court-House, where his head-quarters then were, for Washington, the quartermaster made up a special train to accommodate the sick and such as might have leave of absence. One passenger car in the train was reserved for General Grant and the two or three officers with him, and they did not attract any especial attention as they passed into the car. The general was always the plainest and least ostentatious man in the army. All the cars of the train except the one reserved for General Grant were soon crowded, and many soldiers were standing on the platform of the station.

General Grant was sitting alone on the side of the car next to the platform and near the door, when a soldier came to the door and was told by the guard that he could not come into that car. General Grant asked the guard what the man wanted, and was told that he wanted to go to Washington. The general then asked why he was not permitted to come into the car, and was answered that "This car is a special car for General Grant and his staff." The general replied quickly, "Let him come in. I only occupy one seat in this car." This was the first intimation the guard had that General Grant and his staff were in the car. The general then asked what the other men were doing who were standing out on the platform, and being told that they wanted to go to Washington, he said: "Let all who can crowd in get in." The car was soon filled, one private soldier taking a seat beside the general and engaging him in conversation nearly all the way to Alexandria, not knowing with whom he was talking.

Having established Sheridan in command, and given him his orders, the lieutenant-general returned to City Point, to hurry up the cavalry which was to join the new commander. It was more than a month before Sheridan could get his army ready to move, and the country, not knowing the man as Grant did, got anxious. Pennsylvania and Maryland seemed constantly threatened with invasion, and Grant paid Sheridan another visit, not being willing to give him a positive order to attack, until he should once more see for himself the exact situation. This Sheridan explained, announced he could move the moment he was ordered, and expressed every confidence of success. Grant declares that he saw there were but two words of instruction to give his subordinate: "Go in;" *in* being, in military parlance, a condensed form for "into battle." Grant asked Sheridan if he could be ready by Tuesday, and the latter replied, "Before daylight on Monday." He did promptly what he promised, and Grant declared, "The result was such that I have never since deemed it necessary to visit General Sheridan before giving him orders."

On the 19th of September Sheridan attacked Early and defeated him with heavy loss, capturing several thousand prisoners. The enemy rallied at Fisher's Hill, and was attacked again, and again defeated on the 20th; Sheridan pursued him with great energy. On the 9th of October still another battle occurred at Strasburg, when the enemy was a third time defeated, losing eleven pieces of artillery. On the night of the 18th, however, they returned and attacked Sheridan's command, from which he was about twenty miles distant at the time; the national forces were driven back with loss, but finally rallied; just at this moment Sheridan came upon the field, arranged his lines to receive a new attack of the enemy, and in his turn assumed the offensive, defeating the enemy with great slaughter, and the loss of their artillery, as well as all the trophies which had been captured in the morning. Pursuit was made to the head of the valley, and thus ended the last attempt of the enemy to invade the North. Their force in the valley was completely broken up, and never again assumed an organized independent form. Grant was thus able to bring back the Sixth corps to the Army of the Potomac, to send one division from Sheridan to the Army of the James, and another to Sherman.

On the 13th of August Grant moved a large force to the north side of the James, so as to threaten Richmond from that quarter, and compel Lee to bring back any troops he might be sending to the valley. It was discovered that only a single division had been sent to Early; but this movement had the effect of drawing a large Confederate force from the defences of Petersburg, in order to resist the apprehended attack on Richmond. Grant at once sent the Fifth corps to seize the Weldon railroad, which the enemy held, and by which they drew many of their most important supplies. A fierce battle ensued, with heavy losses on each side, but Grant gained possession of the road, and the most furious efforts of the enemy were insufficient to dislodge him. He never afterwards lost his hold of that important avenue of communication between the Confederate capital and the region farther south. On the contrary, he constructed a railroad from City Point to the Weldon road, and was thus able to transport his own supplies to the extreme left of his now extended front.

Miles upon miles of fortifications now defended both Richmond and Petersburg, and the besiegers themselves had erected works as strong as those which they opposed. The extension of Grant beyond the Weldon road forced Lee also to reach out by his own right, or Grant would have overlapped him. This extension of Lee, it seemed, must weaken his force on the north side of the James; so Grant, on the 29th of September, made an advance against the fortifications of Richmond. The strongest of all the defences of that city was carried by assault, but this was only one fort among many, and no other success was attained. The position was, however, so important and so far advanced, that Grant determined to maintain it. Butler's entire army was now moved to the north of the James, to remain there. Desperate attempts were made by the enemy to dislodge him, but all failed. Simultaneously with the capture of this position, afterwards known as Fort Harrison, Meade made a movement on the extreme left of the lines before Petersburg, with a view of attacking, if the enemy should be found materially weakened by a withdrawal of troops to Butler's front. Several fights occurred, but no result of significance, and Meade returned.

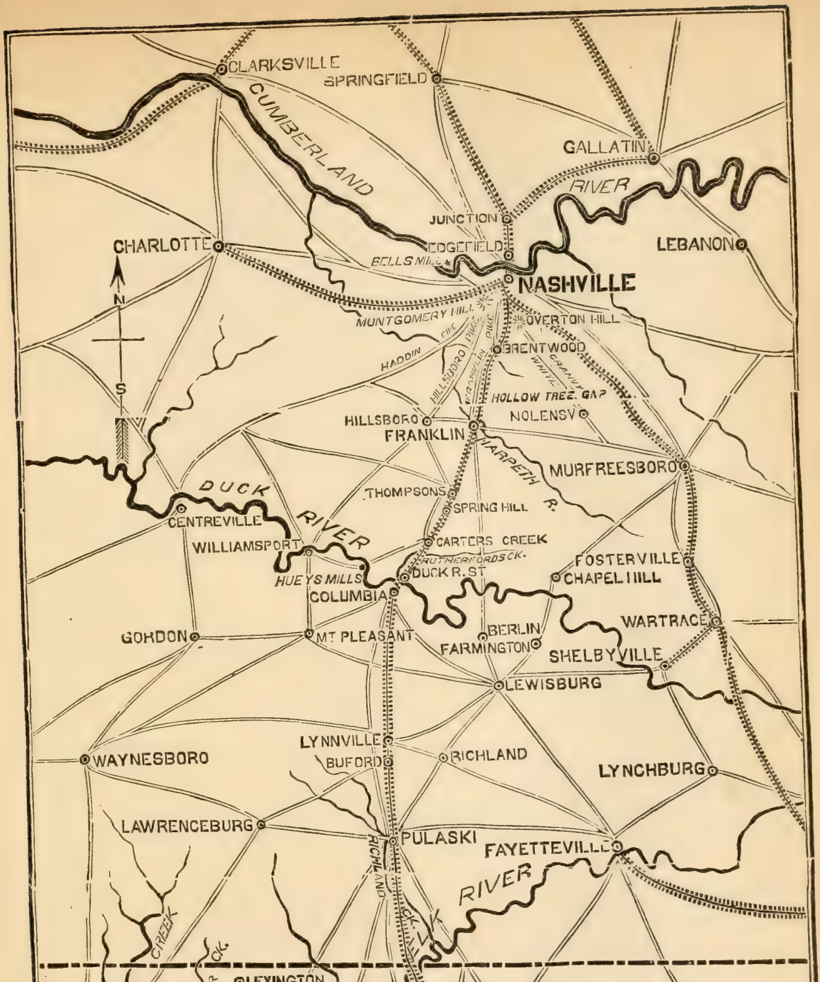
On the 27th of October another movement was made to the left, with the view of ascertaining whether it would be possible to overlap the enemy's right, and thus to reach the South-Side road, whose possession would at once secure the fall of Petersburg. This reconnoissance developed the fact, that the enemy's fortifications reached out certainly to within six miles of the South-Side road, if not farther, and, no opening for a successful assault presenting itself, Grant returned within his own lines. In making the return movement, Hancock was attacked, but immediately faced his corps about and drove the enemy, with slaughter, within their works.

Meanwhile another portion of Grant's great scheme was proceeding under the skillful management of Sherman. That commander was able to prosecute his campaign without fear of interruption. He was certain that Grant would not intermit his operations, and that no support from Lee would be allowed to come to Johnston at a critical moment. He himself was co-operating constantly with Grant, preventing Johnston from reinforcing Lee, and he had no fear that his commander would forget or neglect him. There was perfect harmony between the chief and his great lieutenant. So Sherman, moving from Chattanooga, on the 6th of May, had advanced in a series of skillful movements, somewhat similar to those of Grant in the Wilderness. The battles were not so fierce, the opposition not so obstinate, but the campaign reflected immense credit on Sherman and his army; and on the 2d of September it was crowned with success. Atlanta, the first objective designated to Sherman by Grant, was captured, the result of the last of a series of flank movements, which will always be memorable in military history. Johnston had at first been Sherman's antagonist, but falling into disfavor with the

Confederate authorities at Richmond, he had, in July, been superseded by Hood, an officer of vastly less ability, but with a more reckless audacity. Hood assisted Sherman materially by the unskillful character of his operations.

That which afforded not only Sherman, but Thomas and even Grant, opportunity for the conception and execution of some of their finest designs, was a movement undertaken soon after the fall of Atlanta. Sherman, having driven Hood's army steadily back a hundred and fifty miles, and manœuvred it out of Atlanta, the great railroad centre in Middle Georgia, Hood now thought that, depleted and disheartened as his soldiers were, he could assume the offensive against the force by which he had been so often defeated. Making a wide detour, he advanced to the right of Sherman, and moved so as to strike the railroad in rear of the Union army, along which all its supplies were conveyed from Chattanooga. Hood's idea evidently was to interrupt all of Sherman's communications with the North, and thus isolate him in the interior of Georgia. Grant, as has been heretofore explained, had never intended to allow Sherman to be placed in this predicament; but had intended him, after he arrived at Atlanta, to push on still farther, cutting loose from all communication, as Grant himself had done at Vicksburg, and striking for the sea, either at Mobile or Savannah, as might seem preferable. Mobile, it was expected, would be the point; and, with this view, Grant had early ordered Banks to attack and take Mobile, so that he might be ready to meet Sherman, when the latter pushed on in his interior march.

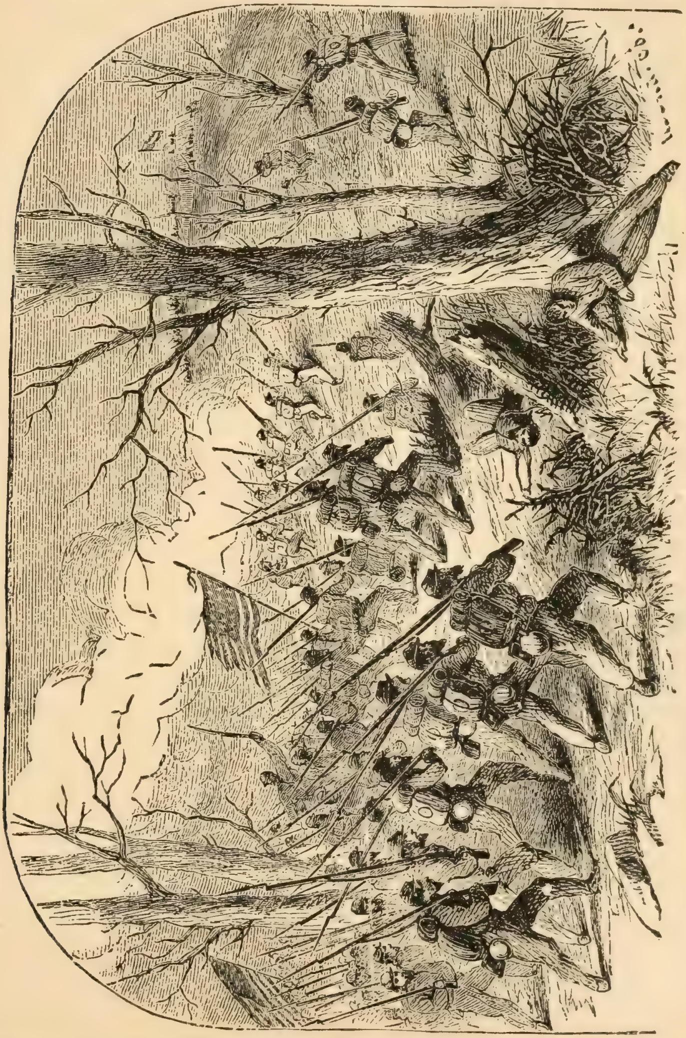
As soon, however, as it was apparent to Sherman that Hood was attempting to interrupt the railroad line between Chattanooga and Atlanta—especially when he saw that this was to be done with an entire army—he proposed a modification of the plan to Grant. Grant had intended Sherman to hold the line from Chattanooga to Atlanta, but to cut loose entirely from the latter place; Sherman suggested the destruction of Atlanta, and the entire abandonment of the line from Atlanta to Chattanooga. Grant thought that, in this event, Hood would strike for the North, and that



MAP SHOWING COUNTRY FROM NASHVILLE, TENN., TO DECATUR, ALA even now he was aiming at Middle Tennessee, while Sherman "would meet none but old men, little boys, and railroad guards in his march through Georgia;" but Sherman was positive that Hood would be forced to turn and follow him. He thought Thomas, who was now in command of Tennessee, would have no important enemy there. Grant still insisted that Hood would avail himself of Sherman's absence to attack Thomas; but, after considering the matter a day, he sent the required permission to Sherman, determining to collect reinforcements so rapidly for Thomas, that that officer should be able to withstand any force the enemy might send against him. The government was strongly in doubt about this whole movement, and even after Grant had given Sherman authority for it, the general-in-chief was telegraphed to reconsider once more. The administration would not take the responsibility of prohibiting any military operation that Grant ordered, but it was anxious to show him how the movement was regarded at Washington. Grant, however, was firm. He believed that Sherman would meet with no serious opposition, and that the moral effect of his march through the interior of the enemy's country, cutting the Confederacy in two again, as had been done when the Mississippi was opened, would be prodigious. So the orders were not revoked, and Sherman began his preparations for the famous "march to the sea."

On the 12th of November the message "all is well" was telegraphed to Thomas, the wires were then cut, and Sherman's army stood alone. By the 14th all the troops had arrived at or near Atlanta, and by orders of Sherman were grouped into two wings, the right and left, commanded respectively by Generals O. O. Howard and H. W. Slocum. The total strength of the army was about 60,000; infantry about 54,000; cavalry nearly 5,000; and artillery nearly 2,000.

He would be obliged to subsist off of the enemy's country during his campaign, so that even an inferior force might compel him to head for such a point as he could reach, instead of one that he might prefer. No definite place where he was to come out was therefore fixed, but it was probable that it would be at Savannah or Mobile. Atlanta and its fortifications were now destroyed, and two corps of



THE ATTACK AND CAPTURE OF FORT FISHER.

Sherman's army being sent back to reinforce Thomas, the railroad between Chattanooga and Atlanta was abandoned. Sherman was thus isolated. and started on his march. His condition was in many respects similar to Grant's after crossing the Mississippi, in the Vicksburg campaign, except in these two important particulars: Sherman's army was twice as large as Grant's had been, and Sherman had no enemy in his front, while Grant plunged in between two hostile armies, one of them greatly larger than his own.

Grant now bent all his faculties to the task of preparing Thomas to defend himself against Hood, who, as the general-in-chief had foreseen, persisted in his northward and offensive campaign into Tennessee, leaving the South altogether open, and Sherman free to choose his route. "Had I had the power to command both armies," said Grant, "I should not have changed the orders under which Hood seemed to be acting." Every effort was made to reinforce Thomas before the Confederate army could reach him; troops were withdrawn from Rosecrans in Missouri, from A. J. Smith, who had belonged to the Red river expedition, under Banks, and recruits and men on furlough were hurried along every railroad from the North. By dint of immense exertions Thomas was reinforced sufficiently to be out of any extraordinary danger; and, although he fell back slowly before the advance of the enemy, he managed to detain the enemy till the 30th of November, at Franklin, where the main force of the Union army was posted, under Schofield, Thomas himself having fallen back still farther, to Nashville. Here the enemy attacked Schofield repeatedly, but were in every instance repulsed, losing 1,750 killed, 702 prisoners, and 3,800 wounded. Schofield's entire loss was only 2,300. During the night, under Thomas's orders, Schofield fell back to Nashville. This was done solely in order to concentrate Thomas's whole force.

On the 15th of December, Hood, having approached still nearer to Nashville, Thomas attacked him, and, in a battle lasting two days, defeated and drove him from the field in utter confusion. Most of the Confederate artillery, and many thousand prisoners, fell into the hands of Thomas. The enemy retreated at once, but was closely pursued with cavalry and infantry to the Tennessee, abandoning most of his artillery and transportation on the way. His army was almost completely annihilated.

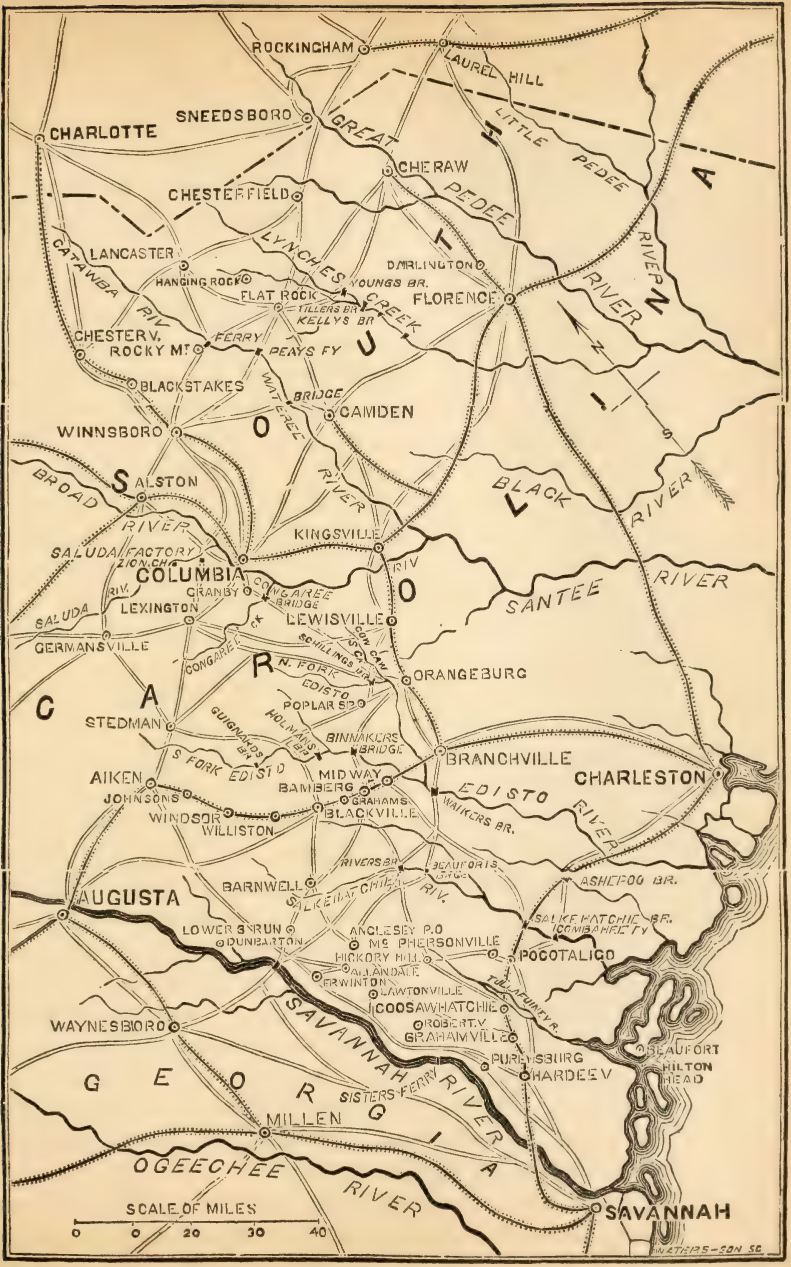
Meanwhile, a combined naval and military expedition, planned by Grant against Fort Fisher, the defence of Wilmington, at the mouth of the Cape Fear river, after meeting with various delays and hindrances, was crowned with complete success. This was a triumph of the utmost consequence. Wilmington was the last remaining place on the sea-coast where the blockade maintained by the navy was ineffectual, and through this port supplies of inestimable value reached the interior. When this place was captured, the enemy were indeed shut in from the outside world; and the ever-contracting coils seemed folding closer and closer around the doomed and guilty disturbers of their country's peace.

Sherman had penetrated to Savannah by Christmas day, not a fortnight after the success of Thomas at Nashville. As Grant had foreseen and foretold, he met no opposition of importance on the route; no battle was fought, and, in the occasional skirmishes with a small body of cavalry that hovered about his flanks, his outguards lost only a few hundred men. The campaign was one great excursion. The country was found to be still abundant in supplies, though the railroads could no longer carry its productions to the armies at the enemy's front. Sherman destroyed the railroads, the arsenals, bridges, and crops, everywhere on the route, and marked his course with a broad swath of ruin forty miles across. He reached the outworks of Savannah in five weeks after he had started, captured a fort that protected it without much difficulty, and was met at Savannah by fresh instructions from Grant, directing his future movements.

His march had been unique and interesting in the extreme. Certainly no great army ever marched before so far through an enemy's country and encountered so little opposition. Grant had heard of him by spies and deserters, and through the Confederate States' newspapers. He had been able to follow his march on the maps with very little anxiety, and had felt not half the solicitude for Sherman that the danger in which Thomas had been placed occasioned. He had actually started for Nashville, when the news of Thomas' brilliant success met him on the way and relieved his fears.

Thomas had so completely placed Hood's army *hors du combat* that Grant determined to find other fields of operation for his surplus troops. Some were sent to Canby, who had superseded Banks, and was ordered to organize the expedition against Mobile, which Grant had contemplated the year before; Schofield, with his entire corps, was ordered to be sent East, and the remainder of Thomas' available command was to be collected at Eastport, on the Tennessee. Schofield's movement in the dead of winter was difficult and painful in the extreme. On the 23d of January his corps arrived at Washington; then it was despatched to Annapolis to wait till the ice in Chesapeake bay would allow its transportation to the sea, for Grant intended to send Schofield into North Carolina to co-operate with Sherman.

The lieutenant-general had at first thought to bring Sherman by sea from Savannah to City Point, and there, with the two great armies of the East and the West, to overwhelm the last remaining stronghold and army of the rebellion. Orders to this effect reached Sherman before he arrived at Savannah. He answered promptly that he had expected to march by land through the Carolinas and thus join Grant, but that it would be at least six weeks after the fall of Savannah before he could reach Raleigh, in North Carolina, whereas by sea he could join Grant by the middle of January. He, therefore, began at once his preparations to obey Grant's orders. Grant, however, had before this discovered that the difficulty of procuring ocean transportation for a whole army would be prodigious, and he was, besides, pleased with Sherman's confidence of being able to march through the Carolinas. He, therefore, despatched directions on the 28th of December for Sherman to start by land without delay, and march northward through North and South Carolina, breaking up the railroads everywhere. This campaign was likely to be vastly more difficult and



MAP SHOWING THE ROUTE OF SHERMAN'S ARMY THROUGH SOUTH CAROLINA.

hazardous than that which Sherman had already accomplished, for now he would meet an enemy. There were still hostile troops on the sea-coast south of Richmond, all of whom would be collected to oppose him, and Grant feared lest the remnants of Hood's army might be brought across from Mississippi, as a forlorn hope, in the last battles of the rebellion.

Accordingly Schofield, with twenty-one thousand men, was sent to North Carolina and instructed to take command of twelve thousand more, already there, at Newbern and Fort Fisher. He was then to move into the interior of the State, striking for Goldsboro, in order to reach Sherman at that point, as the latter should be coming north, and to furnish him with a new base of supplies. A vast accumulation of stores was also directed to be ready for the Western army when it should reach Goldsboro. Schofield captured Wilmington, and, after several skirmishes, which in any other war would be called battles, he reached a point ten miles from Cox's bridge, near Goldsboro, on the 22d of March, 1865.

Sherman left Savannah on the 1st of February, caused the evacuation of Charleston, seized Columbia, had a battle at Averysville, in which he was successful, and another at Bentonsville, where he encountered Johnston, who had recently been put in command of all the enemy's forces that could be collected east of the Mississippi, and who were not under arms at Richmond. The engagement was not decisive, but Johnston retreated, and Sherman followed till, on the 22d of March, he also arrived at Cox's bridge, which Schofield reached the same day, coming from the sea. Thus one of the most wonderful pieces of military combination that the world has ever seen was accomplished under the orders, and according to the plans and instructions of Grant. A little more than four months previous the general-in-chief had taken Schofield from Sherman's moving column, and ordered him back to the support of Thomas in Tennessee. At the same time that he brought Schofield north from Atlanta, he sent Sherman south through the heart of the Confederacy. The latter had reached the Atlantic, and then marched north, capturing cities and fighting enemies all through the Carolinas. Schofield had fought and won the battle of Franklin, had borne a distinguished part in the battle of Nashville, and then brought his corps through snows and ice across the continent in mid-winter to the Atlantic coast, sailed to North Carolina, captured Wilmington, and advanced into the interior of the State to rejoin and support his old commander. Between them they had nearly traversed the whole interior region of the enemy. Each arrived on the same day at Goldsboro, having traversed thousands of miles. No general ever conceived or executed such a combination as this prior to Grant, and yet you shall hear ignorant or hostile critics tell us that his success is owing to luck. The magnificent scale of his operations; the closeness with which he followed and directed them all; the complicated nature of his various evolutions under a dozen different commanders; the marvellous skill with which he was able to make Sherman march south and Schofield north; to get reinforcements to Thomas from Canby and Rosecrans, at the critical moment, so as to secure the great triumph of the battle of Nashville; to capture Fort Fisher and Wilmington, although at extraordinary risk and after peculiar difficulties, just in time for those captures to afford immense assistance to other schemes; subsequently to bring Sherman north and to send Schofield south; while all the while he himself was holding the main force and greatest army of the rebellion not only at bay, but in terror for its existence—this fact alone rendering all the operations of his subordinates possible; all this may be luck, but it is such luck as never followed any soldier before in history; it is such luck as it is greatly to be desired shall always attend the armies of the republic; it is such luck as nations have always recognized, securing for themselves the advantages it brings by placing its possessors in civil as well as military power.

One beautiful and magnanimous trait of Grant deserves to be chronicled here. While he assigned to his subordinates all these brilliant and important parts of his plans, and retained for himself not only the most difficult but the least inspiring of all, he never manifested a particle of jealousy at the reputation which he enabled Sherman, and Sheridan, and Thomas, and Schofield, and Terry to acquire. Not only did he urge upon the government the promotion of those officers, as well as of Meade, but he sought every other means to bring them into notice. His wonderful sagacity was manifest in detecting not only their ability, when nobody else perceived it, but in recognizing the peculiar quality of each man's talent: the original genius of Sherman, which fitted him for the great march; the brilliant vigor of Sheridan, which enabled him to conquer Early; the splendid determination of Thomas, which alone retarded Hood until the hour had come for his annihilation; the sagacity of Schofield, the talent of Terry. But, more than all this, when he had lain many weary months in front of Petersburg, making movements all of which tended gradually to his eventual success, but none of which resulted so immediately in what the country desired as to be recognized by the country; while he was in reality conceiving and inspiring and directing every one of his great subordinates, he never sought to take from them an atom of their own glory; nor even when the ignorant bestowed on the executor all the praise, did the conceiver attempt to attribute to himself his own. He was calm, patient, unselfish, magnanimous. He was not anxious for fame, but for the salvation of the country. When Sherman penetrated to the Atlantic coast and accomplished his wonderful march, Grant, who had taken all of its responsibility, was still sitting quietly in front of Petersburg; and the country rang with applause for the brilliant lieutenant, affording no share of this to the chief who had sent the lieutenant on his errand, and by his other movements, a thousand miles away, had rendered the success of the lieutenant possible. It was even proposed in Congress to place Sherman in the rank which Grant enjoyed. Sherman wrote on the subject at once to Grant, saying that the proposition was without his knowledge, and begging Grant to use his influence against it. This, of course, Grant refused to do, and replied to Sherman: "If you are put above me, I shall always obey you just as you always have me." The history of the world may be searched in vain to find a parallel of magnanimity, friendship, and patriotism.

In January, 1865, foreseeing the approaching termination of the war, and anxious to make the downfall of the Confederacy complete, Grant directed Thomas to send out several expeditions into the region between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi, in order to accomplish the destruction of all the remaining resources and communications of the enemy. Stoneman was sent from East Tennessee into South Carolina, to attract all attention from Sherman in his northward march, and Wilson was ordered into central Alabama, which was now entirely exposed and unprotected. Canby also, who was in command of everything in the region of the extreme southwest, was directed to organize an expedition against Mobile, and Sheridan received orders to move from the valley towards Lynchburg, in the rear of Lee, so as to destroy every possible means by which the last of the great Confederate armies could draw their supplies. Thus, from every direction, raids were being made at and into the vitals of the rebellion, while Grant still held the main army in his front. His plans had annihilated all of the resources of the enemy; his subordinates had attacked all the important outside points; his movements had conquered all the Confederate armies but one, and now he was ready to deal the death-blow for which he and the nation had been waiting so long. Now, at last, the country began to perceive the consummate nature of his strategy; now it began to recognize the master in the movements of his subordinates; now it detected the unity of his plans, discovering that Sherman and Sheridan and Schofield and Thomas were moving towards one centre, and that that centre was Grant; that they were all inspired by one mind, and that that mind was Grant's. The enemy, also, too plainly saw and felt, for the first time, that they had a master; they turned and writhed, they showed a bold front, but they were aware that the hour had come, that their schemes had been met by counter-schemes; that they were outgeneralled, outmanœuvred, outmarched, outfought, outwitted, conquered, although the final blow was not yet struck.

In March, Grant ordered Sherman, who had now reached Goldsboro, to come in person to City Point, and receive verbal instructions. Before Sherman arrived, Sheridan had completely destroyed all the canals and railroads to the northwest of Lee, and was ordered to bring his whole force to Grant, who now directed Sherman to prevent any concentration between Lee and Johnston, and to be ready to come to the support of Grant, if the latter should so instruct. Sherman spent a day at City Point, and returned to his command.

On the 29th of March, Sheridan having arrived in front of Petersburg, Grant began the final campaign of the war. On the 25th, Lee had made an assault on Grant's lines, which must have been a mere frantic stroke, with no hope of success. It was promptly repelled, the enemy losing heavily in killed and wounded, and Grant capturing two thousand prisoners. Grant immediately took advantage of this, and made a counter advance on the left, which was successful, nearly a thousand more of the enemy being captured, and many others killed and wounded, and a portion of Lee's line taken and held. Grant had been extremely anxious for months lest the enemy should withdraw from Richmond to Petersburg. He was unwilling to move in attack with the Army of the Potomac until his great plans for the entire continent should be further consummated; until Sherman and Schofield could be brought so near, that Lee could have no chance of escape, even if he attempted it; but now all things were ripened, every command was in its right place; from all directions he had brought his armies, and, on the 29th of March, he moved.

Lee still, by superhuman exertions, had collected seventy thousand men, besides the local militia of Richmond, and the gunboat crews on the James, which amounted to at least five thousand more, and which were always put into a fight by the Confederate general. Grant left a large force in front of the enemy's works, in order that, if the enemy should be induced to come out and attack the national column while in motion, the troops in the trenches might be pushed against the fortifications in their fronts. Sheridan, Grant detached and sent to the extreme left, to be ready to cut and cross the two southern railroads which Lee still retained, the South-Side and the Danville. With the remainder of his force, Grant moved to the left for the last time, and began to feel the enemy. He soon discovered that Lee was still confronting him at every point, and conceived, therefore, that the enemy's line must be weakly held. He determined, in consequence, to move no farther out, but to send a corps of infantry to Sheridan, who was still on the extreme left, so that he might turn the enemy's right flank, while with the rest of the force Grant would order a direct assault on the Confederate line. Meantime, Lee had not yet lost all spirit; he hoped still to gain some advantage, under cover of which he could join Johnston, when the two armies might perhaps be able to make a campaign against Grant's united forces in the interior. Accordingly, one or two feeble attacks were made by Lee, but immediately repelled with loss. In these various operations, Sheridan was separated from Grant's left, with a view to making the contemplated flank attack on Lee; and the latter discovering this, immediately reinforced his own right largely, and moved against Sheridan. Instead of retreating upon Grant with his whole command, to tell the story of having encountered superior force, Sheridan deployed his cavalry on foot, leaving mounted men only to take charge of the horses. This skilful ruse compelled the enemy also to deploy over a vast extent of woods and broken country, and made his progress slow. Sheridan now informed Grant of what had taken place, and Grant promptly reinforced him with the Fifth corps. On the 1st of April, thus reinforced, Sheridan attacked Lee's right at Five Forks, assaulted and carried the fortified position of the enemy, capturing all his artillery, and between five thousand and six thousand prisoners. The defeat was decisive. The enemy fled in every direction, and the bulk of the force that had been in front of Sheridan never was able again to rejoin Lee.

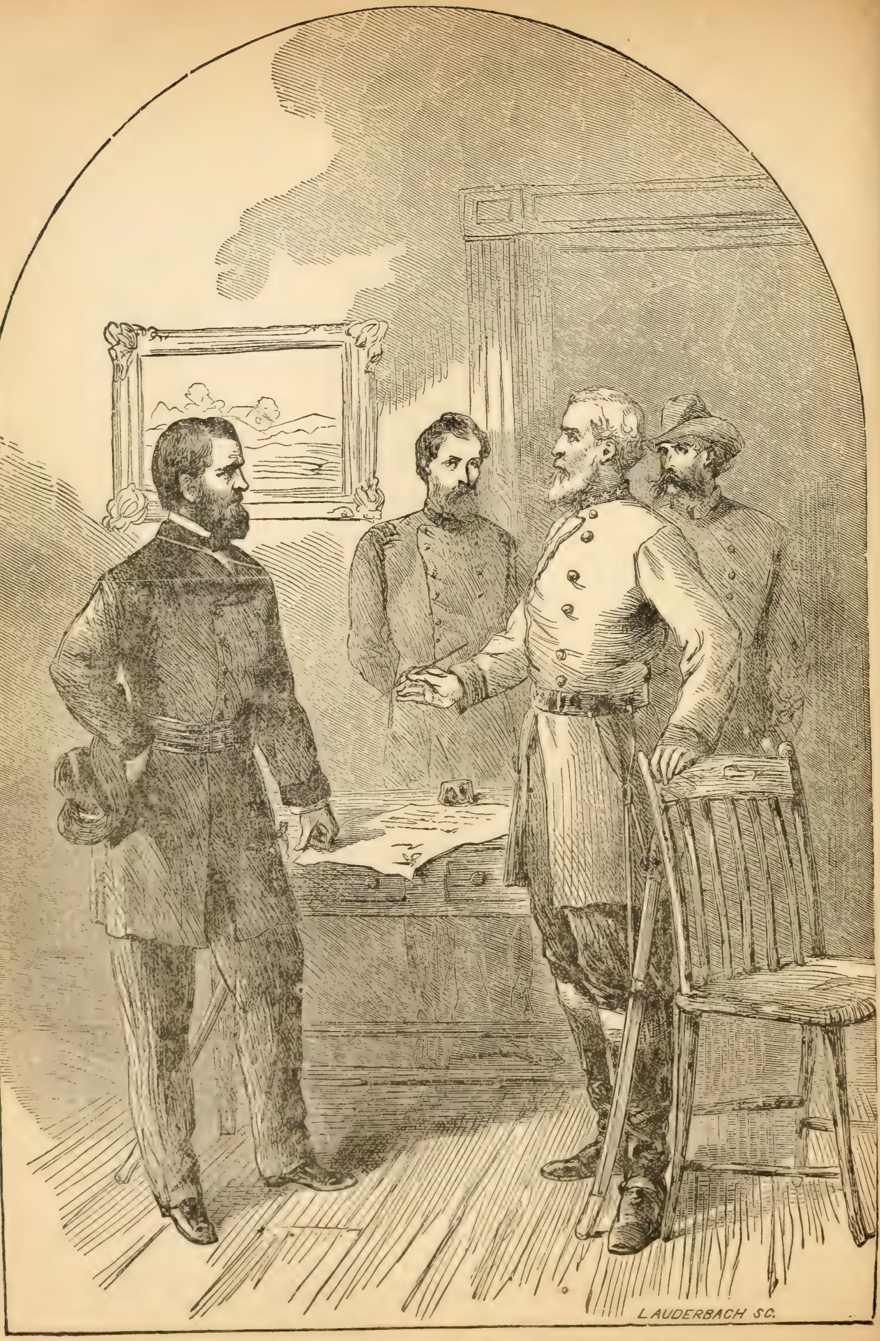
News of the victory reached Grant at nine o'clock in the evening. He at once determined that the hour had come for the final assault. Without consulting any one, he wrote a despatch to Meade, ordering an attack at midnight, all along the lines in front of Petersburg, which were at least ten miles long. The corps commanders, however, could not be ready until dawn, and it was therefore postponed to that time. Before daylight a prodigious bombardment was begun, and at four o'clock the various columns moved to the assault. Grant's calculations were correct; the enemy's works were carried in three different places. Lee's army was cut in two or three parts; many instantly fled across the Appomattox, while the main portion retreated into the city of Petersburg, which was still defended by an inner line. Grant got his men up from the extended field which they now occupied, and pursued the enemy into the town; several thousand prisoners and many guns were taken before dark.

That night the enemy evacuated Petersburg and Richmond, flying southwest towards Danville. So the goal that our armies had been four years seeking to attain was won. Grant did not wait a moment, but, without entering Richmond in person, pushed on in pursuit at daylight, on the 3d, leaving to a subordinate the glory of seizing the capital of Virginia. The energy with which he now followed the unhappy Lee was terrific; he disposed his columns on two roads, and marched with marvellous speed. Sheridan, Ord, Meade, vied with each other in their efforts to overtake and annihilate the last fighting force of the rebellion; and the men murmured at no labors or dangers. Meanwhile, Grant, as he was pursuing Lee, sent orders to Sherman to push at once against Johnston, so that the war might be finished at once. "Confederate armies," he reminded him, "are now the only strategic points to strike at." Sheridan, with the Sixth corps, came up with Lee, on the 6th, at Sailer's creek, struck the enemy in force, and captured sixteen pieces of artillery and 7,000 prisoners, among whom were seven generals. Ord also engaged the enemy on this day at Farmville. Every day Lee made superhuman exertions to get beyond the pursuer's reach; everywhere found himself circumvented, outmanœuvred, or beaten down again. No time was left him to get supplies; his men were subsisting on two ears of corn a piece per day, and the arrangements he sought to make to procure them rations were discovered and frustrated by Grant. A train of cars loaded with supplies was captured by Sheridan, and a wagon-train with rations was set on fire by artillery.

On the 7th of April, Grant addressed a note to Lee, summoning him to surrender; but Lee sought to gain time, either hoping yet to reach Johnston with some fragments of his army, or at least to allow Johnston an opportunity to escape. Lee said he was not certain the emergency had arisen to call for his surrender; whereupon Sheridan was thrown around in front of Lee, and drove him from Appomattox, capturing twenty-five pieces of artillery. This, probably, rendered Lee less uncertain about the emergency. But Grant declined entirely to treat for peace; all he wanted was surrender. He now sent the Twenty-fourth corps, under Ord, and the Fifth, under Griffin, to support Sheridan, thus completely surrounding Lee, who was fairly outmarched; Sheridan was planted square across his only road of escape. The great cavalryman at once began to attack Lee, who, at first believing there was no infantry in his front, endeavored to drive Sheridan away; but suddenly discovering the presence of two corps of infantry, which he had not deemed it possible could have marched fast enough to pass his own troops, he at once sent word to Sheridan that he was negotiating with Grant.

On the 9th of April, Lee asked for an interview with the commander of the Union armies, for the purpose of surrendering his forces, and early in the afternoon of that memorable day the two antagonists met in a plain farmhouse, between the armies which had striven against each other so long.

Lee had one staff officer with him, and with Grant were about a dozen of his subordinates—Sheridan, Ord, and his own staff. And there Grant drew up the terms upon which Lee surrendered. Grant first announced what he should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LEE SURRENDERING TO GENERAL GRANT.

demand, and Lee acquiesced. No one else spoke on the subject. Grant then wrote out the stipulations; they were copied by staff officers; Lee signed them, and the Army of Northern Virginia was prisoner of war. The terms are world renowned: "Officers and men were paroled, and allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observed their paroles and the laws in force where they might reside." All arms, artillery, and public property were to be turned over to officers appointed by Grant. These were the stipulations, as Lee consented to them; but after he had signified his acceptance, Grant inserted the clause that the side-arms and private horses and baggage of the officers might be retained. Lee seemed much gratified at this magnanimity, which saved him and his officers the peculiar humiliation of a formal surrender of their weapons. He asked, how about the horses of the cavalry *men*, which in the Confederate army were the property of the private soldier. Grant replied that these were included in the surrender. Lee looked at the paper again, and acquiesced in Grant's interpretation. The latter then said, "I will not change the terms of the surrender, General Lee, but I will instruct my officers, who receive the paroles, to allow the men to retain their horses, and take them home to work their little farms." Again General Lee expressed his appreciation of the generosity of his conqueror, and declared that he thought this liberality would have a very good effect. So the interview terminated.

The next day, Grant and Lee met again on horseback, in the open air, and for two hours discussed the situation of affairs. Lee expressed a great desire for peace, believed that his surrender was the end of the war; he acquiesced in the abolition of slavery, the return of the seceded States, and declared his wish for harmony. Grant urged him to use his influence to bring about such a result. Subsequently, on the same day, Longstreet, Gordon, Heath, Pickett, Wilcox, W. H. F. Lee, and every other officer of high rank in Lee's army, came in a body to pay their respects to Grant, and, as they themselves expressed it, to thank him for the terms he had allowed him. All manifested the kindest spirit. Many of Grant's officers were present at this remarkable interview, and not a word was said on either side calculated to wound the feelings of any one present. Many of the enemy declared how unwillingly they had entered the war; all submitted fully to the inevitable; many expected to be exiled; none dreamed of retaining any property; they expected all their lands to be confiscated, and themselves to begin life all over again.

One of the few surviving eye-witnesses of Lee's surrender at Appomattox was interviewed some time ago concerning General Jubal Early's recent denial of the story that Lee's sword was tendered to Grant. The man's name is Benjamin Jeffries, and he is a carpenter by trade and a resident of Des Moines. He served through the war in a Pennsylvania regiment, and at the time of Lee's surrender was a member of Company A, One Hundred and Ninety-first "Bucktails."

When asked as to the circumstances that followed the close of the fighting at Appomattox, he said:

"After fighting ceased General Grant rode to the front, where our regiment was deployed on the skirmish line, and ordered that a guard be stationed across the road leading down to the village and that no one be allowed to pass. About two o'clock in the afternoon he returned, accompanied by an escort of 200 or 300 officers. Leaving all but one aide behind, he rode through the lines and down the slope towards the Court-House, a short distance off. As he did so General Lee, accompanied by one aide, came towards him from the opposite direction.

"About seventy-five yards from where we were stationed on guard stood a small story-and-a-half log-house, near which grew a large apple tree. Grant and Lee met at this point and halted under this tree. Lee rode a large, handsome roan, while Grant was mounted on a small, black horse. Dismounting, Lee drew his sword and offered it to Grant, but Grant refused to accept it and, declining it with a wave of his hand, it was put back in the scabbard. Then Grant offered his hand to Lee and they shook hands, as did their aides, and all engaged in conversation for about five minutes, when, remounting, they rode away to the Court-House, where the papers completing the terms of the surrender were drawn up.

"I saw the first meeting between General Grant and General Lee. I saw Grant refuse to take Lee's sword, for I stood less than a hundred yards from them at the time, and watched every movement they made. I have as vivid a recollection of that scene as if it took place yesterday."

Colonel Charles Marshall, chief of General Lee's staff, speaking of the surrender at Appomattox and of the meeting of Generals Grant and Lee, says: "When shown into the room General Grant advanced and shook hands with General Lee. The Federal commander was in undress uniform and without side-arms, while General Lee was in full-dress uniform. General Grant, by way of apology to General Lee for coming without his side-arms, said that his sword was with his baggage and because of his desire to reach the place for the conference he had hastened on in undress uniform. This was the only allusion to a sword that was made at the interview."

"After the terms of surrender were settled, General Grant explained that he was advised that General Lee's forces had a number of Federal prisoners, who, like their captors, were out of rations. General Sheridan said that he could supply 25,000 rations. Grant then instructed him to send 25,000 rations to Lee's commissary. After the interview Lee asked for General Williams and thanked that officer for kindness shown to his son, General Custis Lee, who had been captured several days before." When Lee and Colonel Marshall rode off, the Federal officers filled the front porch. Colonel Marshall is not sure that Grant was among them, for his thoughts were busy with other matters at the time.

General Badeau thus describes the surrender of Lee:

"The two armies came together in a long valley at the foot of a ridge, and Appomattox was on a knoll between the lines which could be seen for miles. The McLean house (which Lee had selected as the place of meeting) stood a little apart, a plain building with a veranda in front. Grant was met by Lee at the threshold. There was a narrow hall and a naked little parlor containing a table and two or three chairs. Into this the generals entered, each at first accompanied only by a single aide-de-camp, but as many as twenty Federal officers shortly followed, among whom were Sheridan, Ord and the members of Grant's own staff. No Confederate entered the room but Lee and Colonel Marshall, who acted as his secretary. The two chiefs shook hands, and Lee at once began a conversation, for he appeared more unembarrassed than the victor. The conversation at first related to the meeting of the two soldiers in earlier years in Mexico, when Grant had been a subaltern and Lee a staff officer of Scott. Lee, however, soon adverted to the object of the interview. 'I asked to see you, General Grant,' he said, 'to ascertain upon what terms you would receive the surrender of my army.' Grant replied that the officers and men must become prisoners of war, giving up, of course, all munitions, weapons and supplies, but that a parole would be accepted, binding them to go to their homes and remain there until exchanged or released by proper authority. Lee said that he had expected some such terms as these, and made some other remark not exactly relevant, whereupon Grant inquired: 'Do I understand, General Lee, that you accept these terms?' 'Yes,' said Lee, 'and if you will put them into writing I will sign them.'

"While Grant was writing he chanced to look up at Lee, who sat nearly opposite, and at that moment noticed the glitter of his sword. The sight suggested an alteration in the terms, and he inserted the provision that officers should be allowed to retain their side-arms, horses and personal property. Lee was evidently touched by this clemency, and especially by the interpolation which saved so much to the feelings of soldiers. He said at once that the conditions were magnanimous, and would have a good effect upon his army. Grant went even further than this, and subsequently instructed the officers who received the paroles to allow the cavalry and artillerymen to retain their horses and take them home to work their little farms. Lee then explained that his men were starving. They had lived, he said, on two ears of corn a day for several days. There was a train of cars, he said, at Lynchburg loaded with rations which had come from Danville for his army. Would Grant allow these to be distributed among the prisoners? Grant, however, informed him that this train had been captured the day before by Sheridan. Thus, at the moment of his surrender, Lee was absolutely dependent for supplies upon his conqueror. Grant, of course, acquiesced in the request, and turning to the officer of the commissariat on his staff, directed him to issue 25,000 rations that night to the Army of Northern Virginia.

"The formal papers of surrender were now signed; a few more words were exchanged by the men who had opposed each other so long; they again shook hands and Lee went to the porch. The national officers followed and saluted him, and the military leader of the rebellion mounted his horse and rode off to his army, he and his soldiers prisoners of war."

The following description of the memorable beginning of the month of March, 1865, is given by General Mahone, then a general of the Confederate army, now a Republican and readjuster United States Senator from Virginia:

"The first week in April found Lee's army encircling Richmond and Petersburg, and practically surrounded by the Union forces. Our object was to escape capture and to retreat in such a manner that we could make a junction with Johnston's army in North Carolina. My division on the 2d of April was posted at Chesterfield Points, facing the enemy. I was summoned to Lee and instructed to fall back to Amelia Court-House, protecting the rear of the Confederate retreat. At Amelia Court-House we expected to find full rations for the men from Richmond, but were disappointed. From the Court-House, our troops moved by different routes along the line of the Richmond and Danville Railroad, until we came to Sailer's creek. The army moved up the creek, Longstreet's division in front, and mine bringing up the rear. The enemy was in hot pursuit, and we were closely pressed. At Rice's Station the Federals attacked us, and Longstreet engaged them. I had been summoned to Lee, and while we were talking General Vanable rode up. Turning to Lee, he said:

"'General, did you receive my message?'

"'What message?' Lee inquired.

"'I informed you, sir, that the enemy had captured our wagon train at Sailer's Creek,' was the response. Lee instantly ordered me to move my division to the creek, and as I rode off to execute the movement he accompanied me. We soon reached the scene of the engagement, and the sight that met our gaze, as from an eminence we looked down upon the battle-field, made me sick at heart.

"The Federal cavalry had completely routed our men and were pursuing them in every direction. Infantrymen had thrown away their arms and were fleeing for life. Teamsters had cut the traces of their harness and were scampering away, leaving guns and wagons behind. One single piece of artillery at a distance was occasionally firing a shot without the slightest effect.

"Taking in the scene at a glance Lee exclaimed: 'My God! has this army dissolved?' There was that in his tone and manner which convinced me that the end had come, and for a second I was too much shocked to speak. Then I told him that the army had not dissolved, and that one command at least was ready to fight. The general rode sadly away and I posted my men, being fully satisfied that the enemy would not fight any more that night, for it was then nearly dark. The day's fighting had practically ended, and, after performing my duties, I rode down to the field, where I found Lee sitting on his horse with a Confederate flag in his hand, surrounded by a shouting mob of demoralized Confederate soldiers. I took the flag from him and the men were ordered to the rear under the command of General Anderson.

"Our next move was to cross the Appomattox. I took my command to High Bridge, three miles from Farmville, where there were two bridges, one the high railroad bridge and another an improvised wagon bridge. I met Generals

Gordon and Anderson near High Bridge, after moving my men over, and had a talk with them. They believed that the defeat at Sailer's Creek had settled the fate of the Confederacy. I agreed with them that our army was ruined. I told them that I thought the officer next in command to General Lee should see him quickly and inform him that it was the judgment of his officers that we were beaten. It was agreed that General Anderson should go immediately to General Longstreet and have him tell Lee our views. About two o'clock on the morning of the 7th I left the conference and went over the river to look after my division. All that was known of Lee's movements was that he would cross over to Farmville and unite with us not far from that place, and we would continue the retreat toward Lynchburg. I made a reconnoissance of the roads in the dark, and returned to High Bridge about daylight. The enemy's skirmish lines were advancing toward the bridge, which, contrary to orders, had been burned.

"A brigade was sent out to check the advance of the Federal skirmishers. I had found a road leading to Cumberland Church, which joined the main road over which Lee was expected to approach. I formed my division in line of battle and received an order from General Lee to hold the enemy back. General Miles commanded the advance of the Union forces and he attacked me and we repulsed him; but this temporary victory closed our short line of battle, and he manœuvred with his superior force to turn our flank. I ran out a battery of artillery on the flank I saw he was endeavoring to turn, and in a short time he had captured our guns. Just then, fortunately, the advance of Lee's forces came up, and a North Carolina division, containing about a full regiment of men, charged the Federals and recaptured the guns.

"Lee and Longstreet soon came up in force. During the afternoon General Miles marched a brigade around our flank and got in my rear. While he was executing that movement I marched two brigades in the rear of Miles' men and attacked them savagely. We nearly annihilated the brigade, killing over seven hundred men in the action.

In the meantime Anderson had communicated with Longstreet, and, while I knew nothing of what had taken place, it was evident from the action of Longstreet and Lee that the former had broached the subject of surrender, and that the latter would not entertain the proposition.

"That night while I was preparing to cover the retreat of our army, about ten o'clock, I saw a ball of fire suspended over the head-quarters of the Union forces, which meant a flag of truce. I obtained permission to receive the flag, and sent a detachment with my provost-marshal to meet the truce party. When the provost returned I was resting myself in a negro cabin.

"'I have a letter for General Lee,' he said.

"'Yes, and I know what that means,' was my answer.

"'It is a demand for the surrender of the Confederate army.'

"I subsequently learned from General Grant himself that this letter, demanding the surrender, was written on the hotel porch in Farmville.

"An odd incident happened at this time," continued General Mahone, "and when you hear it you may think I am very superstitious. On my march I always carried at the head of my division an army wagon containing my personal supplies. This wagon had been captured by the Union soldiers. I knew this, because some of my men reported that they had found letters belonging to me on the bodies of some of Miles' troops killed that afternoon. After handing me the letter for General Lee the provost-marshal said: 'I have also something for you from General Miles.'

"'Stop!' I exclaimed. 'I know what you have for me. I have a presentiment that General Miles sent me my wife's daguerreotype, which was in my trunk captured by the Federal forces.' The provost took from his pocket the daguerreotype and handed it to me with a letter from General Miles, stating the circumstances under which it had been found. I sent my compliments to him for his civility, and about eleven o'clock our army was in full retreat.

"We marched all night and the next day, until about four o'clock in the afternoon, when we went into camp three miles south of Appomattox Court-House. Longstreet and Gordon were in front, and my division and General Fields' division were drawn in line of battle to cover the rear. At daylight we moved to Appomattox and then halted. I received a message from Lee to come to the front. I found him just this side of the court-house, with Longstreet and his staff, warming themselves by a fire. Lee asked his staff to retire, and then he said that he had sent for me because he was in trouble.

"'Well, what is the matter now?' I asked.

"'I suppose you know that Grant has demanded our surrender,' he replied.

"'No, I do not know it, but I suspected it,' was my answer.

"'Well, he has demanded our surrender, and I want to know what you think about it. We have only 8,000 muskets and two organized bodies—yours and Fields'.'

"'I take your purpose, General Lee, to be to effect a junction with Johnston in West North Carolina?'

"'Yes, sir,' said the general.

"'In my judgment,' said I, "'this junction can be formed only in one of two ways—first to cut through the enemy's lines and fight our way out, and that can only be done at a great cost of life. If successful we will only have a mere remnant of the army left, and that remnant cannot be recruited and equipped by a government in a wagon. I cannot see how you could supply an army with munitions and rations. We have another chance to get to Lynchburg, but we will certainly be harassed every step of the way, and when we get there we will be still farther away from Johnston.' I told him that the time had come when I thought he was called upon to perform the highest duty that could devolve upon an individual, to undergo a test of the highest degree of manhood; that the time had come when, in my judgment, it was his duty to surrender the army; that I believed it would be a crime under the circumstances to sacrifice the life of another man. I told him that if the terms offered by General Grant were such as we were entitled to receive I should surrender immediately. If not

I would fight it out here. He then handed me General Grant's letter containing the proposed terms of surrender. I read it and told him that I thought the terms were as honorable as could be asked by a defeated army. Lee turned questioningly to Longstreet, who simply said: 'I agree with Mahone.'

"'What will the country say?' asked Lee.

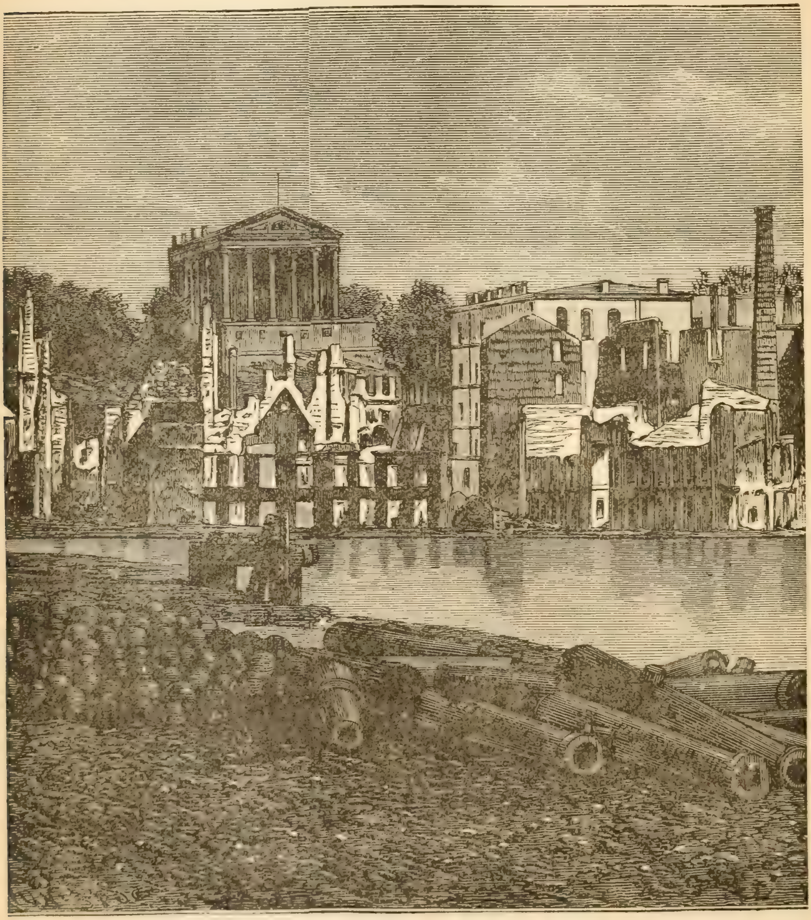
"'You are the country now,' I answered. 'Our people will approve.' He said he did not know where to find Grant. I told him to get on his horse and hunt him up. He left Longstreet in command of the army, and rode away in search of the Federal commander, accompanied only by a courier. I went back to my division, which Fields had put in line of battle, and told him what had occurred at the front.

"To avoid another engagement we sent out a flag of truce. When the men formed in line they began digging trenches and otherwise arranging for what they supposed to be an impending battle. They were ordered to stop work. It was the first order of the kind they had ever received under such circumstances. The soldiers seemed to understand what it meant without knowing anything of the events of the past twenty-four hours. As by instinct they realized that the war had come to an end. Some of the men began to cry, others threw their arms in joy around the necks of their comrades. Many of them broke their sword-blades and threw away their bayonets. I hastened out of sight of this affecting scene and rejoined General Lee at a little stream near Appomattox Court-House. Colonels Taylor and Stevens and several other officers were with him. I had scarcely reached the general's side when I saw a Union officer riding down the road from the court-house accompanied by a courier. He approached within 100 feet of General Lee, at the same time saluting him, removing his hat, and took a note from his pocket, which General Taylor received and carried to General Lee. He read the note and answered it, and the Union officer rode back to the Federal head-quarters. General Lee stood in the dirt road. He took the note, tore it up in little pieces and threw them upon the ground and with his heel stamped them under the dirt and out of sight. I mounted my horse and rode away and General Lee went to meet General Grant. That is all I saw of the surrender."

On the day of meeting Lee, Grant started for Washington. He was well aware that the war was closed. He knew that after the surrender of Lee and the capture of Richmond, no other force would remain in arms, and he was anxious at once to proceed to lessen the expenditures of the government, and to muster out his soldiers. He hastened from Appomattox to City Point, everywhere on the route the inhabitants coming out "to see the man who had whipped Lee." Then, without even yet stopping to enter the capital that he had conquered, or the lines that had withstood him so long; without apparently a particle of the natural and pardonable self-glorification of a victor under such extraordinary circumstances, this man, as modest in triumph as he had been persistent in difficulty, and sagacious in council, and daring in danger, went on to Washington, to engage in the unobtrusive but still vastly important duties of retrenchment.

In this concluding and most glorious of all the campaigns of the war, Grant had lost 7,000 men, in killed, wounded, and missing. He had captured Petersburg and Richmond, and won, by his subordinates, the battles of Five Forks and Sailer's Creek, besides numerous smaller ones; he had broken the lines at Petersburg in three different places, captured 20,000 men in actual battle, and received the surrender of 27,000 others at Appomattox, and absolutely annihilated an army of 70,000 soldiers. Ten thousand, at least, of Lee's army deserted on the road from Richmond to Appomattox, and at least 10,000 more were killed or wounded. From Lee's own field-return, we learn his force at the beginning of the campaign. Such an absolute annihilation of an army never occurred before, in so short a time, in the history of the world.

On the 29th of March, Richmond was in the possession of the enemy; their *de facto* government was established and recognized over hundreds of thousands of miles; the forces of Lee lined fifty miles of works that defended Petersburg and the capital; their greatest commander was at the head of 70,000 veterans. In less than two weeks, Richmond and Petersburg were captured cities, the lines that had defended them so long were useless, except as trophies of the humiliation of those who built them; their government, so called, was a fugitive; their army was not only de-



RUINS OF RICHMOND AFTER THE WAR.

feated, but stricken out of existence; its general, and every man under him who had not been killed, was a prisoner of war.

This last campaign was so short that its history was hardly reported at the time, and its results were so stupendous, that its own amazing character has hardly yet been recognized. For splendid marching, for repeated and victorious battles, for capture of works thought to be impregnable, for vigor and rapidity of movement, and remorseless energy, it will compare favorably with any achievements of ancient or modern times.

The total loss during the entire year, among the troops immediately under Grant, including those commanded by Butler in the first month of the campaign, amounted to 12,695 killed, 47,822 wounded, and 20,498 missing; total, 82,720. Against this, it is impossible to set off an exact statement of the losses of the enemy, for no reports were ever made by them of the final battles of the war. There was no one to whom to report. But Grant captured alone 66,512 Confederate soldiers in that time, besides the killed or wounded. He absolutely annihilated every army opposed to him; that of Lee, that of Early, of Beauregard, and all the forces brought from West Virginia and North and South Carolina to reinforce Lee; leaving not a living man at the last of all those armies who was not a prisoner. So that, with forces not a fourth greater than those of his antagonist, and in spite of the enormous advantages of defensive breastworks everywhere enjoyed by that antagonist, and which far more than balanced Grant's superiority in numbers, he accomplished military results that for completeness are utterly without precedent.

Thus ended the greatest civil war in history. Lee surrendered on the 9th of April, and on the 13th Grant was back in Washington, and at once urged upon the President and the Secretary of War that, as the rebellion was a thing of the past, the work of cutting down the military expenses of the government should begin; accordingly, on the day of his arrival at the capital, the following announcement was made to the country:

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, *April 13th*, 6 *P. M.*

The Department, after mature consideration and *consultation with the Lieutenant-General* upon the results of the recent campaign, has come to the following determinations, which will be carried into effect by appropriate orders, to be immediately issued:

First, to stop all drafting and recruiting in the loyal States.

Second, to curtail purchases of arms, ammunition, quartermasters' and commissary supplies, and reduce the military establishment in its several branches.

Third, to reduce the number of general and staff officers to the actual necessities of the service.

Fourth, to remove all military restrictions upon trade and commerce, so far as may be consistent with public safety.

These important reductions in expenditure announced to the nation the absolute overthrow of the rebellion and the return to peace. The enthusiasm natural over the immense success that had been gained at once broke out all over the land. In Washington a great illumination of all the public and many private buildings took place, and on the 14th of April, the day after Grant's return, it was announced in the public journals that he would accompany the President that evening to Ford's Theatre; but Grant had not seen his children for several months, and had a distaste for public demonstrations. He therefore declined the President's invitation, and started on the evening of the 14th for Burlington, New Jersey, where his children were at school. Thus, fortunately for America, did Providence again direct the movements of her greatest captain, and preserved him in peace, as it had done in war, for the future emergencies which he was destined to control. That night, as is too well known in the history of the country, the President was assassinated at the theatre. It was clearly proven, in the proceedings of the trial, that the conspirators intended also to take the life of him who had so recently preserved the life of the country. The attempted visit to Burlington took Grant unexpectedly out of the reach of the assassin's blow. The Secretary of War at once telegraphed to the general-in-chief, who returned the same night to Washington, having got no farther than Philadelphia.

THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

This extraordinary and melancholy event, and the novelty of the arrangements which it imposed on the government, retained Grant in Washington for several days. The funeral of the President took place on the 19th of April; his successor, Andrew Johnson, having been inaugurated immediately upon the death of Mr. Lincoln, on the 15th.

In obedience to Grant's order, of the 5th of April, to "push on from where you are, and let us see if we cannot finish the job with Lee's and Johnston's armies," Sherman had moved up at once against Johnston, who retreated rapidly before him through Raleigh, which Sherman entered on the 13th. The day preceding, news had reached him of the surrender of Lee. On the 14th, a correspondence was opened between Sherman and Johnston, which resulted, on the 18th, in an agreement for a suspension of hostilities, and a memorandum or basis for peace, subject, of course, to the approval of the President. The memorandum was forwarded first to Grant, who immediately perceived that the terms were such as the country would not consent to, as they allowed the enemy to deposit their arms and public property in the several State arsenals, stipulated for the recognition of the Confederate State governments by the authorities at Washington, secured to the enemy, without exception, all their political rights and franchises, as well as their rights of person and property, and, in fact, announced a complete and absolute amnesty, simply on condition of the disbandment of the Confederate armies, the laying down of arms, and the resumption of peaceful pursuits by those who composed those armies. Nothing was said about the abolition of slavery, the right of secession, punishment of past treason, or security against future rebellion. Grant forwarded the papers to the Secretary of War, and asked that a Cabinet meeting might be called at once, to determine what action should be taken, for there was no time to lose. Grant received Sherman's despatches on the evening of the 20th, and the Cabinet meeting was called before midnight. Grant was present.

The President and his Secretaries were unanimous in condemning the action of Sherman; indeed, their language was so strong, that Grant, while agreeing fully with them that the terms were inadmissible, yet felt it his duty to his friend to defend his conduct from the imputations it excited. He declared that the services Sherman had rendered the country for more than four years entitled him to the most lenient judgment on his act, and proved that whatever might be said of his opinions, his motives were unquestioned. The President was especially indignant at Sherman's course, and the sympathy for the enemy which it was thought to reveal.

Grant was instructed to start at once for Raleigh, and assume command in person, revoking the terms, and thereafter take whatever action he thought fit. He started before daybreak of the 21st, and arrived at Raleigh on the 24th. There he informed Sherman of the disapproval of his memorandum, and directed him to exact from Johnston the same terms which had been granted to Lee. Sherman at once notified Johnston that their arrangement had been disapproved; and a second set of stipulations was drawn up, in conformity with Grant's instructions. Grant magnanimously kept himself in the background; he was not present at any interview with Johnston, remaining at Raleigh while Sherman went out to the front; and his name does not appear in the papers, except where, after the signatures of Sherman and Johnston, he wrote, "Approved: U. S. Grant." This the Confederate commander was not aware of, and Grant actually went back to Washington without Johnston's suspecting that he had been at Raleigh. He allowed Sherman to receive the surrender, although he could, in compliance with the especial authority and orders given him in Washington, have had the glory of accepting the capitulation of Johnston, as well as that of Lee. What other living man would have been capable of such self-abnegation? and yet, how infinitely greater the glory of declining! One hardly knows which to admire most, at this supreme crisis in the history of the country and of the man—the magnanimity manifested to his enemy at Appomattox, or the generosity displayed to his friend at Raleigh.

Grant went immediately back to Washington, taking care everywhere to defend Sherman; throwing around his friend the shield of his own great reputation, and assuring everybody that Sherman's loyalty was as unquestioned as his

PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

own. The indignation throughout the land was intense, and nothing but Grant's own splendid fame, and the persistency with which he fought for Sherman, saved that illustrious soldier from insult, and perhaps degradation.

On the 28th of April, Grant was again at his head-quarters, now established at Washington, and the same day orders were issued for the reduction of the forces in the field and garrison, and the expenses of every department in the army.

The various expeditions of Stoneman, Wilson and Canby had meanwhile accomplished all that they were sent to do. There was no force of consequence left in front of either of them. Canby took possession of Mobile on the 11th of April, Wilson roamed unmolested and almost unopposed through the interior of Alabama, until he was arrested by the news of the surrender of Lee, and Stoneman had a similar career in North Carolina. But as soon as the various Confederate forces, large or small, heard of the disasters of Johnston and Lee, and the terms accorded to them, they also made haste to offer themselves as candidates for the same mercy extended to their comrades. During the month of May, the last armies of any strength left were those under Dick Taylor and Kirby Smith, who surrendered on the same terms, and, by the 1st of June, not an armed enemy remained in the land.

The collapse of the Confederacy was one of the most astounding features connected with the war. Not a gun was fired in hostility after the surrender of Lee. Not a soldier held out; not even a guerilla remained in arms; none hesitated not only to give a parole, but to volunteer an oath of allegiance to the government they had offended. Great part of this wonderful acquiescence in the results of the war was owing to the magnanimity of the terms accorded by Grant. No greater stroke of statesmanship can be found recorded in history. Knowing, as he did, the exhausted condition of the enemy—aware that they could hope for no after success, and yet might prolong the fighting for a year in the interior, with small detachments; partisan bands, holding out here and there all over the country; collecting together as fast as they were separated; renewing the fight after they seemed subdued—he determined to grant them such terms that there would be neither object nor excuse left them for such a course. The consummate wisdom of his conduct was proved by the haste which the enemy made to yield everything they had fought for. They were ready not only to give up arms, but, as has been said, to swear fidelity to the government. They acquiesced in the abolition of slavery, they abandoned the heresy of secession, and waited in humility to see what else their conquerors would dictate. And they did this in excellent spirit. They said they had staked all, and lost all; they admitted it was fair that the government should treat them as conquered rebels; they were thankful for their lives; they did not know if their lands would be left them; they dreamed not of political power; they did not hope to vote; they only asked to be let live quietly under the flag they had outraged, and attempt in some slight degree to build up their shattered fortunes. Many openly declared they were even more likely to prosper than during the days when the rebellion had existed. Some announced that they were glad that the war had ended as it did, and were proud to be back again under the government under which they had been born. The greatest general of the rebellion asked for pardon.

General Lee and the Confederates had returned to their desolated homes on their parole of honor. The victorious Northern and Western armies, under command of Grant and Sherman, were encamped in and around Washington city. Jefferson Davis was an inmate of a casement in Fortress Monroe, and Edwin M. Stanton was the power behind the throne who ran the government while Secretary of War.

Generals Grant and Rawlins were playing a game of billiards in the National Hotel, and two civilians were indulging in that pastime on an opposite table. A major in the regular army entered the spacious room in a hurry and whispered to General Grant. The latter laid his cue on the table, saying: "Rawlins, don't disturb the balls until I return," and hurried out. The writer remarked to his companion: "Pay for the game and hurry out. There is something up."

General Grant had reached the street, where, in front of the hotel, stood a mounted sentinel. Grant ordered the soldier to dismount and springing into the saddle put spurs to the horse and rode up the avenue so fast as to attract the attention of pedestrians. The first civilian questioned the soldier as to the cause of such sudden haste on the part of General Grant, but was answered with the surprise of one who knew nothing. The second citizen appeared, saying, "What has become of Grant?"

On being told of the General's break-neck ride up Pennsylvania avenue, it was decided to go to the war department and learn the cause, if possible. Colonel Barroll, of the Second regular infantry, and husband of Sue Denin, the actress, was disbursing officer in the quartermaster's department, presided over by General Rucker, and to the colonel one of the civilians went for information. Asking him if he knew the reason of General Grant's hasty action and if he had seen the hero of the hour around the department, Colonel Barroll answered, "Yes," but was surprised at anybody's knowledge of the event. When told of what transpired in the billiard room of the National Hotel, the colonel said: "Well, as you are aware of the coming of General Grant, I will tell you all about it, providing you promise not to repeat it."

The promise being given, Colonel Barroll said: "Secretary Stanton sent for me in reference to the execution of certain orders, and while listening to his instructions General Grant came in. The secretary greeted the general with a pleasant 'Good-morning,' which the latter returned, and in continuation said: 'Mr. Secretary, I understand that you have issued orders for the arrest of General Lee and others, and desire to know if such orders have been placed in the hands of any officer for execution.'

"'I have issued writs for the arrest of all the prominent Confederates, and officers will be despatched on the mission pretty soon,' replied the Secretary.

"General Grant appeared cool, though laboring under mental excitement, and quickly said:

"'Mr. Secretary, when General Lee surrendered to me at Appomattox Court-House, I gave him my word and honor that neither he nor any of his followers would be disturbed so long as they obeyed their parole of honor. I have learned nothing to cause me to believe that any of my late adversaries have broken their promises, and have come here to make you aware of that fact, and would also suggest that those orders be cancelled.'

"Secretary Stanton became terribly angry at being spoken to in such a manner by his inferior officer, and said:

"'General Grant, are you aware whom you are talking to? I am the Secretary of War.'

"Quick as a flash, Grant answered back: 'And I am General Grant. Issue those orders at your peril.' Then turning on his heel, General Grant walked out of the room as unconcerned as if nothing had happened.

"It is needless to say," continued Colonel Barroll, "that neither General Lee nor any of his soldiers were arrested. I was dismissed from the presence of the secretary with the remark that my services in connection with the arrest of the leading Confederates would be dispensed with until he took time to consider, and I now wait the result of his decision."

Like some cases in law, that decision of the great War Secretary was reserved for all time, but whether the game of billiards between Generals Grant and Rawlins was ever played out to an end has never been definitely known, though it was surmised that with the aid of a consoling cigar the game was finished.

Among the reminiscences of the silent soldier, that go to show his sterling character, quiet manner and coolness, a story told by a sergeant is as follows:

"One of the very marked features of General Grant's life in the field was that no one ever came to his quarters on legitimate business or was brought there a prisoner who was not kindly and considerately treated. He was punctilious in having all persons who came properly to his quarters politely treated and cared for. He never gave offence himself and would not tolerate it in others. No officer in the army ever lived more plainly than General Grant, and none was more willing to divide what he had.

After a successful battle he never exhibited the slightest boastful feeling. To have seen him and heard him talk one would suppose he had had nothing to do with the battle if it were not for the orders he was dictating for the future movements of the army, or for the burial of the dead, or for the caring for the sick and wounded. When Grant had been given command of all the armies in the west he was not as well known in the east as he afterwards was, and men began to inquire about him. Judge Porter asked an old friend who had been made a pension agent, what he knew about him. 'Only this,' was the reply, 'and it singularly impresses me. An old gentleman came to my office about his pension, whose name proved to be Jesse Grant. I asked if he knew this new general. He asked, 'You mean Lis?' 'And then he told me that he was his son, and he had just received a letter from him, which he showed me. It read something like this: You are perfectly right in thinking that I recognize my unfitness to command this great army. But I look around me and wonder who is more fit. I may not succeed. But if I am beaten it will be so badly that I will never be heard of again.' No man ever saw General Grant speak or act as if he were surprised. His staff officers would try to see if they could not get him to exhibit surprise or astonishment at some of their stories or by extravagant statements. They never succeeded. When every one else was surprised he never gave any indication that the matter of the surprise was not perfectly familiar to him. In the most trying times he was the coolest and most self-possessed. Nothing ever disturbed Grant's equanimity. He never lost his head. You might tell him the most startling news in regard to the enemy, but his face would never indicate that it was news to him. If he was ignorant of a matter about which you were talking, he would draw you out in such a quiet way that you would never imagine that the whole matter was not perfectly familiar to him. Upon one occasion a rather cheeky individual was pestering General Grant with questions about some of his campaigns, and the results not being to his taste, finally told the general that it was a common criticism passed upon him that he had the soldiers, the money and the power, and that any man of ordinary capabilities would have succeeded with the same opportunities. Grant slowly rolled his cigar from one side of his mouth to the other, and answered quietly: 'I have heard of these criticisms before. There is only one answer that I can make. General Lee surrendered to me. He didn't surrender to any other Union general, although I believe there were several efforts made in that direction before I assumed command of the army.'"

A sergeant of the Seventh Connecticut, now a resident of New Haven, gives the following account of his first meeting with General Grant when the army was lying before Richmond: "Day after day we had nothing to do but lie about the camp. On this day I was sergeant of the guard, a detail of eight men being under my charge. Some of the boys had swapped papers with the enemy, whose picket-line was not far from ours, and had given me the Richmond *Gazette*. I leaned my musket against the trunk of a tree, and, sitting on the ground, braced my back against the tree and read. It was not long before I became interested in a story and forgot about picket duty, and even the war. Suddenly I heard the tramp of a squadron of cavalry, and looking up saw a number of horsemen approaching. I saw that some of my men were engaged with some of the enemy in a game of poker. The officers did not stop, but quietly rode past, not without looking at me in a peculiar manner. Soon after a single horseman rode up. He had on a slouch hat, an old blouse, and his breeches were tucked in a pair of old boots. Riding up to me, he said: 'Sergeant, what are your men doing here?'

"'On picket duty,' I replied.

"'Where are your men?'

"'Oh, over there playing poker,' I said, nodding my head in their direction.

"I thought that he was a correspondent for some paper and answered him saucily. Asking my name, regiment and company, he rode away. I flung a parting shot at him as he did so, asking him if he were not inquisitive. When we were relieved I was called to the captain's head-quarters, where I was informed that General Grant had preferred charges against me. It was he to whom I had been impudent. When the captain told me that I was under arrest, liable to be shot, I felt like sinking in the ground. A court-martial was held, and I was ordered to be shot at sunrise. In the few hours that I was in the guard-house I seemed to live over my life again. Through the efforts of General Hawley the sentence was not carried into effect. I was punished, however, and for three days carried a knapsack filled with sand about the camp. When General Grant visited New Haven I called upon him. He recognized me, and as I left he said: 'Always do your duty.'"

All proclaimed especially their admiration of Grant's generosity. General Lee refused to present his petition for amnesty until he had ascertained in advance that Grant would recommend it. Mrs. Jefferson Davis wrote to Grant, and went in person to see him, asking his all-powerful influence to obtain a remission of some of the punishment of her husband; and throughout the South his praises were on the lips of his conquered foes.

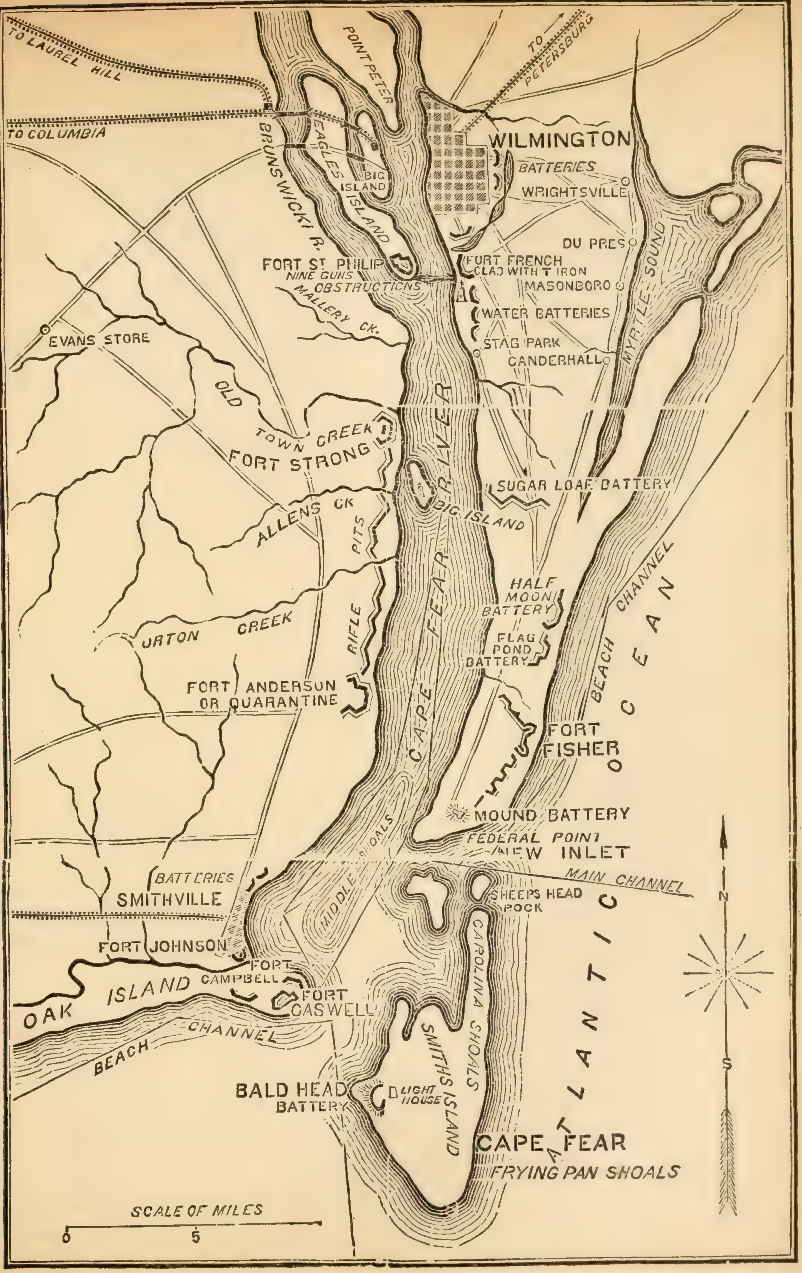
If this was so at the South, the North awarded him such a unanimity of praise and affection as no American had ever received before. Houses were furnished and presented to him, in Philadelphia, Washington, and Galena; magnificent donations of money were placed at his disposal; whenever he stepped out of his house, crowds attended and applauded him; at every public place, theatre or church, the audience or congregation rose at his entrance. If he visited a town, the mayor and other authorities welcomed him; cities were illuminated because of his presence, processions were formed in his honor, and the whole summer of 1865 was one long ovation. The nation felt that it could not do enough for the man who had led its armies to victory; men of every shade of political, religious, and social opinion or position, united in these acclamations.

But amid them all Grant preserved a modesty as remarkable as the ability which had won them. He made a tour of several months through the Northern States, during which probably every distinguished man in the country, besides innumerable crowds of less illustrious, but quite as hearty and patriotic friends, combined to do him honor; and in all this period, his quiet, unobtrusive manner, his simplicity of speech and dress, his equanimity and modesty, were as much admired as his deeds. To see him, one would never have suspected that the parade and celebration were on his account. He never spoke of his achievements or his success; he never alluded to the demonstrations in his honor; he accepted and appreciated the kindness that was offered him, thanked the people in the simplest and plainest terms, and won their love, where before he had only their admiration and their gratitude.

The writer has just come in possession of the following letter, written by General Grant from Galena to his father-in-law, Frederick Dent, then of St. Louis, and is of special interest. We do not remember any other letter from the general written at such an early date in which the whole subject of the war is so fully treated:

GALENA, *April 19th*, 1861.

MR. F. DENT—DEAR SIR: I have but very little time to write, but as in these exciting times we are very anxious to hear from you, and know of no other way but by writing first to you, I must make time. We get but little news by telegraph from St. Louis, but from all other points of the country we are hearing all the time. The times are indeed startling, but now is the time, particularly in the border slave States, for men to prove their love of country. I know it is hard for men to apparently work with the Republican party, but now all party distinctions should be lost sight of, and every true patriot be for maintaining the integrity of the glorious old stars and stripes, the Constitution and the Union. The North is responding to the President's call in such a manner that the enemy may truly quake. I tell you there is no mistaking the feelings of the people. The Government can call into the field not only 75,000 troops, but ten or twenty times 75,000 if it should be necessary, and find the means of maintaining them, too. It is all a mistake about the Northern pocket being so sensitive. In times like the present no people are more ready to give their own time or of their abundant means. No impartial man can conceal from himself the fact that in all these troubles the Southerners have been the aggressors, and the Administration has stood purely on the defensive—more on the defensive than she would dared to have done but for her consciousness of strength and the certainty of right prevailing in the end. The news to-day is that Virginia has gone out of the Union. But for the influence she will have on the other border



MAP SHOWING THE ENTRANCES TO CAPE FEAR RIVER AND THE APPROACHES TO WILMINGTON, N. C.

slave States this is not much to be regretted. Her position, or rather that of Eastern Virginia, has been more reprehensible from the beginning than that of South Carolina. She should be made to bear a heavy portion of the burden of the war for her guilt. In all this I can but see the doom of slavery. The North does not want, nor will they want, to interfere with the institution, but they will refuse for all time to give it protection, unless the South shall return soon to their allegiance; and then, too, this disturbance will give such an impetus to the production of their staple, cotton, in other parts of the world, that they can never recover the control of the market again for that commodity. This will reduce the value of the negroes so much that they will never be worth fighting over again.

I have just received a letter from Fred. [Frederick Dent, Jr.] He breathes forth the most patriotic sentiments. He is for the old flag as long as there is a Union of two States fighting under its banner, and when they dissolve he will go it alone. This is not his language, but it is the idea not so well expressed as he expresses it.

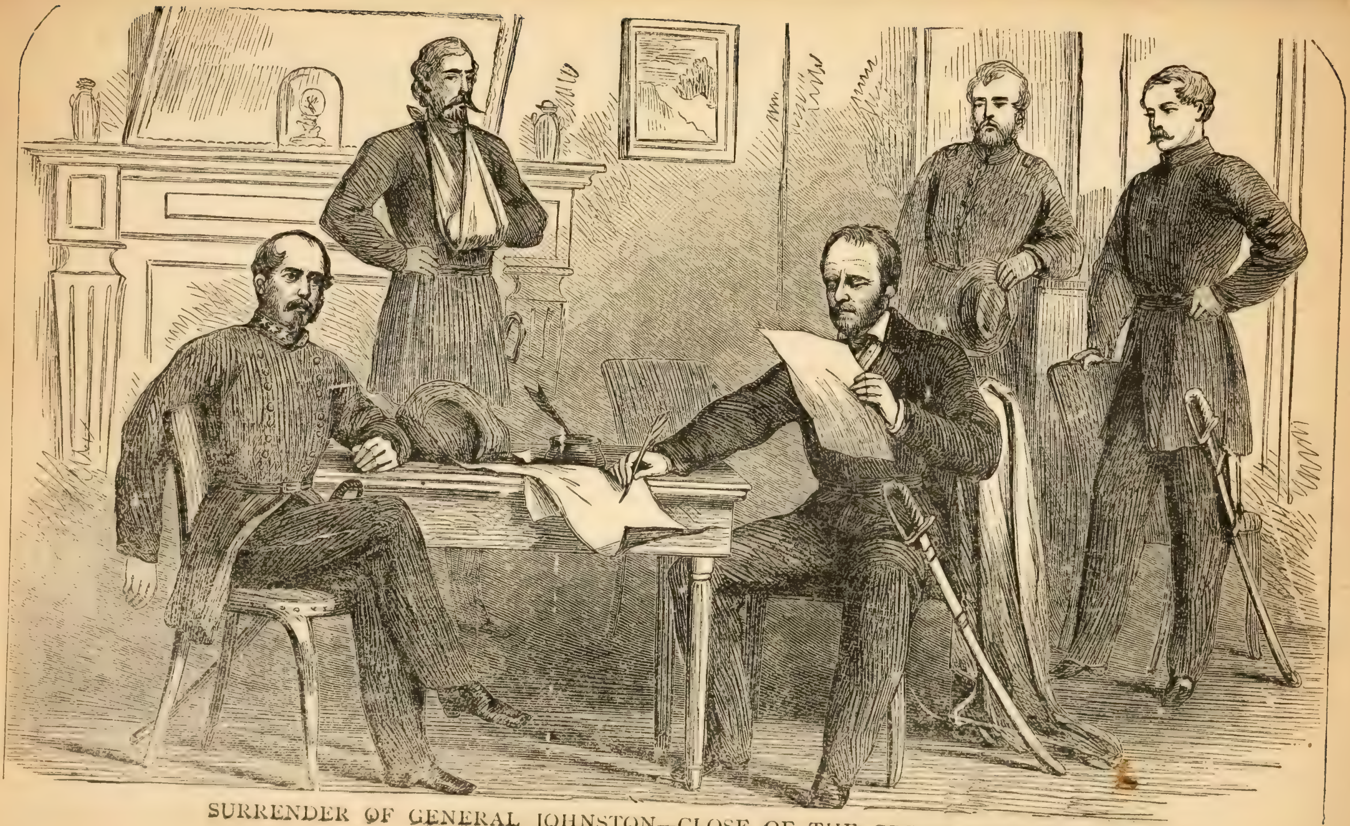
Julia and the children are all well, and join me in love to you all.

I forgot to mention that Fred has another heir with some novel name that I have forgotten.

Yours, truly, U. S. GRANT.

So passed the summer away. Meanwhile the President had been endeavoring to reconstruct the Union. Upon the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, there had been great fears entertained by all moderate men that the harshness of Andrew Johnson and his revengeful violence towards the Confederates would postpone for a long time any real harmony. He had openly announced his belief that all traitors should be hanged, and had threatened what severities he would use, if he were President of the United States. Grant himself was sincerely anxious on this matter. The extreme violence of the President, when discussing Sherman's terms to the Confederates, increased this anxiety, and at first it seemed as if it was destined to have ample cause. The President denounced the Confederates bitterly, he refused to pardon any, he kept many civilians imprisoned, he was determined, he said, "to render treason odious;" he was anxious to try and to punish even those whom Grant had paroled.

Repeatedly, when Grant was summoned to cabinet meetings, the President wanted to know when the time would come that Lee and other paroled officers could be tried and punished; and Grant was obliged to intercede



SURRENDER OF GENERAL JOHNSTON—CLOSE OF THE GREAT CIVIL WAR.

and defend them. He maintained that the paroles protected them; that they could not be tried while they obeyed the laws and complied with the stipulations they had entered into. He was obliged more than once to be very emphatic on this point. He thought we had received a very good equivalent for the lives of a few leaders, by securing all their arms and getting themselves under our control, bound by their oaths to obey the law; and, having received this consideration, he held that we ourselves were bound in honor to maintain them in theirs.

Grant early recommended the pardon of General Lee, on the ground that it would do much to secure harmony; and favored that of General Johnston. He never lost a chance to show a magnanimous spirit to his fallen foes; and, owing to the feeling of the President, these chances were constant and numerous. So it came about that the South looked to Grant especially, as their guardian and protector against Andrew Johnson.

But, as time wore on, the enmity of the President towards those who had been enemies was modified. They made haste to subscribe to his terms; whatever he told them to do they did, and, pleased with this, he flattered himself that he alone could reconstruct the Union. He appointed governors; he exacted changes in the constitutions of the seceded States; he established a policy—all without the sanction of Congress, which was not in session, and had no power to summon itself, and which he persistently refused to call together, lest it should obstruct his policy; so that, by the 1st of December, when Congress by law assembled, he had built up a system of reconstruction, for which neither the constitution nor the laws of the land could afford any authority. It was true the times were revolutionary, but his acts were autocratic, assuming to himself powers more extraordinary than any potentate in Europe ventures to exercise. He could easily have called the Congress and consulted with them, and, if they differed with him, he was but the executive and they the legislative, the law-making power of the government.

# CHAPTER X.

## GENERAL OF THE ARMY.

Dissensions between President Johnson and Congress—Grant takes no part—Grant's Southern tour—Open rupture between President Johnson and Congress—The Philadelphia Southern Convention—Grant promoted to the rank of General of the army, expressly created for him—Mexico—Grant refuses a special mission to Mexico—Sherman is sent in his place—Congressional reconstruction of the Southern States—Grant's statesmanship—Opposition to President Johnson—Suspension of Stanton—Grant appointed his successor—Stanton reinstated—Grant's controversy with President Johnson—A spicy correspondence—Impeachment of Johnson—Grant nominated for President.

Congress met, and it was apparent that Johnson's plan was not approved by either House. He had not exacted the guarantees which Congress insisted were necessary from those lately in rebellion. He was willing to admit them at once to a full share in the government; Congress thought measures should be taken to secure what had been won by the war. He seemed willing to withdraw the military from the South; Congress wished it to be retained. He would permit those who had been prominent in treason to retain that prominence in the rescued government; Congress was unwilling for this. He made no provision for the protection and elevation of the emancipated millions of negroes; Congress thought this was one of the first duties of the nation.

Grant took no part in the contest between the two divisions of the government. He was purely a military officer, and unwilling to obtrude himself into civil affairs. He was anxious for perfect harmony and peace to be re-established throughout the land, and inclined to the most lenient treatment of the Confederates, consistent with retaining the advantages that had been so dearly bought. And although he was not consulted in the policy originated by the President, yet, as the latter did not choose to call Congress together, and as it was necessary to construct some system, he acquiesced when the President enunciated his plan. But he always thought and said, that whatever the President did must be provisional; he held that Congress, the representative of the people, must eventually decide what the law should be.

In November, before Congress had assembled, the President sent Grant to make a tour through the South, and to report upon the condition of affairs. He returned in about three weeks, having visited Richmond, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee. Everywhere he was received with great respect by the people. The governors and mayors called to pay him their respects, the State legislatures invited him to their chambers and rose in form to greet him, addresses were made him, and though there was no enthusiasm, there was a decided cordiality. In private many of the most prominent civilians and generals of the rebellion called on him.

His report to the President was dated December 18th, 1865. It stated that "the mass of thinking men of the South accept the situation of affairs in good faith." Slavery and the right of secession they had entirely abandoned, and some of their leading men even declared that the result of the war was fortunate. Grant recommended, however, that a strong military force should still be retained at the South, although he believed that "the citizens of that region were anxious to return to self-government within the Union as soon as possible."

In February the quarrel between the President and Congress came to an open breach. Grant had striven hard to prevent this; he felt the necessity of harmony between these two branches of the government at this important crisis, and went from one to another, using the immense weight and influence which his achievements gave him to heal the discord. Many Congressmen, also, were extremely unwilling to come to a rupture with the President whom they had elected. But Mr. Johnson was determined that his policy should prevail, and would listen to no overtures from Congress in which this was not stipulated.

The President, although he had enforced the abolition of slavery upon the South, ordering the States to insert it in their constitutions, was violently opposed to this necessary corollary of emancipation—the rearrangement of representation. He strove to form a new party which should maintain his policy, and political strife at once arose all over the land.

Grant had watched the course of events with great concern; he had no idea of relinquishing one iota of the results that he had attained. As early as January, 1866, he issued an order directing that no officer of the army should be sued, tried, or punished in any way by a civil court at the South for acts done during or since the rebellion. Complaints against officers or soldiers by civilians or ex-Confederates must be lodged with their military superiors alone. Soon after this he refused the Governor of Alabama permission to reorganize the militia of that State; he declared "he could not see the propriety of putting arms into the hands of the militia until the rights of all classes of citizens should be perfectly secure, and the regular United States forces withdrawn." He also attempted to restrain, or at least rebuke, the extremely offensive tone which the Southern press had begun to assume, and directed his subordinates to forward to his head-quarters copies of any publications calculated to disturb the public peace, or manifesting a revival of the old rebellious spirit. He was not among those who forgot that there had been a tremendous rebellion and a terrible civil war. He knew too well the cost that the country had paid to suppress that rebellion, and watched the change in the feeling and temper of the South closely, determined to do all in his power to avert further trouble.

While the contest between the President and Congress was at its height, a meeting of all those who supported Mr. Johnson's views was called at Philadelphia. This was attended by some excellent and patriotic men, who thought less restrictive measures than those proposed by Congress would best accomplish reconstruction. But the great bulk of the men who had supported and carried on the war held themselves aloof from this attempt to inaugurate a new party.

A delegation was appointed by the Philadelphia convention to present resolutions of sympathy to the President, approving of his policy rather than that of Congress. Mr. Johnson was extremely anxious to gain the countenance of Grant on this occasion. Accordingly, on the morning of the arrival at the White House of the delegation from Philadelphia, the President sent Grant a note, requesting his presence at the Executive Mansion. Grant went to the White House, expecting to transact business with the President, and was ushered into the East Room where he found several hundred delegates paying their respects. The President made room for him at his side, and the delegates, after speaking to Mr. Johnson, all turned and shook hands with Grant. This was heralded all over the country as a proof that Grant approved the President's course, and had taken this means of showing his position.

Shortly afterwards the President determined to make a tour to Chicago, and invited Grant to accompany him. It had now become apparent that the lines were to be drawn closely in politics, and that for Grant to accompany Mr. Johnson on his tour would be taken as an indication that he was a supporter of the President. Grant was especially anxious not to be regarded as a partisan ; the elections were about to occur, and he was willing for the country to decide which policy it would adopt. He begged the President to excuse him from going on this trip. But Mr. Johnson repeatedly urged him to go, and finally, as a personal matter, renewed his invitation. It would have been very indecorous in the general-in-chief to persist in refusal, and, very much against his will, he accompanied Mr. Johnson on the famous tour. Grant kept himself as much as possible in the background, and positively refused to make any speeches, although repeatedly called on ; but, as he had foreseen, the advocates of the President declared that his presence during the trip was positive evidence of his adherence to the presidential policy.

In July, 1866, he was promoted to a new rank, created expressly for him by Congress—that of General of the Army; it was the highest ever known in the American army. The appointment was unanimously confirmed, and the commission issued at once. It was everywhere understood that this was done as a national and formal recognition of his illustrious services in the field.

In the fall of this year, the elections for the succeeding Congress took place, the only question at issue being the policy of reconstruction. The campaign was vigorous, and the result unmistakably proclaimed the will of the people. By large majorities the country spoke in favor of the Congressional plan. The proposed amendment to the Constitution was submitted to the various State Legislatures at the North, and ratified by them, and Republican members of the Fortieth Congress were elected all over the land by increased majorities.

But Mr. Johnson was still far from submitting. He had opposed Congress, appealing to the people; but, when the people decided against him, he was as determined as ever. Grant, however, considered that "*the will of the people is the law of the land*," and that it was the duty of every executive officer not only to submit, but to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed," no matter what his own opinions might be of the justice or even constitutionality of those laws. He now used every means to induce the Southern people to accept the terms of reconstruction offered them by Congress—to adopt the constitutional amendment, and return in good faith to that Union which they had striven so hard to overthrow. His influence with Southerners had been great; no one of distinction at this time ever was in Washington without visiting his house or his head-quarters, and to all who came he proffered the same advice.

The invasion of Mexico, by the French, during the existence of the armed rebellion, was undoubtedly undertaken in the interests of that rebellion; and when our internal war was over, Grant, regarding the French occupation as only a part and parcel of the rebellion, was very anxious to compel the evacuation of Mexico. He did not think it would be necessary to resort to arms in order to accomplish this, but he believed that a threat of war, in case the evacuation was not immediate, would have the desired effect.

He urged repeatedly and earnestly upon the government, that now was the time, while we had still hundreds of thousands of men in arms, to say to the Emperor of the French, that we could not tolerate the occupation of Mexico by a European power. Before our armies were disbanded, he ordered Sheridan, with a large force, to the banks of the Rio Grande, especially to watch the movements in Mexico, and with the hope that he could persuade the government to call peremptorily upon France to withdraw. But the Secretary of State had no relish for such positive proceedings. The President professed to wish to see the French leave Mexico, but he never followed Grant's advice in the matter. He never summoned France to leave, until he knew that her troops were embarking. Still Grant kept up for two years his anxious and earnest importunity on this subject. He spurred on the unwilling government, and whatever was accomplished in this matter was due, in reality, to his pertinacity, and to the threat which the presence of Sheridan, with an army on the Rio Grande, constantly offered to Louis Napoleon. Besides this, Grant openly spoke in favor of his views—a course most unusual with him—and fostered, by every means in his power, the popular feeling against the French occupation. He constantly advised that arms should be supplied the Mexicans by our government; he encouraged the Mexicans whom he saw, to hold out; and was, by far, *the most active and persistent friend of the Monroe doctrine in America.* It is not too much to assert, that it was this unintermitted effort and influence of his, that stimulated the government and menaced the Emperor of the French, and that finally secured the evacuation of Mexico.

But for this the policy of the Secretary of State would have lasted till now, and the Empire of Maximilian would have still existed. No peculiar interest in Mexico had been manifested by the government for months; it was known that the French Emperor was tardily preparing to withdraw his troops; there was not the shadow of a real cause for the proposition; but all at once, in November, 1866, the President informed Grant that he meant to send him to Mexico. He was to go, not at the head of any army, but on a diplomatic mission, in connection with Colonel L. D. Campbell, who had recently been appointed minister to Mexico; but who, it was supposed, could not be confirmed by the Senate. There was no special object of the mission announced; Grant was simply to go to Mexico, and examine, as well as he could, into the state of affairs; he was given no powers or authority, not even that of an ordinary minister, and was not instructed or empowered either to make demands, or to back his statements with menaces or men. He was simply to give Lewis D. Campbell the "*benefit of his advice,*" "*in carrying out the instructions of the Secretary of State.*"

The device was transparent to the far-seeing, honest man, and he promptly declined to go. This was in conversation with the President. But a day or two afterwards the President returned to the subject, and urged the embassy on Grant, saying he had sent for Sherman to take his place in the meantime. Congress was about to assemble, and the air was full of rumors that the President would refuse to acknowledge the validity of Congress, and attempt to disperse it by arms. Mr. Johnson had recently seemed to have peculiar designs in regard to Maryland. Grant remembered all this, and again declined to leave the country, this time in writing. After this, he was summoned to a full cabinet meeting, where his detailed instructions were read out by the Secretary of State, as if the objections and refusal had been of no account. Grant was now aroused, and, before the whole cabinet, declared his unwillingness to leave. Whereupon the President, not answering Grant, turned to the Attorney-General, and asked him whether there was any reason why Grant should not obey this order—whether he was ineligible to the position in any way. Grant at once started to his feet, and exclaimed, "I can answer that question, Mr. President, without appealing to the Attorney-General. I am an American citizen, have been guilty of no treason or other crime, and am eligible to any civil office to which any other American is eligible. But this is a purely civil duty, to which you would assign me, and I cannot be compelled to undertake it. Any legal military order you give me, I will obey; but this is civil and not military, and I decline the duty. No power on earth can force me to it," and immediately left the cabinet-chamber.

Even after this, copies of his instructions were forwarded to him through the Secretary of War, who was directed to request him to proceed to Mexico. He now wrote a second letter, declining most positively the duty assigned him. But, meanwhile, Sherman had been sent for, and had arrived. The country was rife with rumors of the object of his coming; the administration had to conjure up some excuse for sending for him. The President, therefore, urged him to accept the position of Secretary of War; but this Sherman peremptorily declined. So, after a day or two, Grant was directed to turn over his instructions for the Mexican mission to Sherman, and Sherman was sent to Mexico with Campbell, while Grant was let alone. Sherman accomplished nothing by his mission, as neither he nor any one else expected he would; and, after a month or so, he returned. For all that was done, he might as well have remained in St. Louis; but it was necessary to save the credit of the administration, and he was made the scape-goat.

When it was definitely known that the terms upon which readmission to the Union was proffered to those who had been in rebellion had been refused, although those terms had been submitted to the people of the North, and by them overwhelmingly approved, Congress at once set about the work of reconstruction, whether the Southern States agreed or not. It was accordingly decreed that the colored people should vote on equal terms with the white. When State constitutions, in conformity with this condition of affairs, should be formed by this increased voting population, presented to Congress, and accepted by it, the military rule should cease, and the Confederate States be admitted again to an equal share in the government.

This is the Congressional system of reconstruction, enacted by Congress, in March, 1867; it was passed over the veto of the President, and, because of the President's known and pronounced opposition to it, a supervisory power over the military district commanders was given to Grant.

From this time, however, he entered upon one of the most difficult administrative positions that any soldier or civilian was ever called upon to fill. A subordinate of the President, he was yet in some important respects declared independent of him; and it was made his duty by the law to carry out a policy which the President sought by every possible means to thwart and destroy.

No statesman ever had so delicate or difficult a task before. To the performance of this task he brought great sagacity, untiring patience, and a desire to do justice to all. He believed that the old spirit of the war had revived at the South to such a degree, that strenuous repression of it was necessary. He advised the removal from office of all persons who were not really anxious to renew their allegiance to the flag; at the same time he repeatedly urged upon Congress the remission of the penalties of treason in the case of those whose course proved that they were now really loyal. By this spirit his whole course was guided. He had no power to order the district commanders in the discharge of their civil duties, but he advised them constantly; and, with a single exception, they always asked and took his advice as orders.

Under his wise and really pacific management, the evil spirit at the South began to subside, murders were less common, justice was more frequent, the population itself declared its satisfaction with military rule, its preference for this to any other government. Meanwhile, the registration of the new voters commenced, and all things went on smoothly. It seemed as if the reconstruction measures must succeed, and peace was to come at last to this distracted land.

But now President Johnson discovered some loopholes in the law through which he still might be able to frustrate the will of the representatives of the people. He had been left the power to appoint the district commanders. He had appointed them all—Sheridan, Schofield, Sickles, Pope and Ord; all soldiers, who, before the war, were without any tinge of abolition sentiment; all men who, since the war, had evinced the strongest sympathy with the original magnanimous policy inaugurated by Grant. But all were men accustomed to obey the law; all strove heartily to carry out the laws of Congress under which they were appointed; and it was through their united endeavors that the success of the reconstruction measures seemed likely to be ensured. The President endeavored to thwart their action, and repeatedly obliged Grant to defend them. He took the position that the reconstruction acts were unconstitutional, and that, therefore, he was not bound to obey them. Grant held that only the Supreme Court could pronounce on this question of constitutionality or unconstitutionality; and that, till that tribunal should pronounce, all officers, from the President down, were bound to obey these laws. The Attorney-General gave opinions in favor of many of the President's views, especially declaring that any person at the South who was willing to take the oath of allegiance should be registered as a voter. Congress had expressly directed that certain classes at the South should be excluded from the franchise. The President directed Grant to forward this opinion to the district commanders. He obeyed, but at the same time informed them that the law made them their own interpreters of their powers and duties; and as the President did not choose absolutely to direct him or them to act according to this opinion, they did not do so. The President in the summer of 1867 determined to remove Sheridan, as well as the Secretary of War, who was the only member of his cabinet not in harmony with him.

The President's unwillingness to conform to the measures of Congress had been so great, that the national legislature, on adjourning in the spring, had left itself at liberty to meet again in July, if the action of the President rendered this desirable. There was no doubt on the subject when the time came. Congress met, and placed the subject of reconstruction still more completely in the hands of the general of the army. It had been thought that Mr. Johnson would endeavor to remove Mr. Stanton, because of his sympathy with Congress, and a law had been passed, taking from the President the power to remove his cabinet ministers without the consent of the Senate. The President had vetoed the bill, but it was passed over his veto, he declaring it unconstitutional, and threatening not to obey it; and after Congress again adjourned, he announced to Grant his intention to remove the Secretary of War, and to make Grant the successor of Stanton.

But Grant at once protested against the removal of either Mr. Stanton or General Sheridan. He did this in conversation, when the matter was originally mentioned; afterwards, he addressed the President a letter, marked "Private," in which he used the following words:

"On the subject of the displacement of the Secretary of War: His removal cannot be effected against his will without the consent of the Senate. It is but a short time since the United States Senate was in session, and why not then have asked for his removal, if desired? It certainly was the intention of the legislative branch of the government to place cabinet ministers beyond the power of executive removal, and it is pretty well understood that, so far as cabinet ministers are affected by the 'tenure-of-office bill,' it was intended specially to protect the Secretary of War, whom the country felt great confidence in. The meaning of the law may be explained away by an astute lawyer, but common sense, and the views of loyal people, will give it the effect intended by its framers."

This delayed the President's action for a week or so; but on the 12th of August, Mr. Johnson, acting in strict conformity with the provisions of the tenure-of-office bill, suspended Mr. Stanton from office as Secretary of War, and appointed Grant *ad interim* in his stead. He had first requested Mr. Stanton to resign; but that officer declined, stating that grave considerations of public duty impelled him to this course.

From the first day till the last of his service as Secretary of War, he maintained, earnestly, the opinions which his letters of August 1st and 17th indicate. For a few days after his entrance upon his new duties, nothing was said about the removal of Sheridan, and Grant began to hope that the removal of Stanton would satisfy Mr. Johnson.

On the 17th of August without further premonition President Johnson directed Grant to issue an order removing Sheridan, and substituting General George H. Thomas in his stead. That sturdy patriot, however, had no idea of being brought in to obstruct the laws of the land, and wrote at once in the most urgent terms to request not to be substituted for Sheridan. Thereupon General W. S. Hancock was appointed.

In announcing these orders to Grant, the President invited any remarks from the general-in-chief which he might choose to make, and the general replied in a letter, in which he used the following patriotic words:

"I am pleased to avail myself of this opportunity to urge, earnestly urge, urge in the name of a patriotic people, who have sacrificed hundreds of thousands of loyal lives, and thousands of millions of treasure, to preserve the integrity and Union of this country, that this order be not insisted on. It is unmistakably the expressed wish of the country that General Sheridan should not be removed from his present command. This is a Republic, where the will of the people is the law of the land. I beg that their voice may be heard. General Sheridan has performed his civil duties faithfully and intelligently. His removal will only be regarded as an effort to defeat the laws of Congress. It will be interpreted by the unreconstructed element in the South—those who did all they could to break up the government by arms, and now wish to be the only element consulted as to the method of restoring order—as a triumph. It will embolden them to renewed opposition to the will of the loyal masses, believing that they have the executive with them."

In a short time the whole correspondence between the President, himself, and Mr. Stanton, was given to the country, in answer to several calls from Congress, and the position of Grant became established. To add the peculiar duties of a cabinet officer to those with which Grant was already intrusted, by virtue of his position as general of the army, and those imposed on him by the reconstruction laws, was to make him almost more powerful than the President, and to oppress him with still heavier and more complicated responsibilities than any he had yet incurred. But he was able, with wonderful sagacity, to act so as for a long while to seem to command the approbation of all, even of the adherents of the President. The following extracts from his correspondence with Mr. Stanton show his relations with the man whom he had superseded:

"Sir: Enclosed herewith I have the honor to transmit to you a copy of a letter just received from the President of the United States, notifying me of my assignment as Secretary of War, and directing me to assume those duties at once. In notifying you of my acceptance, I cannot let the opportunity pass without expressing to you my appreciation of the zeal, patriotism, firmness and ability with which you have ever discharged the duties of Secretary of War."

To which Mr. Stanton replied in the following well-chosen words:

. . "You will please accept my acknowledgment of the kind terms in which you have notified me of your acceptance of the President's appointment, and my cordial reciprocation of the sentiments expressed."

At the same time, Grant's letters to the President had sufficiently explained to the country his sympathy with the policy of Congress. But as he was now *ad interim* Secretary of War, it was necessary for him to attend cabinet meetings, and therefore to be present at many political discussions, for whose tendency he had neither interest nor approbation. He therefore represented to the President that, as he was only holding the office of Secretary of War until another should be appointed, and that not by his own suggestion or desire, and as his legitimate position was that of General of the Army, who might be compelled to serve under successive administrations, he should be excused from participation in the purely partisan duties of a cabinet minister. The President at first paid no attention to his request, but subsequently Grant renewed it repeatedly, and at last was accustomed to remain at cabinet meetings only long enough to present his papers as Secretary of War, and transact the purely official business of his post. He was then in the habit of retiring. This indicated very plainly to the President, and the other members of his administration, that Grant was determined not to be considered one of them in purely political matters.

He was sometimes requested to remain, and give his opinions on matters not strictly within his province as Secretary of War, and when he did so, those opinions were as pronounced as possible. The discussion of the constitutionality of the tenure-of-office bill, and other measures connected with the reconstruction acts of Congress, was frequent at such times, and Grant never left the President or his cabinet in doubt as to his position—that, until the Supreme Court should decide upon the constitutionality of these laws, the government was bound to carry them out in spirit and in letter to the utmost of its ability.

But although he refrained as much as possible from participation in the political duties often expected from a cabinet minister, he was earnest and energetic, from the start, in the performance of all functions pertaining legitimately to his office as Secretary of War. There were many abuses which had crept into the administration of the army during the protracted and costly civil war, which only an experienced army officer would be likely to recognize, and which a civilian might naturally suppose had existed as a part of the unwritten constitution of the service. These, and all other mismanagements, whether proceeding from neglect or downright misdoing on the part of subordinates or outsiders, Grant immediately set himself to work to correct. Retrenchment, as usual, was the first subject to attract his attention.

Finally Congress reassembled, and some check was put upon the movements of the President. He was obliged, by the tenure-of-office bill, to report to the Senate, within twenty days after its meeting, the reasons for which he had suspended the Secretary of War. This he did, and the Senate, on the 13th of January, decided that the reasons were insufficient. By the express language of the law, the moment that the Senate decided this, Mr. Stanton was reinstated in his office. It had become evident, several days before, that the Senate would come to this determination, and, as soon as Grant was convinced of this, on the 11th of January, two days prior to the action of the Senate, he notified the President that he could not, without violation of the law, and subjecting himself to the penalties of fine and imprisonment, refuse to vacate the office of Secretary of War the moment Mr. Stanton was reinstated by the Senate.

He made this known to the President in person, as he had previously promised to do, in case he came to such a conclusion. The President, however, disputed Grant's views, and strove to induce him to change his intention. A long and earnest conversation ensued, each maintaining his own opinions vigorously; finally, it became late, and the President said he would see Grant again, to which Grant made no reply.

The next day was Sunday, and Lieutenant-General Sherman being in town, Grant sent him to the President to urge the nomination to the Senate of some other person as Secretary of War, so that the Senate might act, and Mr. Stanton be relieved, and any unpleasant imbroglio avoided. The person proposed by Grant was ex-Governor Cox, of Ohio, who had been a major-general of volunteers during the war, and afterwards elected Governor of Ohio by the Republican vote, but who was now out of office. His position in politics was not so radical as that of many of the President's opponents, and Grant hoped, if the President could be induced to nominate Cox, that the Senate would confirm him, and the difficulty might be bridged over. Sherman saw the President, urged this action upon him, and told him Grant was in favor of it; many of the President's advisers and friends concurred. Saturday, Sunday and Monday passed, and the President did not act. On Monday, the 13th of January, the Senate resolved that the causes for removing Mr. Stanton were insufficient. The President, Stanton and Grant were officially notified of the fact during the evening.

On the morning of the 14th, Mr. Stanton took possession of the office of Secretary of War, and Grant notified the President in writing that he had received notice of the action of the Senate, and that his functions as Secretary of War *ad interim* ceased from the moment of his receipt of the notice. The President sent Grant a message, by the bearer of this letter, that he wanted to see him at cabinet meeting that day. Grant obeyed the summons, and was addressed by the President as Mr. Secretary of War, and asked to open his budget. He at once reminded Mr. Johnson of the notification he had given him; whereupon the President stated that Grant had promised to hold the position of Secretary of War until displaced by the courts, or at least to resign, so as to place the President where he would have been had Grant never accepted the office.

The President now gave out to the public press statements of Grant's course, which directly affected his honor; and, after submitting to this for a day or two, the general-in-chief addressed the President a letter on the subject, in which he complained of the "gross misrepresentations" which had been made, and asserted the facts as they have been given above. The President, in reply, reiterated circumstantially the charge which he had previously made in cabinet meeting, and now declared that, in the presence of the cabinet, Grant had acknowledged the truth of those charges; and that he, the President, had read the offensive newspaper article to four of his cabinet, who testified to the accuracy of its statements.

Grant had no option, when thus assailed, but to defend himself. Grant's reputation for veracity had never been impugned before by his bitterest enemies; the President had been frequently accused of deviation from truth; and the subordinate, repeating all that he had declared, reasserted the correctness of his statement in his former letters.

"*anything in the President's reply to it to the contrary notwithstanding.*" He then remarked: "And now, Mr. President, when my honor as a soldier and integrity as a man have been so violently assailed, pardon me for saying that I can but regard this whole matter, from the beginning to the end, as an attempt to involve me in the resistance of law, for which you hesitate to assume the responsibility in orders, and thus to destroy my character before the country. I am, in a measure, confirmed in this conclusion by your recent orders, directing me to disobey orders from the Secretary of War—my superior and your subordinate—without countermanding his authority to issue the orders I am to disobey." "Mr. President, nothing less than a vindication of my personal honor and character could have induced this correspondence on my part."

In reply to this, the President wrote another letter, to the same effect as his earlier one, and appended to it letters of four of his Cabinet ministers. The Secretary of the Navy, addressing Mr. Johnson, declared that "The three points specified in that letter, giving your recollection of his conversation, are correctly stated," which amounts simply to a statement that the President *gave his own recollection* of the conversation correctly. The Secretary of the Treasury was less equivocal, and was not unwilling to put himself on record as saying, "Your account of that conversation, substantially, in all important particulars, accords with my recollection of it." Neither of these personages, however, complied with the written request of the President, "to state what was said in that conversation." The Secretary of State only attempted "to give the general effect of the conversation." His statement is long, but the gist of it is contained in the following words, referring to the President's declaration that Grant had promised to agree to the President's wish: "General Grant did not controvert, *nor can I say that he admitted the last statement.*" So, Mr. Seward was not willing to assert what the President had openly and repeatedly proclaimed, that Grant, before the Cabinet, had admitted the truth of Mr. Johnson's statement. Mr. Seward also suggested the explanation that Grant, on

Monday, "did not expect the Senate to decide so promptly as to anticipate further explanation between himself and the President." The Secretary of the Interior answered in detail; but his statement in every important particular corroborated Grant. He said that Grant had declared in Cabinet meeting that "he came over on Saturday to inform the President of the change in his views, and did so inform him, and they continued to discuss the matter some time, and finally he left without any conclusion having been reached, expecting to see the President again on Monday." The Postmaster-General, however, unhesitatingly and in detail affirmed all that was important in the President's letter, in direct contradiction of General Grant, Mr. Seward and Mr. Browning.

The result was now before the country. An honest soldier, noted for truth, impartiality, outspoken frankness, was pitted against a nest of wily politicians, against whom charges of untruthfulness had often been made before. The verdict was soon passed. Not a man in the land in his heart believed that Grant had deceived the President, and no one ventured to assert it except partisan maligners.

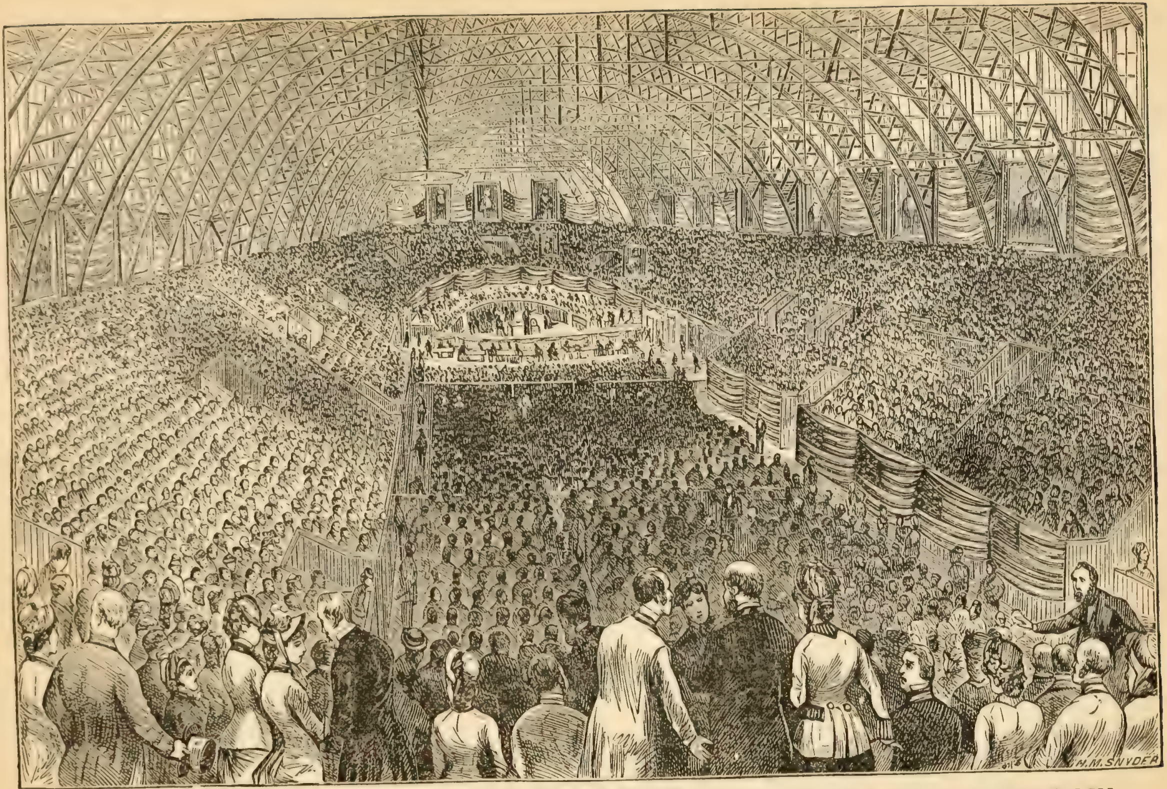
Having failed in his endeavor to use Grant in order to keep Mr. Stanton out of office, the President now applied to Sherman. A second time he offered that general the position of Secretary of War, which Sherman again peremptorily declined. The President then conferred on Sherman the brevet of General, so as to make him equal in rank to Grant, when he might be ordered to supersede the General of the Army. Sherman was out of Washington when his name was sent to the Senate for confirmation, but he at once wrote and telegraphed to Senators that he did not wish the brevet, and his own brother opposed it in the Senate; he was accordingly not confirmed. The President then sent in the name of General George H. Thomas for the same brevet, but that officer also peremptorily declined to be placed in antagonism with his chief or on the side of the President. He telegraphed promptly, declining the brevet, declaring that, under the circumstances, it was no compliment; thus this attempt also fell to the ground.

And now came the most open and important step of the President. In direct opposition to the law forbidding such an act, he removed Mr. Stanton from the position of Secretary of War. The Senate passed a resolution, by more than a two thirds vote, declaring that Mr. Stanton was still Secretary. The House of Representatives immediately impeached the President for the act, and he was tried before the bar of the Senate,—the only President who had ever been summoned to this high court to answer for his acts. A large majority of the Senate found him guilty, but the Constitution required that two-thirds should so pronounce him before he could be degraded from his office, and there lacked one vote of this requisite two-thirds; so the President remained in office.

Before the trial was completed, the representatives of the National Union Republican party met at Chicago, in convention, and the six hundred and fifty-two delegates, on the first ballot, unanimously nominated Ulysses S. Grant as their candidate for President. There had been no doubt for months that he would be the choice of the party, but this extraordinary unanimity was unparalleled in the political history of the country. The next night, an immense concourse of people assembled at his house, the overflow filling up the streets for a large distance outside, to congratulate him on his nomination. Governor Boutwell, of Massachusetts, was spokesman for the assemblage, and to him Grant replied in his first political speech:

> "GENTLEMEN: Being entirely unaccustomed to public speaking, and without the desire to cultivate that power, it is impossible for me to find appropriate language to thank you for this demonstration. All that I can say is, that to whatever position I may be called by your will, I shall endeavor to discharge its duties with fidelity and honesty of purpose. Of my rectitude in the performance of public duties, you will have to judge for yourselves by the record before you."

A convention of soldiers and sailors had met at Chicago, at the same time with the Republican convention, and the former also, with great unanimity, recommended Grant for the Presidency. On the 29th of May, a committee from this Soldiers and Sailors' Convention presented him a formal address, to which Grant replied as follows:



THE CHICAGO CONVENTION NOMINATING GENERAL GRANT FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

"*Gentlemen of the Committee of Soldiers and Sailors:*

"I will say that it was never a desire of mine to be a candidate for any political office. It is a source of gratification to me to feel that I have the support of those who sustained me in the great rebellion through which we have passed. *If I did not feel I had the support of those, I would have never consented to be a candidate.* It was not a matter of choice with me; but *I hope, as I have accepted, that I will have your aid and support, from now until November, as I had it during the rebellion*."

There is little doubt that this appeal of their old chief to the Union soldiers of the country will be answered as warmly at the polls as it ever was in the field.

The same evening Grant was formally notified, by General J. R. Hawley, the President of the Republican Convention, of his nomination as President of the United States. He replied in these words:

"*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the National Union Convention:*

"I will endeavor, in a very short time, to write you a letter accepting the trust you have imposed upon me. Expressing my gratitude for the confidence you have placed in me, I will now say but little orally, and that is to thank you for the unanimity with which you have selected me as a candidate for the Presidential office. I can say, in addition, I looked on, during the progress of the proceedings at Chicago, with a great deal of interest, and am gratified with the harmony and unanimity which seem to have governed the deliberations of the convention.

"If chosen to fill the high office for which you have selected me, *I will give to its duties the same energy, the same spirit, and the same will that I have given to the performance of all duties which have devolved upon me heretofore.* Whether I shall be able to perform those duties to your entire satisfaction, time will determine. You have truly said, in the course of your address, that *I shall have no policy of my own to enforce against the will of the people.*"

Some of the General's most intimate friends advised him not to accept the nomination, urging his inexperience in civil affairs. To all such he replied:

"All you say to me is plain. I am aware of the difficulties awaiting any man who takes that position with its present complications. I have no ambition for the place. My profession is suited to my tastes and habits. I have arrived at its height, and been honored with a position to continue for life, with a generous compensation, and satisfactory to the highest aspirations of a soldier. It will be the greatest sacrifice of my life to give this up to the turmoil of the Presidential office.

"But if the people ask it, I must yield. For some years the people of America have trusted their sons and brothers and fathers to me, and every step taken with them, in the period from Belmont to Appomattox, has been tracked in the best blood of the country.

"If now they need me to finish the work, I must accept the duty if in doing so, I lay down the realizations of my most ambitious hopes."

General Grant's letter of acceptance of the nomination was in these words:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *May* 29, 1868.

"To General JOSEPH R. HAWLEY,
*President of the National Union Republican Convention:*

"In formally accepting the nomination of the National Union Republican Convention of the 21st instant, it seems proper that some statement of views, beyond the mere acceptance of the nomination, should be expressed. The proceedings of the convention were marked with wisdom, moderation and patriotism, and, I believe, express the feelings of the great mass of those who sustained the country through its recent trials. I endorse their resolutions. If elected to the office of President of the United States, *it will be my endeavor to administer all the laws* IN GOOD FAITH, *with economy, and with the view of giving peace, quiet and protection everywhere.* In times like the present it is impossible, or at least eminently improper, to lay down a policy to be adhered to, right or wrong, through an administration of four years. New political issues, not foreseen, are constantly arising; the views of the public on old ones are constantly changing, and a purely administrative officer should always be left free to execute the will of the people. *I have always respected that will, and always shall.* Peace, and universal prosperity, its sequence, with economy of administration, will lighten the burden of taxation, while it constantly reduces the national debt. *Let us have peace.*

"With great respect, your obedient servant, U. S. GRANT."

The Democrats held their General Convention in the city of New York, on the 4th of July, and nominated Horatio Seymour, of New York, for the Presidency, and General Francis P. Blair, of Missouri, for the Vice-Presidency. General Blair had taken a most active and prominent part in the war on the Union side. The result of the election was the choice of Grant and Colfax by the Electoral Colleges; they received 217 of the electoral votes, while Seymour and Blair received but 77.

The States voting for Grant and Colfax were Alabama, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, South Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin—25. The States voting for Seymour and Blair were Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, New Jersey, New York and Oregon—8.

Of the popular vote cast Grant and Colfax received 2,985,031, and Seymour and Blair received 2,648,830.

Some events of Mr. Johnson's administration deserve special notice. One of these is the admission of the people of Nebraska as a separate State in the Union. This took place on the 1st of March, 1867, the whole number of States now constituting the Union being thereby swelled to the number of thirty-seven, and all, according to the Constitution, and according to the terms of their admission, being "upon an equal footing with the original thirteen." During the summer of the same year the territory of Alaska, containing 500,000 square miles, was acquired by purchase from Russia, at the price of $7,200,000 in coin. A treaty was also made with Denmark during Mr. Johnson's administration, for the islands of St. Thomas and St. John, but was not ratified by the Senate. It may be further noted that it was during his administration that ex-President Buchanan died, at Wheatland, on the 1st of June, 1868, in the 78th year of his age. And it should also be noted that just before the expiration of his term of office, Congress proposed a new amendment to the Constitution of the United States, known as the Fifteenth, to the States for their ratification.

At the expiration of his term of office President Johnson retired to his home in Greenville, Tennessee, where he continued to reside until he was again called to the United States Senate.

# CHAPTER XI.

## PRESIDENT ULYSSES S. GRANT.

General Grant inaugurated, and the Forty-first Congress assembled on the 4th of March—The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution ratified—The Civil Rights Bill passed—Completion of the Pacific Railroad—Black Friday at New York—Virginia, Mississippi and Texas re-admitted into the Union—Death of ex-Secretary of War Edwin Stanton—Reconstruction in Georgia—Repeal of the Income Tax—The Geneva Conference—Carpet-bag rule in South Carolina and Louisiana—Suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*—Great conflagration at Chicago—Property to the value of $200,000,000 destroyed and 100,000 persons rendered homeless—The Modoc War—Death of Lincoln's Secretary of State, Seward, and General George G. Meade—Removing the political disabilities of certain classes of former Confederates—Certain exceptions—Horace Greeley nominated for the Presidency by the Democrats and Independent Republicans, and Ulysses S. Grant re-nominated by the Republican Convention, at Philadelphia—Grant re-elected—Death of Greeley—Great fire at Boston—The Credit Mobilier and Salary-Grab Swindles—The trouble in Louisiana.

For the purpose of having no interregnum in the legislative department of the Government during the process of the reconstruction measures, an act was passed by the Fortieth Congress at its last session providing that the Forty-first Congress should assemble on the 4th day of March, 1869, immediately after the final adjournment of the former Congress, instead of December of that year. On the day fixed the new Congress was organized just after the old one had retired from the halls and at the time of inauguration of the President-elect, U. S. Grant.

General Grant's old friend, Elihu Washburne, was at first made Secretary of State, but later resigned and was made Minister to France. Alexander T. Stewart, of New York, was nominated for the Treasury, but was discovered to be disqualified by the act of 1789, which provided that no incumbent of the office should be "directly or indirectly concerned or interested in carrying on the business of trade or commerce," and George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, was appointed in his stead. The other nominations were: Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, Secretary of the Interior; Adolph E. Borie, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Navy; John M.

Schofield, of Illinois, Secretary of War; John A. Cresswell, of Maryland, Postmaster-General; and E. Rockwood Hoar, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General.

General Grant accepted the office of President at the hands of the people as he had accepted promotions in the line of duty heretofore, determined to do his best, under all circumstances, according to his judgment. It had been charged against him that he was not a statesman, but his administration proved an able one, although the peace that reigned did not permit of its being as conspicuous as though troubles were crowding thick and fast.

Under his wise policy the work of reconstruction went on more successfully perhaps than it could have done in any other hands, unless indeed we except those of that grand man who is cherished in the hearts of the people as the "Martyr President."

In a message to Congress on the subject of public education, President Grant wrote:

> "The 'Father of his Country' in his farewell address, uses the language, 'Promote, then, as a matter of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge.' The adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution completes the greatest civil change, and constitutes the most important event that has ever occurred since the nation came into life. The change will be beneficial in proportion to the heed that is given to the urgent recommendations of Washington. If these recommendations were important then, with a population of but a few millions, how much more important now!
>
> "I therefore call upon Congress to take all the means within their constitutional powers to promote and encourage popular education through the country; and upon the people everywhere to see to it, that all who possess and exercise political rights shall have the opportunity to acquire the knowledge which will make their share in government a blessing and not a danger. By such means only can the benefits contemplated by this amendment to the Constitution be secured."

The pernicious system of political assessments, which reached its climax in the celebrated circular to the departments, issued by the notorious Jay S. Hubbell during the Garfield campaign, had already come into life, when Grant was called to the chief magistracy. His views on this important question are worth quoting, if only to show the manly stand he took. He says:

> "The utmost fidelity and diligence will be expected of all officers in

every branch of the public service. Political assessments, as they are called, have been forbidden within the various departments; and while the right of all persons in official positions to take part in politics is acknowledged, and the elective franchise is recognized as a high trust to be discharged by all entitled to its exercise, whether in the employment of the government or in private life, honesty and efficiency, not political activity, will determine the tenure of office."

These noble words ought to be written in letters of gold, and hung up in the bureau of every office-holder throughout the land.

Grant never sought a nomination to the Presidency; it was literally forced upon him. Speaking of this in after years, he said that the position of General of the Army, which Congress had expressly created for him, was the one he liked. He would have retained it until such time as Congress might have consented to his retirement, with the rank and pay of a general. He would then have gone to a home, where the balance of his days might be spent in peace and in the enjoyment of domestic quiet, relieved from the cares which had oppressed him for fourteen years. But he was made to believe that the public good called upon him to make the sacrifice.

The first session of the Forty-first Congress adjourned on the 8th of April, 1869, after passing a bill to secure the public credit and the Civil Rights Bill for the District of Columbia.

The most notable event of this spring was the completion of the Pacific Railroad by a junction between the eastern division, known as the Union Pacific Railroad, from Omaha, Nebraska, and the western division, known as the Central Pacific. These two roads unite at Ogden, near Salt Lake City, in Utah Territory. The junction was accomplished on the 10th of May, 1869, and trains thereafter ran from San Francisco to Omaha. The distance from Omaha to Ogden is 1,032 miles, while the distance from Ogden to San Francisco is 882 miles—common line, 1,914 miles—and constituting by far the most important railroad yet completed in the world.

On the 24th of December, 1869, Edwin Stanton, former Secretary of War, died, after being elevated to the Supreme Court bench.

During the fall of this year also occurred a panic in the gold market in New York City, which was occasioned by one of the most remarkable conspiracies by money-holders against the interests of the people ever known. It ended in what is known as the catastrophe of Black Friday, which occurred on the 24th of September, 1869, and in which thousands of fortunes were wrecked.

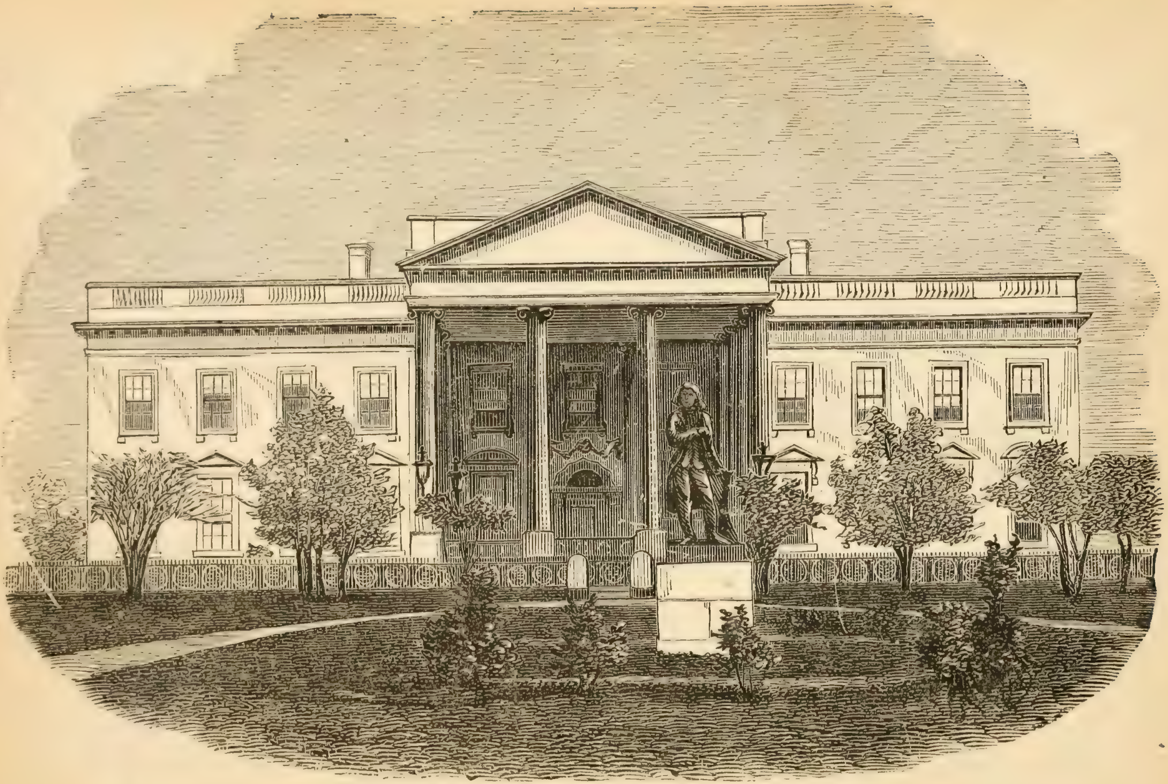
The second session of the Forty-first Congress convened in December of this year as usual.

Early in January, 1870, Virginia, Mississippi and Texas were relieved from military rule, and readmitted into the Union upon their adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. Texas was the last. From that time they were again permitted to have representation in the Senate and House.

Georgia had in like manner been relieved from military rule and readmitted in 1868, upon her adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, which was at that time the condition precedent for her readmission, and her Senators and members to Congress, whose disabilities had been removed under the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, were thereafter permitted to take their seats.

President Grant, on the 20th of March, 1870, issued a proclamation announcing that the Fifteenth Amendment had been duly ratified by a sufficient number of States, and therefore declared it to be part of the Constitution of the United States. Congress soon after went eagerly to work upon a measure to secure the enforcement of rights which they held to be conferred by it. This bill passed on the 3d of May, and was known as the Enforcement Act.

In February of this year the first resolutions were adopted for the establishment of the Signal Service Bureau, for weather reports. From small beginnings then, it has become one of the largest, most important, and useful branches of the government. Its first chief, Albert J. Myers, who brought it to such perfection, died July, 1880. It is estimated that property to the extent of twenty millions of dollars in shipping and merchandise was saved annually, for several years before his death, by his system



THE WHITE HOUSE—THE RESIDENCE OF PRESIDENT GRANT FOR EIGHT YEARS.

of storm signals. General Myers was succeeded by General William B. Hazen, who still holds the position.

The members of the General Assembly and members of Congress were to be chosen this year, under the State constitution of 1868, and in accordance with an act passed by the Legislature chosen under that constitution. The canvass opened early, and was conducted with a great deal of spirit and energy, both through the press and by speeches on the hustings. The election, according to law, was to come off in the latter part of December, and was to continue for four days, with a detachment of military to attend the voting precincts, wherever they might be required.

The result of the four days' December election in Georgia, with the military guard at the polls, under the provisions of the Enforcement act, was an overwhelming majority of the Democratic party, and the redemption of the State from carpet-bag rule. Governor Bullock, who had been declared elected chief magistrate of the State in 1868, under the Reconstruction act of Congress, raised great complaints against the elections. He charged fraud at the polls in many parts of the State, notwithstanding the military were present in force. He alleged that there had been gross outrages, and divers violations of the Enforcement act. A part of the State, particularly the Eighth Congressional District, he declared to be in a state of rebellion.

A committee of the partisans of the governor were deputed to visit Washington with a view of getting President Grant and Congress to make another turn of the reconstruction screw upon Georgia. The committee waited upon the President. He received them, and heard patiently all they had to say, to which he replied: "Gentlemen, the people of Georgia may govern themselves as they please, without any interference on my part, so long as they violate no Federal law."

In the latter part of the last session of the Fortieth Congress two important measures were passed. One was the repeal of the income tax, which was very oppressive and offensive in its enforcements. This passed on the 26th of

January, 1871. The other act referred to was the repeal of the test oath, or iron-clad oath, as it was called, so far as relates to the holding of Federal office by persons connected with the Confederate cause. This act passed on the 31st of January, 1871.

The Forty-second Congress convened in its first session on the 4th of March, 1871, the first day of its term, as its predecessor, the Forty-first, had done. It was, as the one before, largely Radical in its composition, though nothing of great importance was done at this session.

President Grant, soon after entering upon his administration, gave special attention to the damage done the United States commerce by Confederate cruisers fitted out in British ports, in violation of the laws of nations. He brought the subject to the notice of the British ministry, and urged an amicable adjustment of the question. It was finally agreed between the two countries to establish a Board of Commissioners, to determine upon all matters of dispute in the premises. This board met at Geneva, Switzerland, on the 15th day of December, 1871, and after a protracted investigation and discussion of the principles involved, awarded the United States the sum of $15,000,000, the amount of damages for which England was justly liable.

Another important measure was that known as the Ku-Klux Bill, designed to correct certain abuses in the South in connection with the ballot, and in the course of which trouble the right of *habeas corpus* was for a season suspended in the northern counties of South Carolina.

On the 20th of June, 1871, Mr. Hoar resigned his position as Attorney-General, and was succeeded by Amos T. Ackerman, of Georgia, who held his office only until the 13th of the ensuing December, when he resigned and was succeeded by George H. Williams, of Oregon. Mr. Cox, of Ohio, also resigned the Interior Department, and was succeeded by Columbus Delano, of the same State.

One of the greatest conflagrations ever known in the United States occurred during this year. It was the burning of the city of Chicago, Illinois, on the 8th and 9th of October, 1871. The loss was estimated at nearly $200,-

000,000 in property. Upwards of 17,000 houses were burned, and nearly 100,000 persons rendered homeless. The saddest part, however, was the loss of 280 human lives.

The second session of the Forty-second Congress convened in December of 1871 as usual. The most of its time was taken up with the usual discussions preceding an approaching Presidential election. One act, however, of this session deserves special notice. It was the act, passed the 9th day of May, removing the disabilities of certain classes of Southern men as provided for in the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. By this act at least 150,000 citizens of the Southern States were no longer prohibited from holding office. Those excepted from the provisions of this act were all the Senators and members of Congress who had vacated their seats on the secession of the several States; all United States ministers abroad who had, in like manner, resigned their positions; and all graduates of West Point and Annapolis who had adopted a similar course.

The Modoc Indians, who had been placed on a reservation in California, left it, and began depredations on the frontier settlements. Open war broke out in 1872. Several members of the Peace Commission, appointed by President Grant, in 1869, to treat with Indians, met the Modocs, and General Canby and Dr. Thomas were treacherously murdered.

The war was thereafter prosecuted with vigor, and the Indians retired to some nearly inaccessible fastnesses among the lava beds of that region. From these they were at last driven, and Captain Jack, their leader, was captured. He and three of his companions were hanged October, 1873.

The Sioux Indians occupied a reservation among the Black Hills, in the territories of Dakota and Wyoming. Gold was discovered within the limits of the reservation, and a bill was passed by Congress taking away that portion of it lying in Dakota.

The Sioux organized for war, and United States troops were sent against them. General George A. Custer, in command of a portion of these, pushed across the country from Missouri to the Yellowstone. Pressing forward, regardless of danger, he was met by an overwhelming force of Sioux under Sitting Bull, and he, with two hundred and sixty-one men, nearly his entire force, were killed, June 25, 1876. The Indians afterward retired into the British possessions, where they were safe from the pursuit of the United States troops.

On the 21st of October was finally settled the last question of boundary between the United States and Great Britain. It related to the true channel between the United States and Vancouver's Island. The matter had been referred to William, Emperor of Germany. He decided in favor of the United States.

William H. Seward, Mr. Lincoln's great Secretary of State, after making a successful voyage around the world, died on the 10th of October, 1872, in the seventy-second year of his age. General George G. Meade, the victor at Gettysburg, died 6th of November, 1872, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

During the fall of this year another exciting Presidential election took place, whereof an account will now be given.

Quite a split had taken place in the Republican party. A large portion of that organization had manifested decided opposition to the renomination and re-election of President Grant. They assumed the name of Liberal Republicans and held their convention at Cincinnati, Ohio, and put in nomination for the Presidency Horace Greeley, the great journalist of New York; and for the Vice-Presidency, B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri. The Democrats held their convention at Baltimore, on the 9th day of July, and, without presenting a ticket of their own, simply indorsed the nomination made by the Cincinnati Convention, while the regular Republican Convention met on the 5th day of June, at Philadelphia, and put in nomination for re-election General Ulysses S. Grant, of Illinois, for President, and for Vice-President, Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts. The result of the election was 286 electoral votes for Grant, and 286 for Wilson, for Vice-President. For B. Gratz Brown, for Vice-President, 47.

Mr. Greeley, having died soon after the popular election in November, and before the meeting of the Electoral Colleges in December, the votes that he carried at the popular election were only 65, and were scattered in the colleges among a number of persons whose names had never been connected with the office.

Another great calamity should also here be chronicled. It is the great fire that occurred in Boston on the 9th and 10th of November, 1872. The loss of property was estimated at $80,000,000, and fifteen persons were consumed in the flames.

During the remaining portion of the last session of the Forty-second Congress several important measures were passed. The one which, perhaps, produced the greatest effects upon the country was the act demonetizing silver, and striking this precious metal from the list of coins with debt-paying power. The two metals, from time immemorial, which had been recognized by civilized nations as money, were silver and gold. At the time silver was displaced on the list there were, upon the best estimates, in round numbers, $8,000,000,000 of gold and silver circulating as money in the world. Of this amount, $4,500,000,000 was silver. The only unit of value in the United States from the beginning of the government was the silver dollar, which had never been changed. All the bonds that had been issued by the United States had been made payable in United States coin, either gold or silver, at its then standard value. Another subject that greatly agitated the Congress and the country about the time was the Credit Mobilier, about which so much was said and written. It was at this session also that the celebrated Salary Grab Act, as it was called, was passed.

Soon after the November elections of 1872 very great excitement took place in Louisiana. The grossest frauds were charged upon Governor Warmouth, in his attempts at manipulating the returning board, under the laws of that State. The result was two returning boards, each claiming to be the rightful one. Owing to this confusion, two legislative bodies set up to be each the rightful one. Each one of these elected a Senator, claiming to be the rightful one, to the United States Senate. And there were two rival contestants to the Governorship of the State. The Senate raised a commission, who went down to Louisiana and made a thorough examination, and reported upon the facts, which amounted, in a printed volume, to over a thousand pages. Louisiana sent, in the latter part of December, a large deputation of citizens, headed by ex-Justice of the Supreme Court John A. Campbell, to urge President Grant to afford them some relief, and especially to send Justice Bradley, United States Circuit Judge, to Louisiana, and set things right there. They waited upon the President on the 19th of December. The committee, having been introduced to the President by Attorney-General Williams, Judge Campbell explained the purpose of their coming to Washington, and gave a brief account of the condition of affairs in Louisiana, in consequence of which commerce was seriously affected, and trade generally so injured that the people were dismayed, and this unfavorable condition of affairs had not only injured that State, but other States having close business relations with Louisiana.

As there was no prospect of a satisfactory solution of the present trouble, by means of the agency now at work, the people, through their committee, asked that, in this exigency, Associate Justice Bradley, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Judge Woods, of the Circuit Court of the United States, should take charge of the judicial administration of the Circuit Court, sitting in New Orleans.

Judge Campbell said that when he occupied a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, he was twice requested by the chief magistrate to perform such duty in order that the force, power and influence of the court should be felt and respected, and he also went there twice at his own instance.

He did not know of a more serious condition of affairs than that which now existed in Louisiana, and could see no relief except in the manner now suggested. The judges, whom he mentioned, would have greater power and independence than the judge who now presided in the Circuit Court.

The course he had indicated promised a solution of the difficulties so far as the judicial question was concerned. In the second place, President Grant, living twelve hundred miles distant from New Orleans, could not be expected to have a knowledge of all the facts. What the people of Louisiana wanted, what the President wanted, and what all good men desired was the right of this matter about which there were conflicting statements and criminating remarks.

The people of that State, as represented by the committee, also ask the executive of the United States to send to New Orleans three independent, impartial, learned and just men to make a full inquiry into all the facts, to take testimony and thoroughly explore the situation. They desire that all the facts be reported to the President.

President Grant, in reply, said he supposed it was competent for the Supreme Court to designate any one of its members to proceed to Louisiana, but he did not think it would be quite proper for him to make the request of them. Congress had power to investigate the facts in the case presented, but he did not propose to interfere with the local affairs in that State by putting one set of officers or another in power, although numerous telegrams, letters and papers say he had done so.

He would not feel at liberty to make a request that Judge Bradley go to New Orleans, particularly as he is wanted here while the court is in session; although if the court should make the request, it would meet with his approbation.

Judge Campbell said there was no authority under the Constitution and laws of the United States for a Federal Court to interfere with the affairs of a State, such as had taken place in Louisiana, and he briefly alluded to the decree of the court and its effects in seating and unseating persons elected to office.

President Grant, during a colloquy with Judge Campbell, said his understanding of the subject was, the court had merely decided who were the legal canvassers, and, even if, as stated in this case, the court exceed its authority, its decision will have to be respected until the decision shall be set aside by a superior court.

It would be dangerous for the President to set the precedent of interfering with the decisions of courts.

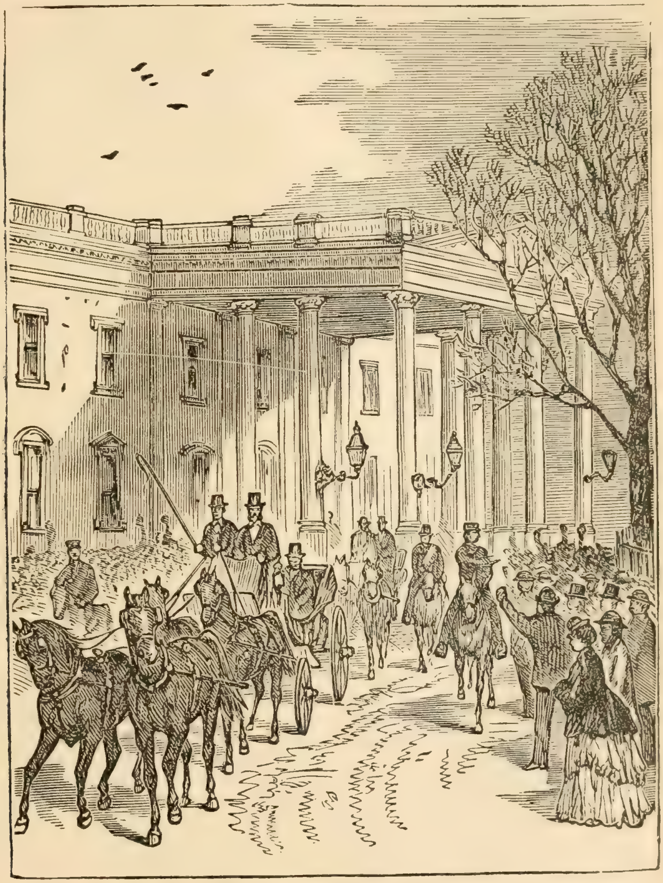
In reply to the request of Judge Campbell that he would send a committee of three honest men to go down and investigate the matter, and send a report to Congress, he said he could not employ and compensate such men unless by authority of Congress, nor could such committee administer oaths or compel the attendance of witnesses. He said Congress had power—he hadn't.

Subsequently to this, as Congress had taken no action on the subject, President Grant, on the 25th of February, sent a message to Congress upon the subject, in the following words:

"*To the Senate and House of Representatives:*

"Your attention is respectfully invited to the condition of affairs in the State of Louisiana. Grave complications have grown out of the election there on the 6th of November last, chiefly attributable, it is believed, to an organized attempt, on the part of those controlling the election of officers and returns, to defeat in that election the will of a majority of the electors of the State. Different persons are claiming the executive office. Two bodies claim to be the legislative assembly of the State, and the confusion and uncertainty produced in this way fall with paralyzing effect on all its interests. A controversy arose, as soon as the election occurred, over its proceedings and results, but I declined to interfere until suit involving this controversy to some extent was to be brought in the Circuit Court of the United States, under and by virtue of the act of May 3d, 1870, entitled, 'an act to enforce the right of citizens of the United States to vote in the several States of the Union, and for other purposes.' Finding resistance was made to the judicial process in that suit without any opportunity, and in my judgment without any right to review the judgment of the court upon the jurisdictional or other questions arising in the case, I directed the United States Marshal to enforce such process, and to use, if necessary, troops for that purpose in accordance with the thirteenth section of that act, which provides that it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to employ such part of the land and naval forces of the United States, or of the militia, as shall be necessary to aid in the execution of judicial process under this act.

"Two bodies of persons claimed to be the returning board for the State, and the Circuit Court in that case decided the one to which Lynch belonged, usually designated by his name, was the lawful returning board, and this decision has been repeatedly affirmed by the District and Supreme Courts of the State. Having no opportunity or power to canvass the votes, and the exigencies of the case demanding an immediate decision, I conceived it to be my duty to recognize those persons as elected who received and held their credentials to office from what then appeared to me to be, and has since been decided by the Supreme Court of the State to be, the legal returning board. Conformably to the decisions of this board, a full set of State officers has been installed and a legislative assembly organized, constituting, if not a *de jure*, at least a *de facto* government, which, since some time in December last, has had possession of the offices and been exercising the usual powers of the government ; but opposed to this has been another government claiming to control the affairs of the State, and which has, to some extent, been *pro forma* organized.



PRESIDENT GRANT LEAVING THE WHITE HOUSE TO BE INAUGURATED.

" Recent investigation of the said election has developed so many frauds and forgeries as to make it doubtful what candidates received a majority of votes actually cast, and in view of these facts, a variety of action has been proposed. I have no specific recommendation to make upon the subject, but if there is any practical way of removing these difficulties by legislation, then I earnestly request that such action be taken at the present session of Congress. It seems advisable that I should state now what course I shall feel bound to pursue in reference to the matter, in the event of no action by Congress at this time, subject to any satisfactory arrangement that may be made by the parties to the contest, which, of all things is the most desirable. It will be my duty, so far as it may be necessary for me to act, to adhere to that government recognized by me. To judge of the election and qualifications of its members is the exclusive province of the Senate, as it is also the exclusive province of the House to judge of the election and qualifications of its members; but as to the State offices filled and held under State laws, the decision of the State judicial tribunal, it seems to me, ought to be respected. I am extremely anxious to avoid any appearance of undue interference in State affairs, and if Congress differ from me as to what ought to be done, I respectfully urge its immediate decision to that effect. Otherwise I shall feel obliged, as far as I can, by the exercise of legitimate authority, to put an end to the unhappy controversy which disturbs the peace and prostrates the business of Louisiana by the recognition and support of that government which is recognized and upheld by the courts of the State.

"U. S. GRANT."

Congress took no notice of this message and left the state of affairs in Louisiana without any action.

On the 4th of March, 1873, General Grant was inaugurated for another four years. The ceremonies were very imposing, and the crowd immense. The inaugural was delivered from the usual place, the east portico of the capitol. Like the first, it was brief and pointed; and though read was received with great enthusiasm, notwithstanding the severe inclemency of the weather.

The oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Chase.

ESIDENT GRANT PASSING THROUGH THE ROTUNDA TO TAKE THE OATH OF OFFICE.

# CHAPTER XII.

Second inauguration of President Grant—Kellogg recognized as the Governor of Louisiana—Death of Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase—His successor Morrison R. Waite, of Ohio—Political disturbances at New Orleans—Monetary panic in 1873—Death of Charles Sumner and Vice-President Henry Wilson—Colorado the Centennial State—The Forty-fourth Congress largely Democratic—Michael Kerr, of Indiana, and, later on, Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, elected Speaker—Opening of the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia—The 100th birthday of the Republic celebrated at Philadelphia—R. B. Hayes and Samuel J. Tilden nominated for the Presidency.

On the failure of the Forty-second Congress, before its adjournment, to take any action upon the state of affairs in Louisiana, Grant, after his second inauguration, recognized Kellogg as the Governor of the State in accordance with what he announced he would do in his message to Congress of the 25th of February. In this he acted in conformity to the decision of the highest judicial tribunal in the State.

Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase suddenly died of paralysis on the 7th of May, 1873, at the home of his daughter, in the city of New York, and was succeeded some months afterwards by the nomination and confirmation of Morrison R. Waite, of Ohio.

In the fall of 1873 a severe commercial crisis, known as the "Railroad Panic," burst upon the country. It was caused by excessive speculation in railway stocks and the reckless construction of railways in portions of the country where they were not yet needed and which could not support them. The excitement began on the 17th of September, and on the 18th, 19th and 20th several of the principal banking firms of New York and Philadelphia suspended payment. The failure of these houses involved hundreds of other firms in all parts of the country in their ruin. The excitement became so intense that on the 20th the New York Stock Exchange closed its doors, and put a stop to all sales of stocks in order to prevent a general destruction of the values of all securities. The banks were obliged to resort to the most stringent measures to avoid being drawn into the common ruin.

President Grant and the Secretary of the Treasury hastened to New York to consult the capitalists of that city as to the proper measures to be taken for the relief of the business of the country. Various measures were urged upon them. A strong appeal was made to the President to lend the whole or the greater part of the treasury reserve of forty-four million dollars of greenbacks to the banks to furnish the Wall Street brokers with funds to settle there losses and resume business. He at once declined to take so grave a step, and, thanks to his firmness, the credit of the United States was not placed at the mercy of the reckless men who had caused the trouble. The government, as a measure of relief, consented to purchase a number of its bonds of a certain class at a fair price, and thus enable the holders who were in need of money to obtain it without sacrificing their securities. On the 22d the excitement in New York and the Eastern cities began to subside. The trouble was not over, however. The stringency of the money market which followed the first excitement prevailed for fully a year, and affected all branches of the industry of the country, and caused severe suffering from loss of employment and lowering of wages to the working classes.

The panic showed the extent to which railroad gambling had demoralized the business and the people of the country. It showed that some of the strongest and most trusted firms in the Union had lent themselves to the task of inducing people to invest their money in the securities of enterprises the success of which was, to say the least, doubtful. It showed that the banks, the depositories of the people's money, had, to an alarming extent, crippled themselves by neglecting their legitimate business and making advances on securities which in the hour of trial proved worthless in many cases, uncertain in most. The money needed for the use of the legitimate business of the country had been placed at the mercy of the railroad gamblers and had been used by them. The funds of helpless and dependent persons, of widows and orphan children, had been used to pay fictitious dividends and advance schemes which had been stamped with the disapproval of the public. An amount of recklessness and demoralization was revealed in the management of the financial interests of the country that startled even the most hardened. The lesson was severe, but it was needed. The panic was followed by a better and more healthful state of affairs. The business of the country slowly settled down within proper channels. Recklessness was succeeded by prudence; extravagance by economy in all quarters. The American people took their severe lesson to heart, and resolutely set to work to secure the good results that came to them from this harvest of misfortune.

In January, 1875, Congress passed an act providing for the resumption of specie payments, and requiring that on and after January 1st, 1879, the legal tender notes of the government shall be redeemed in specie. In the mean time silver coin is to be substituted for the fractional paper currency.

Vice-President Henry Wilson, on the 22d of November, 1875, sank under a stroke of paralysis, and died in the Vice-President's apartments in the Capitol at Washington.

On the 4th of March, 1875, the Territory of Colorado was authorized by Congress to form a Constitution, and was admitted into the Union as a State, the 1st of July, 1876, making the thirty-eighth member of the Confederacy, and by which she received the appellation of the "Centennial State."

The year 1875 completed the period of one hundred years from the opening of the Revolution, and the leading events of that period—the centennial anniversaries of the battles of Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill; the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence in Charlotte, North Carolina—were all celebrated with appropriate commemorative ceremonies. These were but preludes to the great International Centennial of 1876 in celebration of the Declaration of Independence on the 4th of July one hundred years before.

The centennial year of American Independence was celebrated in Philadelphia during the year 1876, with a grand international exhibition, which was inaugurated with imposing ceremonies by President Grant, May 10th, and continued open until November 10th, a period of one hundred and fifty-nine days.

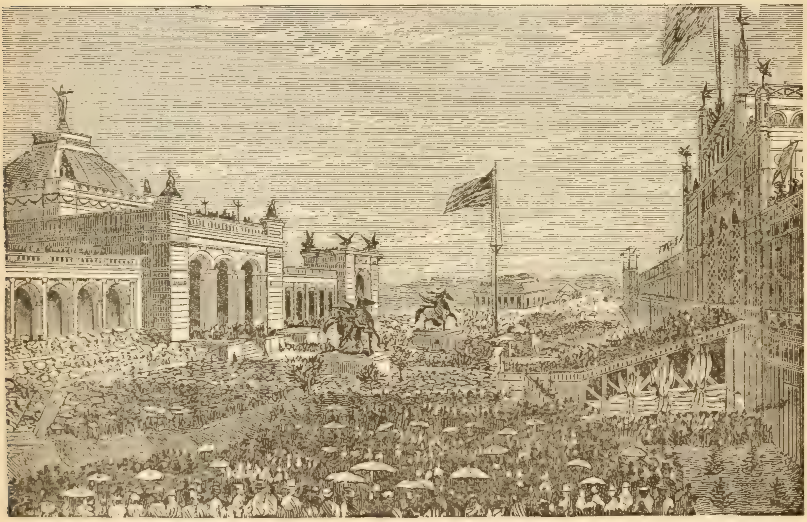
Its chief object was to show the progress of the nation in arts and manufactures during the first century of its existence, but all foreign nations were invited to contribute, and thirty-three of these exhibited their products. The space occupied was seventy-five acres, an area far greater than that of any previous exhibition.

As early as 1872 measures were set on foot for the proper observance of the one hundredth anniversary of the independence of the United States. It was resolved to commemorate the close of the first century of the Republic by an International Exhibition, to be held at Philadelphia in 1876, in which all the nations of the world were invited to participate. Preparations were at once set on foot for the great celebration. The European governments, with great cordiality, responded to the invitations extended to them by the government of the United States, and on the 10th of May, 1876, the International Centennial Exhibition was opened with the most imposing ceremonies, in the presence of an immense concourse of citizens from all parts of the Union, and of the President of the United States and the Emperor of Brazil.

The exhibition remained open from May 10th to November 10th, 1876, and was visited by several million people from the various States of the Union, from Canada, South America and Europe. It was one of the grandest and most notable events of the century.

On the fourth day of July, 1876, the United States of America completed the one hundredth year of their existance as an independent nation. The day was celebrated with imposing ceremonies and with the most patriotic enthusiasm in all parts of the Union. The celebrations began on the night of the 3d of July, and were kept up until near midnight on the 4th. Each of the great cities of the Union vied with the others in the splendor and completeness of its rejoicings; but the most interesting of all the celebrations was naturally that which was held at Philadelphia, in which city the Declaration of Independence was adopted. The arrangements for the proper observance of the day were confided to the United States Centennial Commission, and extensive preparations were made to conduct them on a scale of splendor worthy of the glorious occasion.

It was wisely resolved by the Commission that as the Declaration of Independence was signed in Independence Hall and proclaimed to the people in Independence Square, the commemorative ceremonies should be so conducted as to make the venerable building the grand central figure of all the demonstrations.



OPENING CEREMONIES OF THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION.

Being anxious that the Centennial celebration should do its share in cementing the reunion of the Northern and Southern States, the Commission began, at least a year before the occasion, the formation of a "Centennial Legion," consisting of a detachment of troops from each of the thirteen original States. The command of this splendid body of picked troops was conferred upon General Ambrose E. Burnside, of Rhode Island, and General Harry Heth, of Virginia, was chosen Lieutenant-Colonel. Both were veterans of the late civil war. The Legion was readily made up, the best volunteer commands of the original States being eager to serve in it.

For a week previous to the 4th of July crowds of people began to pour steadily into Philadelphia. Volunteer organizations from the various States were constantly arriving, and were either encamped at various points in and around the Exhibition grounds, or were quartered at the various hotels. By the night of the 3d of July it was estimated that at least two hundred and fifty thousand strangers were assembled in Philadelphia.

The Centennial ceremonies were begun on the morning of Saturday, the 1st of July. The leading writers of the Union had been invited to prepare memoirs of the great men of our Revolutionary period, which were to be deposited among the archives of the State-House, and all who were able to accept the invitation assembled in Independence Hall at eleven o'clock on the morning of July 1, 1876, where they were joined by a number of invited guests. The ceremonies were opened by an address from Colonel Frank M. Etting, the chairman of the Committee on the Restoration of Independence Hall, and a prayer by the Rev. William White Bronson. Whittier's Centennial Hymn was then sung by a chorus of fifty voices. The names of the authors were then called, to which each responded in person or by proxy, and laid his memoir on the table in the hall. The exercises were then brought to a close, and the company repaired to the stand in Independence Square, where a large crowd had assembled.

The ceremonies in the square were begun at half-past twelve o'clock with Helfrich's Triumphal March, performed by the Centennial Musical Association. Mr. John William Wallace, the president of the day, then delivered a short address, after which Whittier's Centennial Hymn was sung by a chorus of one hundred and fifty voices, and Mr. William V. McKean reviewed at some length the great historical event in commemoration of which the ceremonies were

OPENING OF THE MAIN BUILDING OF THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION—GENERAL GRANT STARTED THE ENGINE.

held. After the band had played "God Save America," the Hon. Leverett Salstonstall, of Massachusetts, delivered an address, which elicited warm applause. "The Voice of the Old Bell," a Centennial ode, was then sung, and Governor Henry Lippitt, of Rhode Island, made a short speech. The band followed with a number of patriotic airs, and Mr. Wallace announced the unavoidable absence of General John A. Dix, and introduced in his place Frederick De Peyster, President of the New York Historical Society, who made a few remarks. After a Centennial ode, by S. C. Upham, had been sung by the chorus, the Hon. Benjamin Harris Brewster delivered an eloquent address, at the close of which another Centennial Hymn, by William Fennimore, was sung. Senator Frank P. Stevens, of Maryland, then said a few words, after which the "Star-Spangled Banner" was sung, and the exercises were brought to a close by a prayer from Bishop Stevens.

The celebration ushering in the 4th of July was begun on the night of the 3d. A grand civic and torchlight procession paraded the streets, which were brilliantly illuminated along the whole line of march. The procession began to move about half-past eight o'clock at night, and consisted of deputations representative of the various trades of the city, the Centennial Commissioners from the various foreign countries taking part in the Exhibition, the Governors of a number of States of the Union, officers of the army and navy of the United States, civic and political associations, and officers of foreign men-of-war visiting the city. Some of the deputations bore torches, and these added to the brilliancy of the scene. All along the line fireworks were ascending into the air, and cheer after cheer went up from the dense masses of enthusiastic spectators which filled the sidewalks.

Crowds had collected around Independence Hall, filling the street before it and the square in the rear of it. An orchestra and chorus were stationed on the stands in the square to hail the opening of the 4th with music. The movements of the procession were so timed that the head of the column arrived in front of Independence Hall precisely at midnight. The crowd, which had been noisy but good-natured, was hushed into silence as the hands of the clock in the tower approached the midnight hour, and one hundred thousand people waited in breathless eagerness the strokes which were to usher in the glorious day. As the minute-hand swept slowly past the hour there was a profound silence, and then came rolling out of the lofty steeple the deep, liquid tones of the new liberty bell, sounding wonderfully solemn and sweet as they floated down to the crowd below. Thirteen peals were struck, and the first tone had hardly died away when there went up from the crowd such a shout as had never been heard in Philadelphia before. It was caught up and re-echoed all over the city, and at the same time the musicians and singers in the square broke into the grand strains of the "Star-Spangled Banner." All the bells and steam whistles in the city joined in the sounds of rejoicing, and fireworks and firearms made the noise ten-fold louder. When the "Star-Spangled Banner" was ended, the chorus in Independence Square sang the "Doxology," in which the crowd joined heartily, and the band then played national airs.

The festivities were kept up until after two o'clock, and it was not until the first streaks of the dawn began to tinge the sky that the streets of the city resumed their wonted appearance.

The lull in the festivities was not of long duration. The day was at hand, and it threatened to be mercilessly hot, as indeed it was. As the sun arose in his full-orbed splendor, the thunder of cannon from the Navy Yard, from the heights of Fairmount Park, and from the Swedish, Brazilian and American war vessels in the Delaware, and the clanging of bells from every steeple in the city, roused the few who had managed to snatch an hour or two of sleep after the fatigues of the night, and by six o'clock the streets were again thronged.

In view of the extreme heat of the weather, the military parade had been ordered for an early hour of the day.

As soon as the parade was ended, the crowd turned into Independence Square, which was soon filled. Four thousand persons were given seats on the stand, and a vast crowd filled the square. As the invited guests appeared and took their seats on the platform, the prominent personages were cheered by the crowd. The Emperor of Brazil received a welcome that was especially noticeable for its heartiness.

At a few minutes after ten o'clock, General Hawley, the President of the United States Centennial Commission, appeared at the speaker's stand and signaled to the orchestra to begin. As the music ceased, General Hawley again came forward, and introduced, as the presiding officer of the day, the Hon. Thomas W. Ferry, Vice-President of the United States, who was received with loud cheers. After a few remarks appropriate to the occasion, Vice-President Ferry presented to the audience the Right Reverend William Bacon Stevens, D. D., the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Pennsylvania, whom he introduced as the ecclesiastical successor of the first chaplain of the Continental Congress. The bishop delivered a solemn and impressive prayer, during the utterance of which the whole audience stood with uncovered heads, silent and attentive, unmindful of the blazing sun which poured down upon them.

GENERAL J. R. HAWLEY.

When the prayer was ended the Vice-President then announced that Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, a grandson of the patriot of the Revolution who offered the resolution in Congress, that "these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states," would read the Declaration of Independence from the original manuscript, which President Grant had intrusted to the mayor of Philadelphia. The faded and crumbling manuscript, held together by a simple frame, was then exhibited to the crowd and was greeted with cheer after cheer. Richard Henry Lee, a soldierly-looking Virginian, then came forward and read the Declaration; but the enthusiasm of the crowd was too great to permit them to listen to it quietly.

At the close of the reading Mr. John Welsh, chairman of the Centennial Board of Finance, then, at the suggestion of Vice-President Ferry, introduced Bayard Taylor, the poet of the day, who recited a noble ode, which was listened to with deep attention, the audience occasionally breaking out into applause. When the poem was ended the chorus sang "Our National Banner."

As the music died away, the Vice-President introduced the Hon. William M. Evarts, of New York, the orator of the day, Mr. Evarts was greeted with hearty cheers, after which he proceeded to deliver an eloquent and able address, reviewing the lessons of the past century and dwelling upon the great work America has performed for the world.

At night the city was brilliantly illuminated, and a magnificent display of fireworks was given by the municipal authorities at old Fairmount.

During the fall of 1876 also occurred another Presidential election. The Republican Convention assembled at Cincinnati, June 14th, and put in nomination for the Presidency, Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, and for the Vice-Presidency, William A. Wheeler, of New York. The Democratic Convention assembled at St. Louis, Missouri, on the 27th day of June, and put in nomination for the Presidency, Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, and for the Vice-Presidency, Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana.

The result of the election was the closest ever before held in the United States. Both sides claimed the success of their tickets. The condition of affairs was assuming a threatening aspect, when a proposition was made to provide by law for a Joint High Commission to whom the whole subject should be referred. This was to consist of five members of the House, five of the Senate and five of the Supreme Court. To the Commission thus constituted, the whole subject was referred by special act of Congress. The counting commenced as usual on the regular day before both houses of Congress. When the disputed duplicated returns were reached they were referred, State by State, to the Joint High Commission. This Commission made its final decision on all the cases submitted to them, on the 2d day of March, and according to their decision, Hayes and Wheeler received one hundred and eighty-five votes, and Tilden and Hendricks one hundred and eighty-four votes.

The army appropriation bill of this session of Congress failed between the two houses. The Democratic majority in the House inserted a provision in the bill forbidding the use of any portion of the appropriation in payment of troops or expenses of transporting troops, for the purpose of interfering in any way with elections. This was to prevent in the future the state of things then existing in South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and perhaps some other places. The Senate struck this provision out of the bill. The House adhered to the provision, and the whole bill was lost.

General Grant, on the expiration of his second term, retired from office, but remained in Washington City, receiving marked demonstrations of the admiration of his friends for some months before starting upon an extensive tour through Europe and the Eastern Continent.

Unfortunately for the "hero of Appomattox," he admitted to his friendship men who were not worthy of it, men who were not so honest as himself, who abused the positions of trust to which some of them were preferred.

Coming into civil life unprepared, save by natural excellence of judgment, purity of intention, and firmness of resolve, his administration brought the country each year to that consummation of reduced expenses, lessened public debts, unquestioned public credits, and peace at home and abroad, to which he stood pledged in assuming his responsibilities.

GEN'L GRANT, MRS. GRANT, AND HER FATHER, AT THE LONG BRANCH COTTAGE.

In his second inaugural address, referring to this very subject, he said:

"From my candidacy for my present office in 1868, to the close of the last Presidential campaign, I have been the subject of abuse and slander, scarcely ever equaled in political history, which, to-day, I feel I can afford to disregard in view of your verdict, which I gratefully accept as my vindication."

During the excitement attending the disputed election of 1876 Grant deported himself with the utmost fairness toward all parties interested, and although undoubtedly gratified at the finding of the commission appointed to decide whether Hayes or Tilden had been elected, it is not saying too much to assert that had the commission declared Mr. Tilden elected, the General would have taken every means to see him inducted into the high office he was about to vacate.

The 4th of March, 1877, found him a free man, and he laid down the burden of public life with a sigh of relief. Now he was free, the ceremony of official existence could be dispensed with, and he could again return to the simple manner of living that most accorded with his tastes.

Alex R. Potter

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DOCKS OF THE AMERICAN STEAMSHIP LINE ON THE DAY OF THE SAILING OF GENERAL GRANT.

# CHAPTER XIII.

## GENERAL GRANT'S TOUR AROUND THE WORLD.

**Preparations** for the Journey—Departure from Philadelphia—Arrival and Reception at Liverpool—Visiting the Docks—Manchester—Leicester—Bedford—London—Presented with the Freedom of the City—Dining with the Queen and the Prince of Wales—Starting for the European Continent—Brussels—The Rhine—Frankfort—Heidelberg—Switzerland—Strasburg—Metz—Return to England—Scotland—Paris—Visit to General MacMahon—Arrival of the "Vandalia" at Villa Franca—Naples—Mount Vesuvius—Herculaneum and Pompeii—Sicily—Malta.

On the 4th of March, 1877, General Ulysses S. Grant retired from the Presidency of the United States, his second term of office expiring on that day.

It had for some time been General Grant's intention to seek in foreign travel the rest and recreation he had been so long denied by his constant official duties. For the first time since the spring of 1861—a period of sixteen eventful and busy years to him—he was a private citizen, and free to direct his movements according to his own pleasure. He had successfully closed one of the greatest wars in history, had devoted eight years to a troubled and exciting administration of the Chief Magistracy of the United States, and was sorely in need of rest. This, as has been said, he resolved to seek in travel in foreign lands.

He devoted the few weeks following his withdrawal from office to arranging his private affairs, and engaged passage for himself, Mrs. Grant, and his son Jesse, on the steamer "Indiana," one of the American Line, sailing between Philadelphia and Liverpool—the only Transatlantic line flying the American flag.

On the 9th of May, 1877, General Grant reached Philadelphia. It was his intention to pass the last week of his stay in his own country with his friends in that city, who were very numerous.

On the 10th of May, the day after his arrival, he visited the Permanent Exhibition—the successor of the Centennial Exhibition—on the occasion of its opening. Just one year before this, General Grant, in his official capacity as President of the United States, had formally opened the great World's Fair on the same spot.

Being desirous of rendering General Grant's stay abroad as pleasant as possible, President Hayes caused the Secretary of State to forward the following official note to all the diplomatic representatives of this government abroad:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, May 23d, 1877.

"*To the Diplomatic and Consular Officers of the United States :*

"GENTLEMEN : General Ulysses S. Grant, the late President of the United States, sailed from Philadelphia on the 17th inst., for Liverpool.

"The route and extent of his travels, as well as the duration of his sojourn abroad, were alike undetermined at the time of his departure, the object of his journey being to secure a few months of rest and recreation after sixteen years of unremitting and devoted labor in the military and civil service of his country.

"The enthusiastic manifestations of popular regard and esteem for General Grant shown by the people in all parts of the country that he has visited since his retirement from official life, and attending his every appearance in public from the day of that retirement up to the moment of his departure for Europe, indicate beyond question the high place he holds in the grateful affections of his countrymen.

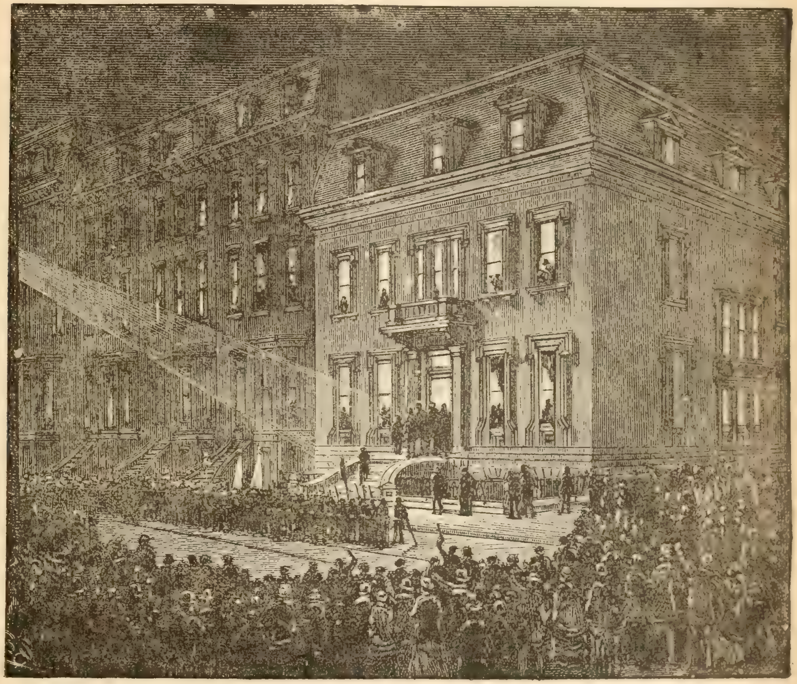
"Sharing in the largest measure this general public sentiment, and at the same time expressing the wishes of the President, I desire to invite the aid of the Diplomatic and Consular Officers of the Government to make his journey a pleasant one should he visit their posts. I feel already assured that you will find patriotic pleasure in anticipating the wishes of the Department by showing him that attention and consideration which is due from every officer of the Government to a citizen of the Republic so signally distinguished both in official service and personal renown.

"I am, Gentlemen, your obedient Servant, WM. M. EVARTS."

The receptions and attentions indicated in Mr. Evarts' letter, which were tendered to General Grant before his departure, were of a grandiose character, especially those given on the evening of the 14th of May by the Union League Club of Philadelphia, and on the 16th by Mr. George W. Childs, at the latter's residence.

On the morning of the departure, Mrs. Grant and Jesse Grant, accompanied by a host of friends, were taken to the "Indiana" by the United States revenue cutter "Hamilton," while the General was escorted by a distinguished company on board the steamer "Twilight." The occasion was utilized to give General Grant a farewell breakfast, and among those at the table in the saloon of the "Twilight" were ex-Secretaries Fish, Robeson and Chandler, Senator Cameron, Governor Hartranft, General Sherman and Mayor Stokley.

When the time came for speeches, General Sherman, referring to the welcome extended by the populace crowded on the banks of the Delaware to see their idol off on his trip, said:



RECEPTION TO GENERAL GRANT AT THE HOUSE OF HIS FRIEND, MR. GEORGE W. CHILDS.

"This proud welcome demands a response. General Grant leaves here to-day with the highest rewards of his fellow-citizens, and on his arrival at the other side there is no doubt he will be welcomed by friends with as willing hands and warm hearts as those he leaves behind. Ex-President Grant—General Grant—while you, his fellow-citizens, speak of him and regard him as ex-President Grant; I cannot but think of the times of the war, of General Grant, President of the United States for eight years, yet I cannot but think of him as the General Grant of Fort Donelson.

"I think of him as the man who, when the country was in the hour of its peril, restored its hopes when he marched triumphant into Fort Donelson. After that none of us felt the least doubt as to the future of our country, and therefore, if the name of Washington is allied with the birth of our country, that of Grant is forever identified with its preservation, its perpetuation.

"It is not here alone on the shores of the Delaware that the people love and respect you, but in Chicago and St. Paul, and in far-off San Francisco, the prayers go up to-day that your voyage may be prosperous and pleasant. God bless you and grant you a pleasant journey and a safe return to your native land."

To this General Grant, who was deeply affected, responded:

"I feel much overcome by what I have heard. When the first toast was offered, I supposed the last words here for me had been spoken, and I feel overcome by sentiments to which I have listened, and which I feel I am altogether inadequate to respond to. I don't think that the compliments ought all to be paid to me or any one man in either of the positions which I was called upon to fill.

"That which I accomplished—which I was able to accomplish—I owe to the assistance of able lieutenants. I was so fortunate as to be called to the first position in the army of the nation, and I had the good fortune to select lieutenants who could have filled"—here the general turned to Sherman—"had it been necessary, I believe some of these lieutenants could have filled my place may be better than I did. I do not, therefore, regard myself as entitled to all the praise.

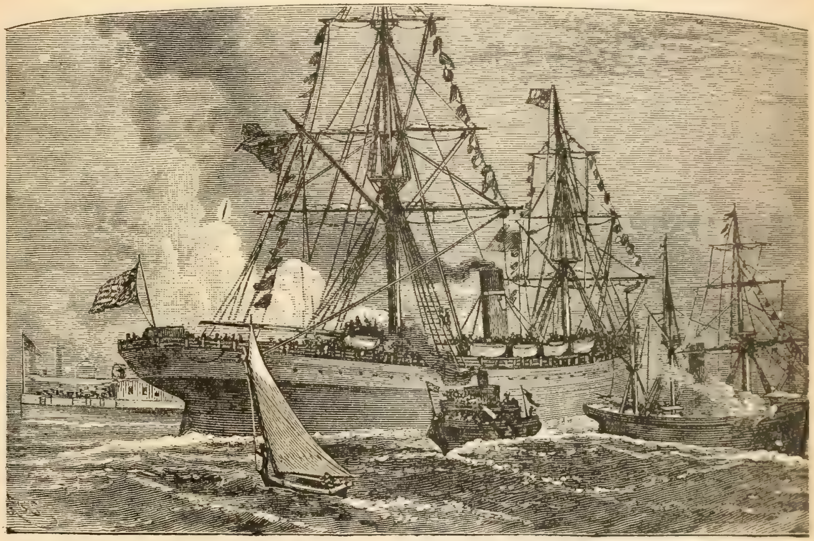
"I believe that my friend Sherman could have taken my place as a soldier as well as I could, and the same will apply to Sheridan. And I believe, finally, that if our country ever comes into trial again, young men will spring up equal to the occasion, and if one fails, there will be another to take his place. Just as there was if I had failed."

The modesty of this address shows General Grant in his truest light, while its tact, and the easy, self-possessed way with which it was delivered, were evidences of the development of a new talent—that of ready speaking on the part of one who had won the *sobriquet* of "The Silent Man." We need not dwell upon the enthusiastic applause and cheers with which the speech was received by the hearers.

When the "Twilight" reached the "Indiana," Mrs. Grant and Jesse were already on board, and amid the booming of cannon and the waving of salutes the ever memorable trip around the world was begun.

The "Indiana" was a first-class steamer, and was commanded by Captain Sargeant, an accomplished navigator and an amiable gentleman. She was regarded as one of the most comfortable vessels in the fleet of the American line, and is a first-rate sailer. Both the company and the officers of the ship exerted themselves to render the voyage of General and Mrs. Grant a pleasant one, and in this they succeeded admirably.

The "Indiana" passed the Capes on the afternoon of the 17th of May, and by sunset was fairly out at sea. The voyage was unusually rough, but the General and Jesse proved themselves good sailors. Mrs. Grant suffered somewhat from sea-sickness, but, on the whole, enjoyed the voyage. With the exception of the rough weather, there was nothing worthy of notice connected with the run across the Atlantic, except the death and burial of a child of one of the steerage passengers. The General and Jesse never missed a meal, and the former smoked constantly—an excellent test of his sea-going qualities.



GENERAL GRANT LEAVING THE "TWILIGHT" TO EMBARK ON THE "INDIANA"

Once on board the "Indiana," General Grant seemed a changed man. He dropped the silence and reserve that had been for so many years among his chief characteristics, and conversed freely and with animation, entered heartily into the various amusements that were gotten up to beguile the tedium of the voyage, and was by common consent regarded as the most agreeable person on the ship. Said Captain Sargeant in speaking of the General's hearty good nature during the voyage: "There is no one who can make himself more entertaining or agreeable in his conversation —when nobody has an axe to grind." Indeed the Captain declared that he had found the General the most interesting and entertaining talker he had ever met.

AT SEA.—A CHAT WITH THE CAPTAIN.

The voyage was of great benefit to General Grant, and on the first day out he told the Captain that he felt better than he had for sixteen years, since the beginning of the war, and that he keenly relished the consciousness that he had no letters to read and no telegraphic dispatches to attend to, but was free to do nothing but enjoy the voyage.

On the morning of the 27th of May the "Indiana" arrived off the coast of Ireland. Off Fastnet Light she was compelled to lie to for eight hours in a dense fog. It finally lifted, however, and the passengers had a fine view of the coast of Ireland. Queenstown harbor was reached about seven o'clock, and the weather being rough, the "Indiana" ran into the harbor to discharge her mails and such passengers as wished to land at Queenstown. A steam tug came alongside, bearing Mr. John Russell Young, the European correspondent of the *New York Herald*, and a number of prominent citizens of Queenstown, who came on board the steamer and heartily welcomed General Grant to Ireland. They also cordially invited him to stay with them awhile, as their guest.

On the afternoon of the 28th of May the "Indiana" reached Liverpool. The shipping in the port was decorated with the flags of all nations, among which the Stars and Stripes were conspicuous. The passengers were conveyed in a tender to the landing stage, where General Grant was met by Mr. A. R. Walker, the Mayor of Liverpool, who welcomed him to England's great seaport, and offered him the hospitalities of the city, in the following well-chosen words:

"GENERAL GRANT: I am proud that it has fallen to my lot, as Chief Magistrate of Liverpool, to welcome to the shores of England so distinguished a citizen of the United States. You have, sir, stamped your name on the history of the world by your brilliant career as a soldier, and still more as a statesman in the interests of peace. In the name of Liverpool, whose interests are so closely allied with your great country, I bid you heartily welcome, and I hope Mrs. Grant and yourself will enjoy your visit to old England."

ARRIVAL AT LIVERPOOL.

General Grant expressed his thanks to the Mayor for his kind reception, and was then introduced to a number of prominent citizens of Liverpool, after which the whole party drove to the Adelphi Hotel, where General Grant was to stay during his sojourn in the city.

On the morning of the 29th, General Grant and party, accompanied by the Mayor of Liverpool and a deputation of citizens, embarked on the tender "Vigilant," and proceeded to the extreme end of the river wall, where they inspected the new docks in process of construction.

After returning from the docks General Grant and his party drove to the Town Hall, where they were entertained at luncheon by the Mayor. Numerous prominent citizens were present. Afterward, with the Mayor, the party visited the Newsroom and Exchange. The General's reception or 'Change by the crowd, which entirely filled the room, was very cordial. He made a brief speech of thanks from the balcony, which was received with reiterated cheering. The Mayor, in the name of the city, tendered to General Grant and his party a public banquet, to take place at some future time.

Having inspected many celebrated institutions of Liverpool, General Grant and his party left Liverpool, on the 30th day of May, for Manchester.

After a reception at the Town Hall, General Grant and party were taken to see the most famous manufactories of Manchester, where the process of preparing the different goods was explained to them. They then visited the great warehouse of Sir James Watts, the Assize Courts and the Royal Exchange.

Upon reaching London, General Grant found that the American Minister, the Hon. Edwards Pierrepont, had accepted for him a round of invitations that would occupy his time far into the month of June.

On the morning after his arrival in London he went to the Oaks at Epsom to witness the Derby Races, that sport so dear to the English heart. The Prince of Wales, learning that the General was on the grounds, expressed a desire to meet him, and General Grant was accordingly presented to the Prince, who cordially welcomed him to England. On the evening of the same day, the General dined with the Duke of Wellington at Apsley House. The Duke, in tendering the invitation, had said that it seemed to him a fit thing that General Grant's first dinner in London should be at Apsley House—thus delicately intimating that he would feel honored in receiving within the home of the great conqueror of Napoleon the great soldier who had brought the American struggle to a successful close.

On the 7th of June General Grant was presented at Court and was cordially received by the Queen.

Among the places visited in London by General Grant were the Houses of Parliament, the Tower, St. Paul's Cathedral, the Bank of England, the Royal Exchange, the British Museum, the Mansion House and the Docks.

After a visit at Southampton, where Mrs. Sartoris, his only daughter, Nellie, lived, General Grant returned to London, and on the 15th he was formally presented with the freedom of the city of London. This important ceremony took place at Guildhall. It constitutes the highest distinction the municipality of London can confer upon a person it desires to honor, and has only once before been conferred upon an American—the late George Peabody.

GENERAL GRANT MEETING THE PRINCE OF WALES.

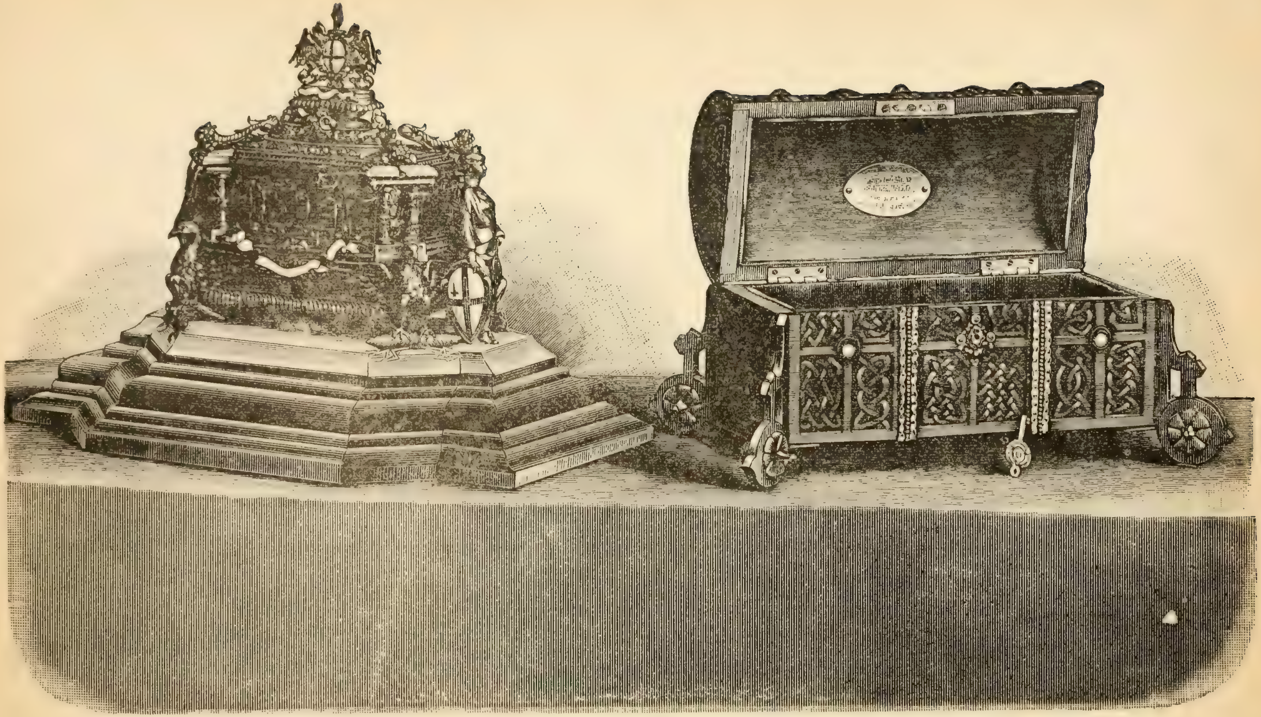
About eight hundred ladies and gentlemen, including several members of the Government, American consuls, merchants and the principal representatives of the trade and commerce of London, were invited to meet the General at luncheon, subsequent to the civic ceremony. Among the guests were Sir Stafford Northcote, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and many members of Parliament. The entrance to the hall and the corridors of the Guildhall were laid with crimson cloth. The walls were decorated with mirrors and exotics. The guests began to arrive about half-past eleven o'clock, and from that time until half-past twelve a steady stream of carriages poured into the Guildhall yard. General Grant arrived about one o'clock.

The General was accompanied by Mrs. Grant and Minister and Mrs. Pierrepont. He was received at the entrance of the Guildhall by a deputation consisting of four Aldermen with their chairman, six members of the City Land Committee, including the mover and seconder of the resolution for presenting the freedom of the city to the General, and was by them conducted to the library, where he was received by the Lord Mayor, and took a seat on the dais, on the left hand of his Lordship, who occupied the chair as President of a Special Court of the Common Council, at which were assembled most of the members of the Corporation, the Aldermen wearing their scarlet robes and the Common Councilmen their mazarin gowns.

The resolution of the Court was read by the Town Clerk, and General Grant, after an address made by the Chamberlain, Mr. B. Scott, was admitted to the freedom of the city, the Chamberlain making the official announcement to him in these words:

"The unprecedented facilities of modern travel, and the running to and fro of all classes in our day, have brought to our shores unwonted visitors from Asia, as well as from Europe—rulers of empires both ancient and of recent creation; but amongst them all we have not as yet received a President of the United States of America—a power great, flourishing and free, but so youthful that it celebrated only last year its first centennial. A visit of the ruling President of those States is scarcely to be looked for, so highly valued are his services at home during his limited term of office; you must bear with us, therefore, General, if we make much of an Ex-President of the great republic of the New World visiting the old home of his fathers. It is true that those first fathers—Pilgrim Fathers we now call them—chafed under the straitness of the parental rule, and sought in distant climes the liberty then denied them at home; it is true, likewise, that their children subsequently resented the interference, well intended if unwise, of their venerated parent, and manifested a spirit of independence of parental restraint not unbecoming in grown-up sons of the Anglo-Saxon stock. Yet, for all this, there is furnished, from time to time, abundant evidence that both children and parent have forgotten old differences and forgiven old wrongs; that the children continue to revere the mother country, while she is not wanting in maternal pride at witnessing so numerous, so thriving and so freedom-loving a race of descendants. If other indications were wanting of mutual feelings of regard, we should find them, on the one hand, in the very hospitable and enthusiastic reception accorded to the Heir Apparent to the British throne, and subsequently to H. R. H. Prince Arthur, when, during your presidency, he visited your country; and on the other hand, in the cordial reception which, we are gratified to observe, you have received from the hour when you set foot on the shores of Old England. In this spirit, and with these convictions, the Corporation of London receives you to-day with all kindliness of welcome, desiring to compliment you and your country in your person by conferring upon you the honorary freedom of their ancient city—a freedom which had existence more than eight centuries before your first ancestors set foot on Plymouth Rock; a freedom confirmed to the citizens, but not originated, by the Norman conqueror, which has not yet lost its significance or its value, although the liberty which it symbolizes has been extended to other British subjects, and has become the inheritance of the great Anglo-American family across the Atlantic. But we not only recognize in you a citizen of the United States, but one who has made a distinguished mark in American history—a soldier whose military capabilities brought him to the front in the hour of his country's sorest trial, and enabled him to strike the blow which terminated fratricidal war and re-united his distracted country; who also manifested magnanimity in the hour of triumph, and amidst the national indignation created by the assassination of the great and good Abraham Lincoln, by obtaining for vanquished adversaries the rights of capitulated brethren in arms, when some would have treated them as traitors to their country. We further recognize in you a President upon whom was laid the honor, and with it the responsibility, during two terms of office, of a greater and more difficult task than that which devolved upon you as a general in the field—that of binding up the bleeding frame of society which had been rent asunder when the demon of slavery was cast out. That the constitution of the country over which you were thus called to preside survived so fearful a shock, that we saw it proud and progressive, celebrating its centennial during the last year of your official rule, evinces that the task which your countrymen had committed to you did not miscarry in your hands.

"That such results have been possible must, in fairness, be attributed in no considerable degree to the firm but conciliatory policy of your administration at home and abroad, which is affirmed of you by the resolution of this honorable Court, whose exponent and mouthpiece I am this day. May you greatly enjoy your visit to our country at this favored season of the year, and may your life be long spared to witness in your country and in our own—the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon family—a career of increasing amity, mutual respect and honest, of



PRESENTS RECEIVED BY GENERAL GRANT WHILE IN EUROPE spirited, rivalry—rivalry in trade, commerce, agriculture and manufacture, in the arts, science and literature; rivalry in the highest of all arts, how best to promote the well-being and to develop the industry of nations, how to govern them for the largest good to the greatest number, and for the advancement of peace, liberty, morality and the consequent happiness of mankind. Nothing now remains, General, but that I should present to you an illuminated copy of the resolutions of this honorable Court, for the reception of which an appropriate casket is in course of preparation; and, in conclusion, offer you, in the name of this honorable Court, the right hand of fellowship as a citizen of London."

When the cheers which followed this speech had subsided, General Grant replied as follows:

"It is a matter of some regret to me that I have never cultivated that art of public speaking which might have enabled me to express in suitable terms my gratitude for the compliment which has been paid to my countrymen and myself on this occasion. Were I in the habit of speaking in public, I should claim the right to express my opinion, and what I believe will be the opinion of my countrymen when the proceedings of this day shall have been telegraphed to them. For myself, I have been very much surprised at my reception at all places since the day I landed at Liverpool up to my appearance in this, the greatest city in the world. It was entirely unexpected, and it is particularly gratifying to me. I believe that this honor is intended quite as much for the country which I have had the opportunity of serving in different capacities, as for myself, and I am glad that this is so, because I want to see the happiest relations existing, not only between the United States and Great Britain, but also between the United States and all other nations. Although a soldier by education and profession, I have never felt any sort of fondness for war, and I have never advocated it except as a means of peace. I hope that we shall always settle our differences in all future negotiations as amicably as we did in a recent instance. I believe that settlement has had a happy effect on both countries, and that from month to month, and year to year, the tie of common civilization and common blood is getting stronger between the two countries My Lord Mayor, ladies, and gentlemen, I again thank you for the honor you have done me and my country to-day."

This reply was received with loud cheers, after which General Grant signed his name to the roll of honorary freemen of the city of London.

The Lord Mayor now conducted General Grant to the great hall, where a luncheon was served upon twenty tables. After the health of the Queen was drunk, the Lord Mayor in a cordial and tasteful speech proposed the health of General Grant, which was drunk with applause. General Grant, in reply, said:

"My Lord Mayor, Ladies, and Gentlemen: Habits formed in early life and early education press upon us as we grow older. I was brought up a soldier — not to talking. I am not aware that I ever fought two battles on the same day in the same place, and that I should be called upon to make two speeches on the same day under the same roof is beyond my understanding. What I do understand is, that I am much indebted to all of you for the compliment you have paid me. All I can do is to thank the Lord Mayor for his kind words, and to thank the citizens of Great Britain here present in the name of my country and for myself."

On the 16th of June General Grant and his family dined at Kensington Palace, with the Princess Louise and the Marquis of Lorne. The next day they dined with Mr. Morgan, an American banker, residing in London.

On the 19th of June General Grant dined with the Prince of Wales, at Marlborough House, to meet the Emperor of Brazil. Marlborough House is the London residence of the Prince of Wales, and stands in Pall Mall, St. James'. It was built by the great Duke of Marlborough, but was purchased by the Crown in 1817, for the Princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold, the latter of whom afterwards became the first King of Belgium. Queen Adelaide, the widow of William IV., also lived here for a number of years. After dinner the General visited the office of the London *Times*, and was shown over the establishment by Mr. J. C. Macdonald, the manager of the paper. On the 20th the General dined with Lord Ripon, and on the 21st with Minister Pierrepont, to meet the Prince of Wales. On the 21st he attended a reception given by Mrs. Hicks, an American lady residing in London. In the evening, in company with Mrs. Grant and General Badeau, he attended a performance of "Martha," at the Covent Garden Theatre. He wore his uniform on this occasion, and as he entered the curtain rose, showing the stage decorated with American flags, and occupied by the full company. Madame Albani, the prima donna of the evening, sang the "Star Spangled Banner" (the company joining in the chorus), accompanied by the orchestra. During the singing the General and the entire audience remained standing.

On the evening of the 22d General Grant attended a banquet given by Trinity Board, at their handsome hall on Tower Hill. This Board has charge of the pilotage, lighthouses, etc., of the United Kingdom. The Prince of Wales presided at this banquet. Prince Leopold, Prince Christian, the Prince of Leiningen, the Prince of Saxe-Weimar, the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Carnarvon, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Cross and Chief-Justice Sir Alexander Cockburn were among the distinguished company present.

The Prince of Wales, referring to General Grant, in the course of his speech, said:

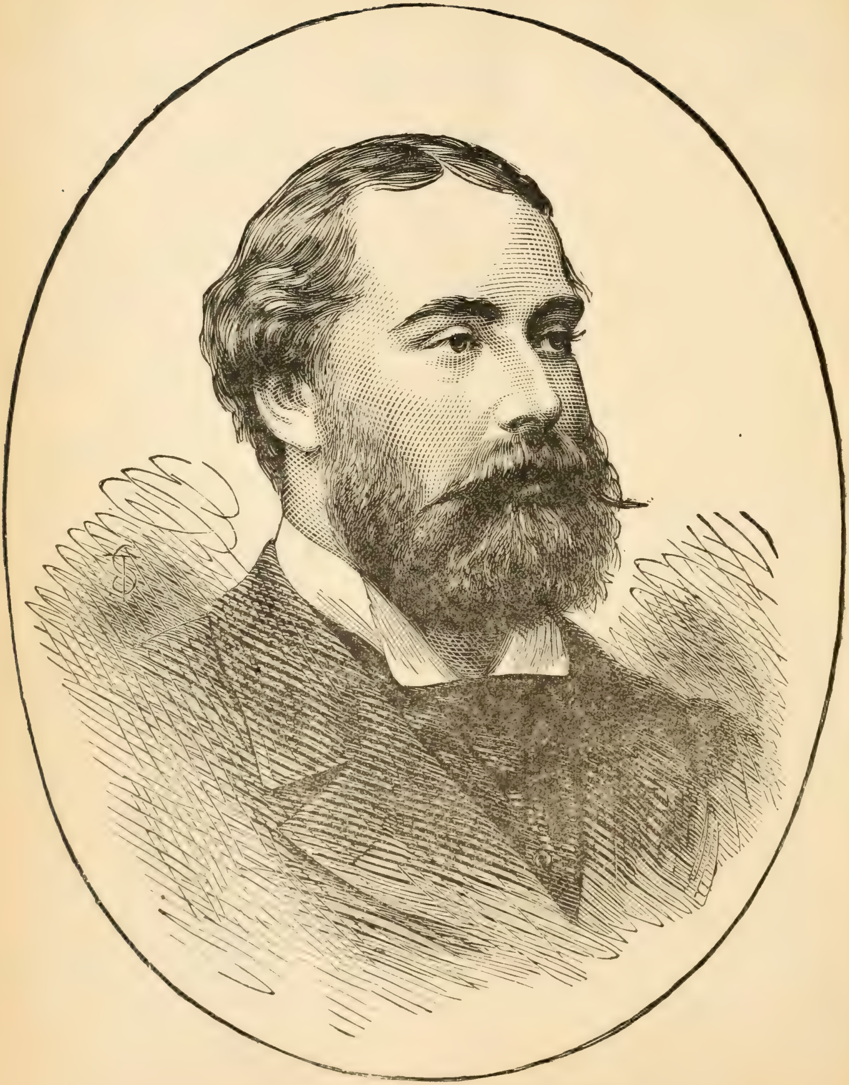
"On the present occasion it is a matter of peculiar gratification to us as Englishmen to receive as our guest General Grant. (Cheers.) I can assure him for myself, and for all loyal subjects of the Queen, that it has given us the greatest pleasure to see him as a guest in this country." (Cheers.)

Earl Carnarvon proposed the health of the visitors, and coupled with it General Grant's name. He said:

"Strangers of all classes, men of letters, arts, science, state, and all that has been most worthy and great, have, as it were, come to this centre of old civilization. I venture, without disparagement to any of those illustrious guests, to say that never has there been one to whom we willingly accord a freer, fuller, heartier welcome than we do to General Grant.

"On this occasion, not merely because we believe he has performed the part of a distinguished general, nor because he has twice filled the highest office which the citizens of his great country can fill, but because we look upon him as representing that good-will and affection which ought to subsist between us and the United States. It has been my duty to be connected with the great Dominion of Canada, stretching several thousand miles along the frontier of the United States, and during the last three or four years I can truthfully say that nothing impressed me more than the interchange of friendly and good offices which took place between the two countries under the auspices of President Grant."

General Grant replied that he felt more impressed than he had possibly ever felt before on any occasion. He came here under the impression that this was Trinity House, and that trinity consisted of the army, navy and peace. He thought it was a place of quietude, where there would be no talk or toasts. He had been therefore naturally surprised at hearing both. He had heard some remarks from His Royal Highness which compelled him to say a word in response. He begged to thank His Highness for these remarks. There had been other things said during the evening highly gratifying to him.



ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES.

On the morning of the 23d General Grant paid a visit to Earl Russell, who was living in retirement at his home at Pembroke Lodge, in Richmond Park, a special gift to him from the Queen. His visit was a pleasant one, and the venerable English leader expressed himself as much gratified by the attention shown him by the General.

On the 25th General Grant attended an entertainment at the house of Mr. McHenry, the celebrated financier, and in the evening took dinner with Lord Derby at his house in St. James' Square.

On the afternoon of the 27th of June, General and Mrs. Grant, accompanied by Jesse Grant, Mr. and Mrs. Pierrepont and General Badeau, to whom invitations had also been extended, left London for Windsor. The trip was a short one, the train reaching the latter place in forty-five minutes from London. At half-past eight in the evening, the Queen, surrounded by her Court, received her guests in the beautiful corridor extending around the south and east sides of the quadrangle, and leading to her private apartments.

As the party were assembling for dinner the following dispatch was received and delivered by the Queen to General Grant:

"PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND.

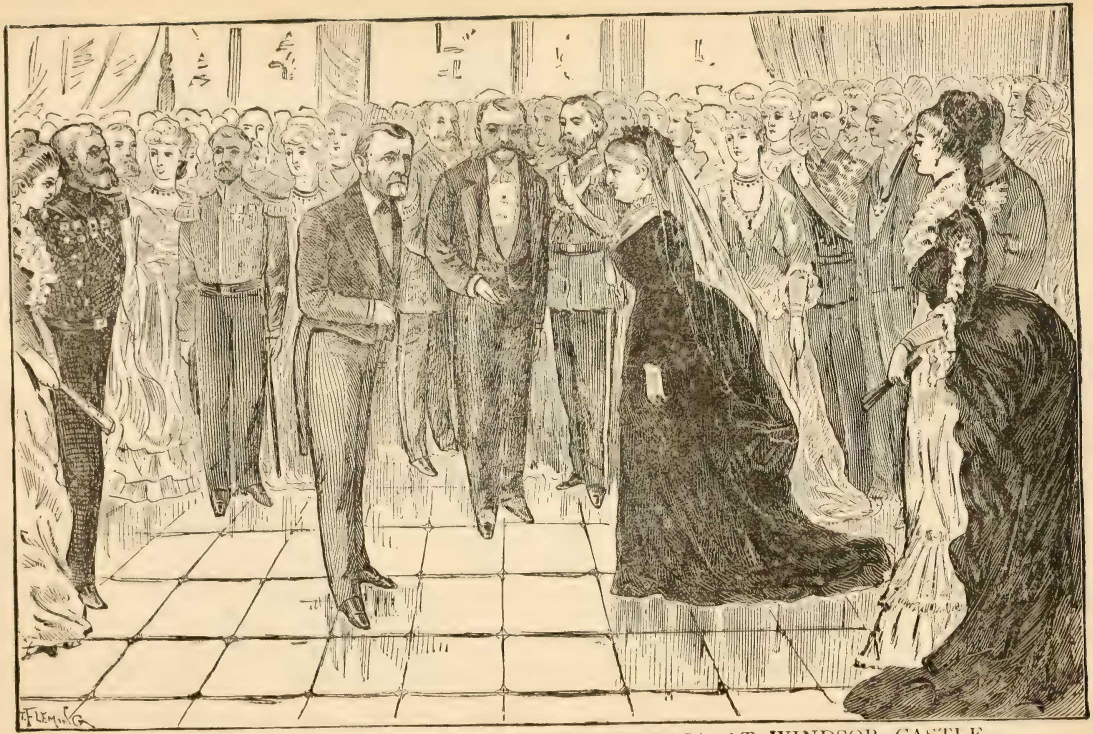
"*From* GENERAL HARTRANFT, *Commander-in-Chief, to* GENERAL U. S. GRANT, *Care of* HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

"Your comrades in national encampment assembled, in Rhode Island, send heartiest greeting to their old commander, and desire, through England's Queen, to thank England for Grant's reception."

General Grant having communicated the contents of this dispatch to Her Majesty, who expressed her gratification at the hearty greeting, returned the following reply:

"Grateful for telegram. Conveyed message to the Queen. Thank my old comrades."

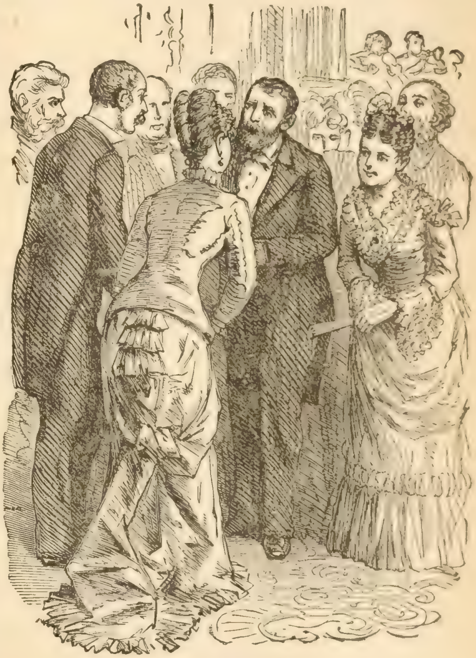
The dinner passed off pleasantly, and during its progress the band of the Grenadier Guards, stationed in the Quadrangle, discoursed sweet music. After the repast was over the Queen conversed for a while with her guests, and at ten o'clock withdrew, followed by her attendants. The remainder of the evening, until half-past eleven, was spent in



GEN. GRANT PRESENTED TO QUEEN VICTORIA AT WINDSOR CASTLE.

conversation and playing whist with the members of the Royal household. The next morning General Grant and party returned to London.

Later in the day the General, in company with his son Jesse and General Badeau, went to Liverpool, where the General was a guest at a dinner given in his honor by the mayor and corporation of that city. He thus fulfilled an engagement made at the time of his landing at Liverpool. Two hundred and fifty persons sat down to table, and the dinner was in all respects a marked success. The mayor proposed the health of General Grant, and the General responded in one of his happiest speeches. The next morning the party returned to London.



GRANT'S RECEPTION AT THE AMERICAN LEGATION.

On the evening of the Fourth there was a reception at the American Legation. The occasion was not a very ceremonious one; and with a single exception, only Americans were on guard that night. The exception was Monsignor Capel. The dinner was informal and private. Most of the distinguished Americans known to be passing through London were invited, and were present.

With the Fourth of July festivities General Grant's first visit to London came to an end. The season was over, and the people were leaving the city for the seaside and the other summer resorts patronized by the English. Dullness was settling down upon London, and there was but little to induce the General to remain in the metropolis. He therefore resolved to spend the remainder of the summer in a brief run to the Continent of Europe. Accordingly, on the morning of the 6th of July, he left London for Ostend, in Belgium, where the General and his party passed the night, and the next morning set out by rail for Brussels. At the ancient city of Ghent a halt was made. Accompanied by the American Consul at that place, the General and his party visited the principal points of interest in the city.

One of General Grant's first acts, after arriving in Brussels, was to visit Mr. A. P. Merrill, the American Minister, who was confined to his bed by illness.

On the 7th the General and his party visited the sights of the city, among them the Hotel de Ville, a beautiful structure, founded in 1400, and celebrated as one of the most perfect specimens of Gothic architecture in the world. It abounds in exquisite and quaint sculptures, and is surmounted by a pyramidal tower 368 feet in height. The General and his companions were recived by the municipal authorities, and were shown through the building. Among the objects of interest exhibited was the *Golden Book*, which contains the signatures of famous visitors to the place for generations back. The General, at the request of the authorities, inscribed his name in this volume. On the same day the General received a call at his hotel from King Leopold. They had a long and interesting conversation, and separated mutually pleased with each other. On the 8th General and Mrs. Grant returned the call of the King at the palace. In the evening the King entertained the General at a banquet, at which a brilliant company was present.

On Monday morning, July 9th, General Grant left Brussels for Cologne, travelling in the royal railway carriage, which the King had placed at his disposal. The distance from Brussels to Cologne is one hundred and forty-one miles, and the route lies through a charming and deeply interesting region.

General Grant was met upon his arrival in the city by the civil and military authorities of the place, and was cordially welcomed by them to Cologne. He then visited the prominent places of interest in the city.

On the morning of the 10th General Grant and his party embarked in one of the little steamers navigating the Rhine, and ascended that river as far as Coblentz. The voyage was delightful, the travellers passing the university town of Bonn, and enjoying fine views of the Siebengebirge and the Drachenfels, the scene of Siegfried's fight with and victory over the dragon, whose blood made him invulnerable. Rolandseck, with its ruined castle, and the island of Nonnenwerth, with its nunnery, or "kloster," reminding the traveller of the sad legend of Roland and Hildegunde, were passed, and in the afternoon the travellers entered the magnificent region lying below Coblentz.

The balance of the day and the night were passed at Coblentz, which town is situated between the rivers Rhine and Moselle. It is triangular in shape, is defended by powerful fortifications, and is the bulwark of Germany.

On the 11th General Grant visited Wiesbaden, one of the most beautiful and famous watering-places on the Continent; and on the 12th went to Frankfort, where he was met by a committee of ten gentlemen, representing the American citizens of the place, and conducted to the Hotel de Russie. In the evening he was entertained by his fellow-countrymen in Frankfort at dinner in the celebrated *Palmen Garten*, one hundred and fifty gentlemen being present on the occasion. After dinner he strolled through the gardens, which were densely crowded by persons who were anxious to see him.

On the 13th the General and his party made an excursion to Homburg, a noted watering-place, where he was received by a committee of Americans, headed by ex-Governor Ward, of New Jersey. This was formerly one of the most noted gambling places in Europe, but in 1872 gaming was suppressed by law. The General and his companions, after seeing the sights of Homburg, drove to Salburg, near which is a celebrated Roman camp, which is carefully preserved by the Prussian Government. The General was received by the officers in charge of it, who caused the grave of a Roman soldier, who had been dead for over eighteen hundred years, to be opened. Returning to Homburg, the General dined with his American friends, and spent the balance of the evening in strolling through the beautiful gardens of the Kursaal, which were brilliantly illuminated in his honor. At eleven o'clock P. M. the party took the cars for Frankfort. On the 14th some of the noted wine-cellars of Frankfort were visited, and there was a dinner in the Zoological Gardens.

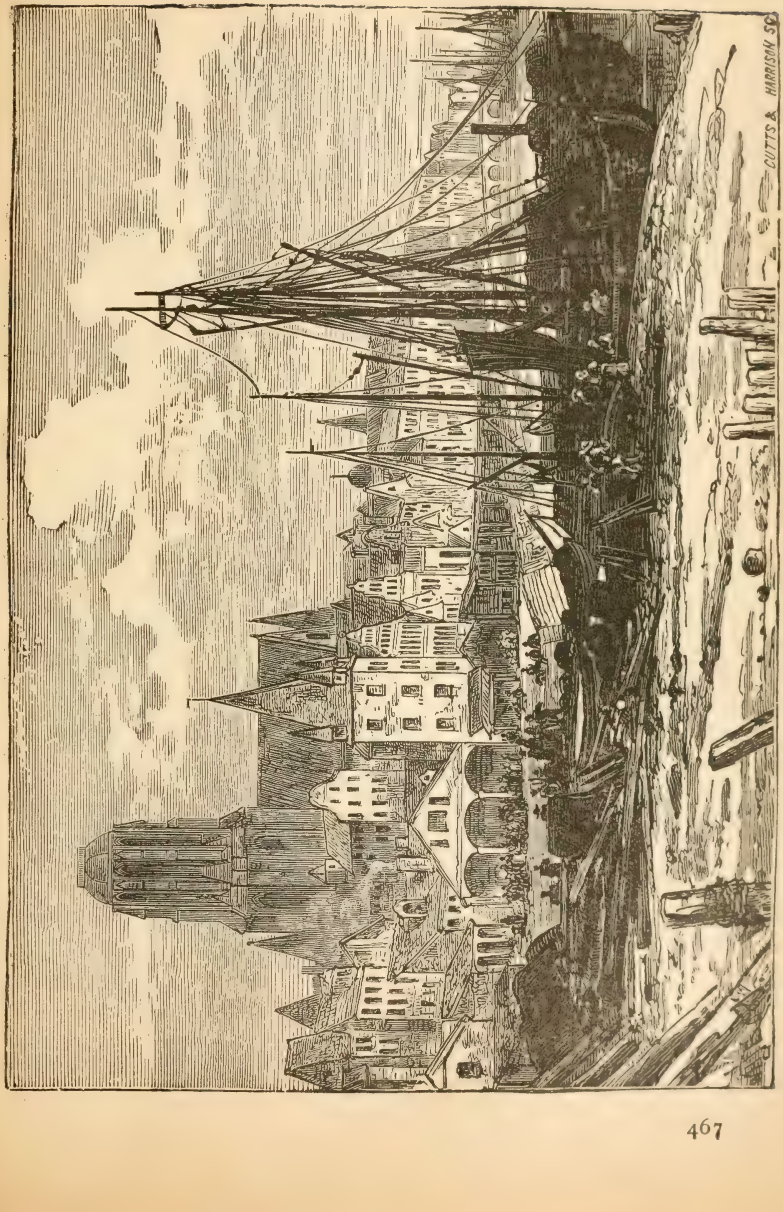
On Sunday morning, July 15th, the General and his party proceeded from Frankfort to Heidelberg, the interesting capital of the old Palatinate.

From there General Grant went to Baden-Baden, one of the most noted as well as the most beautiful towns. A brief and pleasant stay was made here, and the famous Black Forest was visited, after which the party proceeded to Switzerland.

The route travelled by the General and his party lay through Basle, Lucerne, Interlaken and Berne, to Geneva. But a brief halt was made at Basle, which lies on both sides of the Rhine, and in full view of the Black Forest and the Jura.

From Basle the General and his party proceeded direct to Lucerne, travelling by the Central Swiss Railway. After visiting the most celebrated and beautiful places, including Berne, Lucerne, Thun, Interlaken, Geneva, Chamounix, Mont Blanc, the lakes of Upper Italy, the Splügen Pass, the Via Mala, and availing himself of the benefits of the celebrated Springs of Pfaeffers, General Grant proceeded, *via* Zurich, direct to Strasburg and Metz, where he inspected the fortifications and some of the most celebrated battle-fields of the Franco-German War. *Via* Antwerp, he returned to England, reaching London on the 27th of August.

General Grant, having promised to visit Scotland, determined to devote to that purpose the first weeks following his return from the Continent. He proceeded direct from London to Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 31st of August. He was received by the Lord Provost in a speech marked by eloquence and warmth of feeling, and was the



FRANKFORT ON THE MAIN.—VISITED BY GENERAL GRANT.

guest of that high official during his stay in Scotland. Among the honors shown him was the presentation of the freedom of the city. This ceremony took place at the Free Assembly Hall, and in the presence of some two thousand of the principal citizens of Edinburgh. The Lord Provost's address was hearty and cordial, and General Grant said, in reply:

"I am so filled with emotion that I hardly know how to thank you for the honor conferred upon me by making me a burgess of this ancient City of Edinburgh. I feel that it is a great compliment to me and to my country. Had I eloquence, I might dwell somewhat on the history of the great men you have produced, or the numerous citizens of this city and Scotland that have gone to America, and the record they have made. We are proud of Scotchmen as citizens of America. They make good citizens of our country, and they find it profitable to themselves. (Laughter.) I again thank you for the honor you have conferred upon me."

General Grant visited the various points of interest in Edinburgh during his stay in that city, and was greatly pleased with the beauty and splendor of the Scottish metropolis.

On the evening of the day of his arrival in Scotland, General Grant dined with the Lord Provost, and met Major-General Stewart, the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in Scotland, and several other distinguished officers.

The next day, Saturday, September 1st, an excursion was made to the Tay Bridge, after which the party sailed across the Firth of Tay in the steam-tug "Elsinore," and landed at Dundee, which city is picturesquely situated on the north side of the Firth.

On the 13th of September General Grant made a visit to Glasgow, and was formally presented with the freedom of the city. The ceremony took place in the Town Hall, one of the largest halls in the city, which was filled with an audience representing the most prominent citizens of the place. The Lord Provost, addressing General Grant in a complimentary speech, delivered to him the address of the Common Council in which the honorary freedom of the city was conferred upon him. This address stated that the Common Council of the city of Glasgow admitted and re-

PALACE OF HOLYROOD—VISITED BY GENERAL GRANT.

ceived, and hereby admit "and receive, General Ulysses Simpson Grant, ex-President of the United States of America, to be a burgess and guild brother of the city and royal burgh of Glasgow, in recognition of his distinguished abilities as a statesmen and administrator, his successful efforts in the noble work of emancipating his country from the horrors of slavery, and of his great services in promoting commerce and amity between the United States and Great Britain."

The reading of this address was received with great applause. General Grant replied as follows:

"I rise to thank you for the great honor that has been conferred upon me this day by making me a free burgess of this great city of Glasgow. The honor is one that I shall cherish, and I shall always remember this day. When I am back in my own country I will be able to refer with pride not only to my visit to Glasgow, but to all the different towns in this kingdom that I have had the pleasure and honor of visiting. (Applause). I find that I am being made so much a citizen of Scotland, it will become a serious question where I shall go to vote. (Laughter and applause). You have railroads and other facilities for getting from one place to another, and I might vote frequently in Scotland by starting early. I do not know how you punish that crime over here; it is a crime that is very often practised by people who come to our country and become citizens there by adoption. In fact, I think they give the majority of the votes. I do not refer to Scotchmen particularly, but to naturalized citizens. But, to speak more seriously, ladies and gentlemen, I feel the honor of this occasion, and I beg to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the kind expression of your audience."

On the 14th of September the General visited Ayr, in the vicinity of which the poet Burns was born. The humble cottage in which he saw the light, the "Twa Brigs," "Alloway's auld haunted Kirk," the tomb of the poet, and the other points of interest were each visited in their turn, the excursion being one of the pleasantest of the General's tour. The next excursion was through the picturesque region of Lochs Lomond and Catrine, at the close of which General Grant and his party went to Inverary, the county-town of Argyleshire. Here they spent a day or two, as the guest of the Duke of Argyle, at his fine seat of Inverary Castle, which lies near the town.

General Grant now set out on his return to England. His route lay through the manufacturing districts of that kingdom, and everywhere he was welcomed with enthusiasm. He left Edinburgh on September 19th, and arrived at Newcastle on the 20th. General and Mrs. Grant drove direct to the Mansion House, the residence of the Mayor, whose guests they were. In response to the calls of the crowd without they appeared on the balcony, and were loudly cheered. In the evening they dined with the Mayor and two hundred invited guests.

On Friday, the 21st, the General and his party began their inspection of the sights of the town. Newcastle-upon-Tyne lies on the north bank of the Tyne, about ten miles above its mouth.

The General visited the old Castle, of which the beautiful Norman chapel is still preserved. An address was presented to the General by the Newcastle and Gateshead Incorporated Chamber of Commerce, in which the natural wealth, the manufactures and commerce of the Tyne district were explained. "The various branches of the iron trade," the address continued, "includes melting the ore into pig iron, the manufacture of all kinds of wrought iron, rails, machines, ordnance, and the building of iron vessels, for which our river is famous. The shipment of coal from the town exceeds 7,109,000 tons per annum, and the number of vessels annually leaving the river, engaged in the coal trade or loaded with the produce of our manufactories, is larger than the number leaving any other port in the world."

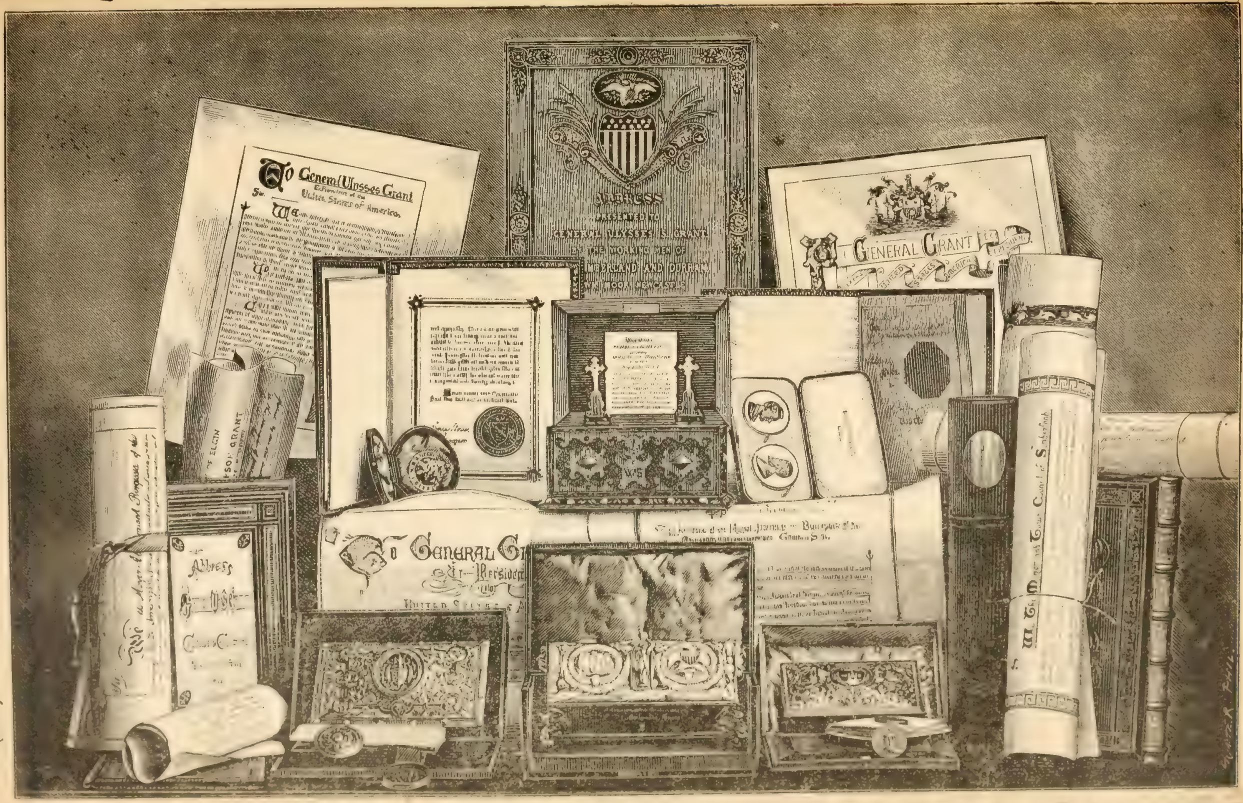
General Grant replied in suitable terms to this address, and the party then drove to the new Tyne Swing Bridge, which was inspected. They then embarked on the steamer "Commodore." The shipping was decorated with flags, and salutes from cannon and the blowing of fog and steam whistles made a noisy demonstration. The General took his position in the forward part of his boat, and bowed his acknowledgments as she passed along.

On the 26th of September the General and his party reached Sheffield, one of the principal manufacturing cities of England. From the station the party drove to Cutler's Hall. The General was there received by the Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors in their robes of office. Seats of honor were placed for him and Mrs. Grant by the chair of the Mayor, who cordially welcomed the General to Sheffield.

The next day, the 27th, the General and his party visited a number of the manufacturing establishments of Sheffield. In the evening there was a brilliant banquet at Cutler's Hall, at which speeches, complimentary to the General, were made.

TOMB OF SHAKESPEARE IN THE CHURCH OF STRATFORD-ON-AVON.

The next morning, September 28, the party left Sheffield for Stratford-on-Avon, which place was reached at eleven o'clock. The General and his companions were met at the station by the Mayor, and were driven to the beautiful Gardens, through which they strolled. Then the Church of the Holy Cross and the Grammar School were visited. At the latter place they were shown the seat occupied by Shakespeare when a school-boy, and where he conned his daily task. Then followed a visit to the Shakespeare Me-



PRESENTS RECEIVED BY GENERAL GRANT WHILE IN EUROPE.

morial, after which the party repaired to the Church of the Holy Trinity, in which Shakespeare is buried. The house in which he was born was also visited. It is now a Museum, and is filled with interesting relics of the immortal bard. An excursion was also made to the cottage of Anne Hathaway, whom Shakespeare married when he was but eighteen years of age, and which lies about a mile distant from the town. An address was presented to him in a casket made of the wood of a mulberry tree planted by Shakespeare.

On the 29th the General and his party left Stratford for Leamington, one of the prettiest and most noted watering-places of England.

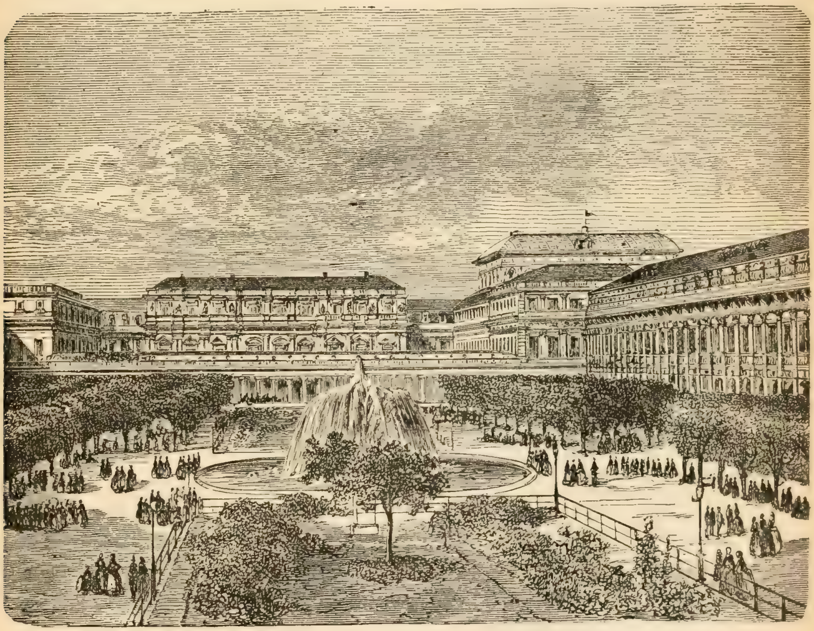
Upon the arrival of the train the General and his party found the town decorated with flags, and with a triumphal arch, bearing the inscription, "Welcome to the Royal Borough." The General was received by a guard of honor of the Leamington Volunteers. The Mayor delivered a complimentary address of welcome, which was cordially replied to by General Grant. The sights of the town were then visited, and excursions were made to Kenilworth and Warwick Castles.

General and Mrs. Grant now brought their journey through the midland counties to a close, and hastening to Southampton, spent some days with their daughter, Mrs. Sartoris.

On the 10th of October General Grant went to Birmingham, in compliance with a promise made some time before to visit that city. He was met by the Mayor and city authorities, and was conducted to the Town Hall, where he was presented with addresses from the City Corporation, the Workingmen and the Midland International Arbitration Union. The Mayor delivered an eloquent speech of welcome, which was responded to by General Grant, who also replied in suitable terms to the other addresses. After these ceremonies the General visited the Free Library, the Art Gallery and several other places of interest, and then went to the residence of Mr. Chamberlain, Member of Parliament for Birmingham, whose guest he was during his stay in the city.

On the 24th of October, 1877, General Grant, accompanied by his wife, his son Jesse, and Mr. John Russell Young, left Charing Cross in a special train for Folkestone, from which point the passage of the Channel was to be made. A crowd of Americans assembled at the station to bid him farewell, and the train departed amid their hearty cheers.

Just before Paris was reached General Noyes, the American Minister to France, General Torbert, the American Consul-General at Paris, and an aid-de-camp of Marshal MacMahon entered the car. The aid-de-camp, in the name of the President of the French Republic, welcomed General Grant to France. At the depot a large crowd of Americans assembled to welcome him.



GENERAL GRANT VISITS THE GARDENS OF THE PALAIS ROYAL, PARIS.

General Grant remained in Paris from the 24th of October until near the middle of December.

It would not be possible to give here a detailed description of all the places in Paris visited by General Grant, so we must content ourselves with describing a few of the most prominent, and with a general view of the beautiful city.

On the 25th of October, the day following his arrival, General Grant made a formal visit to Marshal MacMahon, the President of the French Republic, and was cordially received by him. He was accompanied by Mrs. Grant. Madame MacMahon acted as interpreter upon this occasion. The Marshal said he was much gratified to make the acquaintance of so illustrious a soldier. He offered to open all the French military establishments to his inspection, and to furnish him means of knowing everything he desired concerning French military affairs. General Grant accepted the offer with thanks.

On the 29th of October General Noyes, the American Minister to France, held a reception in honor of General Grant at his residence in the Avenue Josephine. It was a very brilliant affair.

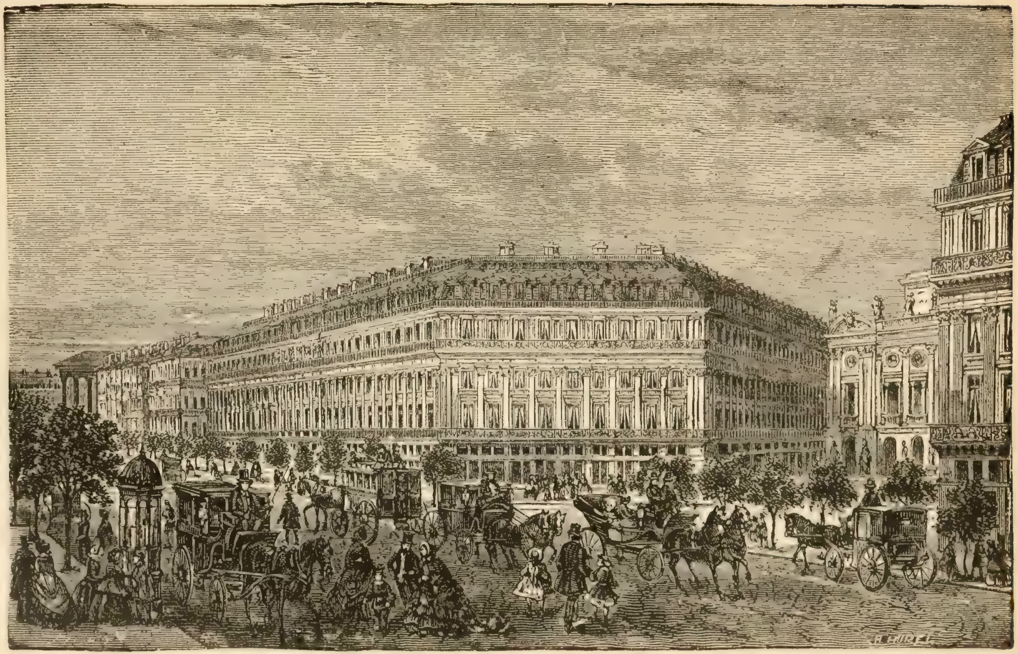
The reception, which followed the banquet, was attended by President MacMahon, who wore the Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honor. A large number of Americans, the entire Diplomatic Corps, and the *élite* of French society were present at the reception. The rooms were beautifully decorated and the building was illuminated.

On the 1st of November Marshal MacMahon entertained General Grant at a State dinner at the Elysée. It was attended by the entire Cabinet, the American Minister, and a brilliant company of distinguished Frenchmen, and a number of ladies, including Mrs. Grant and Madame MacMahon.

After a short trip through Southern France General Grant and his party went, *via* Marseilles and Nice, to Villa Franca.

Here the General found the United States war steamer "Vandalia," which had been ordered by the American Government to convey him and his party to Egypt and such other places on the Mediterranean as he should desire to visit.

On the 17th of December, 1877, the "Vandalia" cast anchor in the harbor of Naples.



GRAND HOTEL—THE HEADQUARTERS FOR AMERICANS IN PARIS.

On the following day General Grant visited Mount Vesuvius and the ruined city of Pompeii.

Mr. Young thus describes the visit:

"We arrived at Pompeii early in the morning, considering that we had to ride fourteen or fifteen miles; but the morning was cold enough to be grateful to our northern habits, and there was sunshine. Our coming had been expected, and we were welcomed by a handsome young guide, who talked a form of English in a rather high key, as though we were a little hard of hearing. This guide informed us that he had waited on General Sheridan when he visited Pompeii. He was a soldier, and we learned that the guides are all soldiers, who receive duty here as a reward for meritorious service. There was some comfort in seeing Pompeii accompanied by a soldier, and a brave one. This especial guide was intelligent, bright, and well up in all concerning Pompeii. We entered the town at once through a gate leading through an embankment. Although Pompeii, so far as excavated, is as open to the air as New York, it is surrounded by an earthen mound, resembling some of our railway embankments in America. Looking at it from the outside you might imagine it an embankment, and expect to see a train of cars whirling along the surface. It is only when you pass up a stone-paved slope a few paces that the truth comes upon you, and you see that you are in the City of Death. You see before you a long, narrow street running into other narrow streets. You see quaint, curious houses in ruins. You see fragments, statues, mounds, walls. You see curiously painted walls. You see where men and women lived and how they lived—all silent and all dead—and there comes over you that appalling story which has fascinated so many generations of men—the story of the destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

MRS. ULYSSES S. GRANT.

NAPLES, SHOWING MOUNT VESUVIUS, AS SEEN BY GENERAL GR

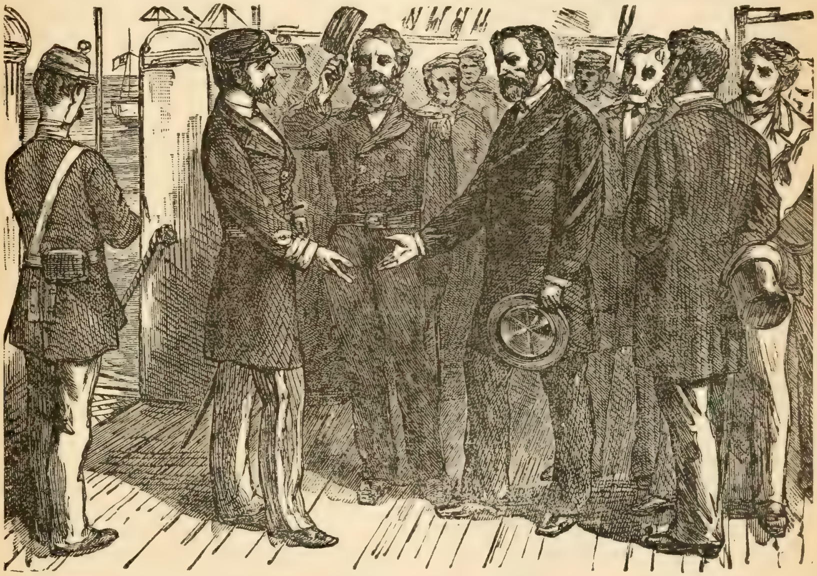
"The Italian authorities did General Grant special honor on his visit to Pompeii by directing that a house should be excavated. It is one of the special compliments paid to visitors of renown. Chairs were arranged for the General, Mrs. Grant, and some of us, and there quietly, in a room that had known Pompeiian life seventeen centuries ago, we awaited the signal that was to dig up the ashes that had fallen from Vesuvius that terrible night in August.

"We formed a group about the General, while the director gave the workmen the signal. The spades dived into the ashes, while with eager eyes we looked on. Nothing came of any startling import. There were two or three bronze ornaments, a loaf of bread wrapped in cloth, the grain of the bread and the fibre of the cloth as clearly marked as when this probable remnant of a humble meal was put aside by the careful housewife's hands. Beyond this and some fragments which we could not understand, this was all that came from the excavation of Pompeii. The director was evidently disappointed. He expected a skeleton at the very least to come out of the cruel ashes and welcome our renowned guest, who had come so many thousand miles to this Roman entertainment. He proposed to open another ruin, but one of our 'Vandalia' friends, a very practical gentleman, remembered that it was cold and that he had been walking a good deal and was hungry, and when he proposed that, instead of excavating another ruin, we should 'excavate a beefsteak' at the restaurant near the gate of the sea, there was an approval. The General, who had been leisurely smoking his cigar and studying the scene with deep interest, quietly assented, and, thanking the director for his courtesy, said he would give him no more trouble. So the laborers shouldered their shovels and marched off to their dinner, and we formed in a straggling, slow procession, and marched down the street where Nero rode in triumph, and across the Forum, where Cicero may have thundered to listening thousands, and through the narrow streets, past the wine-shops filled with jars which contain no wine—past the baker's, whose loaves are no longer in demand—past the thrifty merchant's, with his sign warning idlers away, a warning that has been well heeded by generations of men—past the house of the tragic poet, whose measures no longer burden the multitude, and down the smooth, slippery steps that once led through the gate opening to the sea—steps over which fishermen trailed their nets and soldiers marched in stern procession—into the doors of a very modern tavern. Pompeii was behind us, and a smiling Italian waiter welcomed us to wine and corn, meat and bread, olives and oranges. Around his wholesome board we gathered, and talked of the day and the many marvels we had seen."

On the 22d the "Vandalia" sailed from Naples for Sicily, and at noon on the 23d of December dropped anchor in the harbor of Palermo.

On Christmas morning the ships in the harbor were gayly dressed with flags and bunting in honor of the General. At noon the Prefect of Palermo came on board in his state barge, and was received with a salute of fifteen guns. He tendered to General Grant the cordial hospitalities of the city; but as the duration of the General's stay would not permit him to accept them, they were declined with thanks. In the evening there was a pleasant dinner in the ward-room of the "Vandalia," given by the officers of the ship in honor of General and Mrs. Grant.

From Palermo the "Vandalia" sailed for Malta, passing through the Straits of Messina. The passage of the straits was made by daylight, and the travellers had a fine view of the shores of the mainland of Italy and of Sicily.



GENERAL GRANT MEETING THE DUKE OF EDINBURG.

At noon General Grant visited the Governor-General of Malta. A regiment was drawn up in front of the palace as a guard of honor. The governor received the General and party at the door of the palace, surrounded by his council and a group of Maltese noblemen.

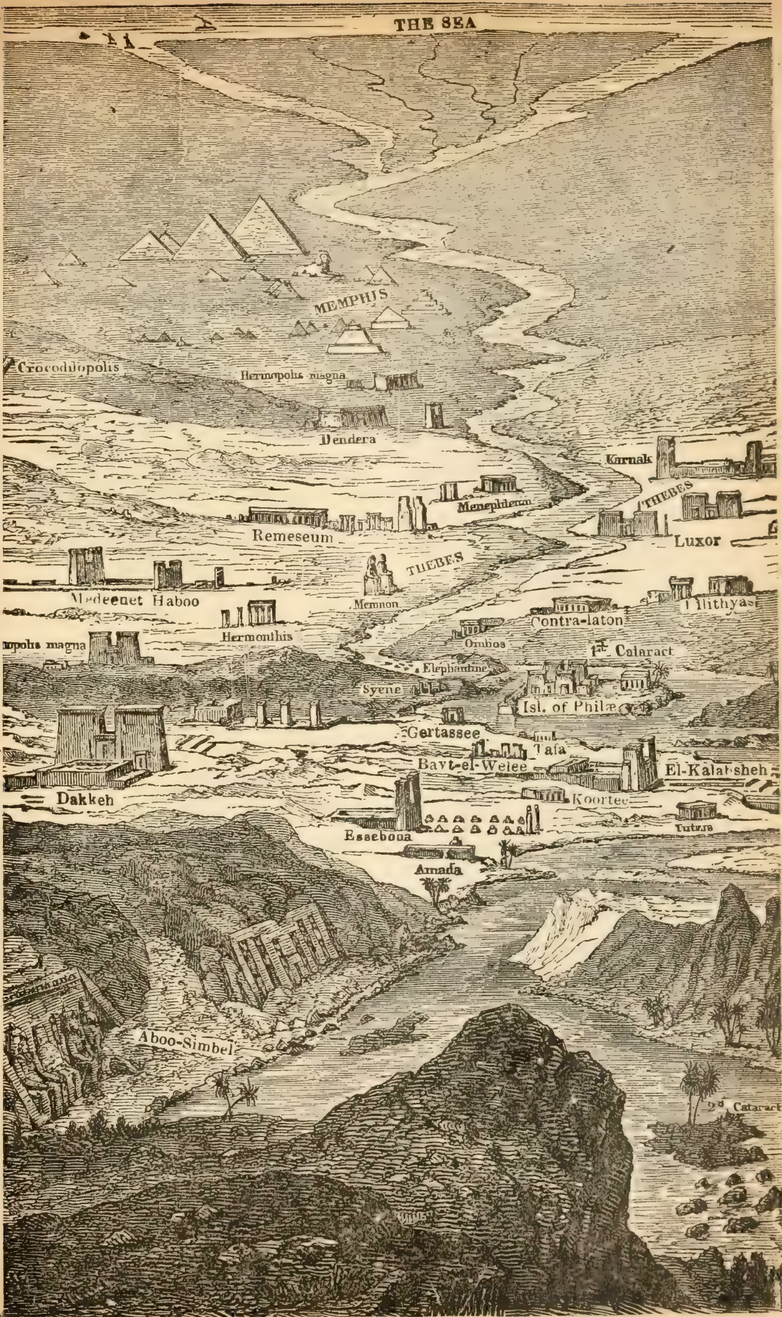
On the following day a pleasant visit was made to the Duke of Edinburgh on board the "Sultan." On the 31st the "Vandalia" steamed out of the harbor of Valetta, and turned her head toward the coast of Egypt.

# CHAPTER XIV.

General Grant and Party arrive at Alexandria, Egypt—Leaving of the "Vandalia"—Arrival at Cairo—Meeting Stanley—A Visit to the Khedive—Up the Nile—Brugsch Bey—Abydos—Tebes—Luxor—Karnak—Memphis—Port Said—Palestine—Constantinople—Athens—Corinth—Syracuse—Rome—General Grant visits King Umberto—Call of Cardinal McCloskey—The St. Peter's Cathedral—General Grant at Florence, Venice, Milan, Genoa—Return to Paris—Visits the International Exhibition—Holland—The Cleanest Town in the World—General Grant leaves for Germany.

On the 5th of January, 1878, the coast of Egpyt was sighted, and on the same day the "Vandalia" cast anchor in the harbor of Alexandria.

The "Vandalia" had hardly anchored in the harbor of Alexandria, when the governor of the district, the admiral and the generals, pachas and beys, the consul-general and the missionaries all came on board. The receptions lasted an hour; and as each officer was saluted according to his rank, and the salutes were returned, there was smoke enough in the air for a naval engagement, and we could almost fancy another battle of the Nile like that fought only a short distance up the coast, one eventful day, nearly eighty years ago. The governor, in the name of the Khedive, welcomed General Grant to Egypt, and offered him a palace in Cairo and a special steamer up the Nile. It is Oriental etiquette to return calls as soon as possible, and, accordingly, in the afternoon, the General, accompanied by his son, Commander Robeson, Chief Engineer Trilley and Lieutenant Handy, of the navy, landed in the official barge. As this was an official visit, the "Vandalia" manned the yards and fired twenty-one guns. These salutes were responded to by the Egyptian vessels. A guard of honor received the General at the palace, and the reception was after the manner of the Orientals. We enter a spacious chamber, and are seated on a cushioned seat or divan, according to rank. The pacha offers the company cigarettes. Then compliments are exchanged, the pacha saying how proud Egypt is to see the illustrious stranger, and the General answering that he anticipates great pleasure in



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF EGYPT, SHOWING THE PLACES VISITED BY GENERAL GRANT.

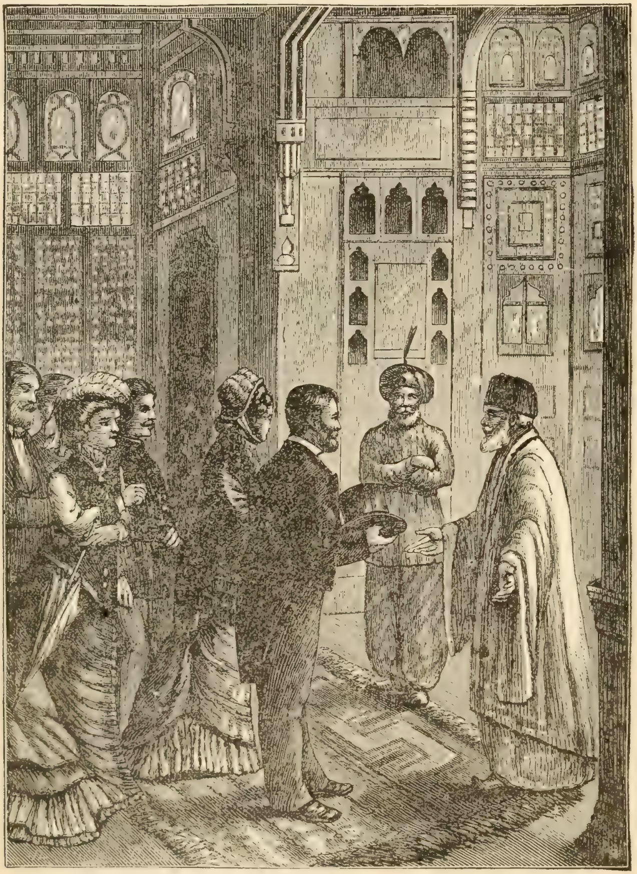
visiting Egypt. The pacha gives a signal, and servants enter, bearing little porcelain cups about as large as an egg, in filagree cases. This is the beverage—coffee—or, as was the case with this special pacha, a hot drink spiced with cinnamon. Then the conversation continues with judicious pauses, the Orientals being slow in speech and our General not apt to diffuse his opinions. In about five minutes we arise and file down-stairs in slow, solemn fashion, servants and guards saluting, and the visit is over.

The General and Mrs. Grant went to dine, and in the evening we had a ball and a dinner at the house of our Vice-Consul, Mr. Salvago. This was an exceedingly brilliant entertainment, and interesting in one respect especially, because it was here that the General met my renowned friend and colleague, Henry M. Stanley, just fresh from the African wilderness. The General had heard of Stanley being in town, and had charged me to seek him out and ask him to come on board and dine. My letter missed Stanley, and we met at the consul's. Stanley sat on the right of the General, and they had a long conversation upon African matters and the practical results of the work done by our intrepid friend.

At three o'clock on Monday we come to Cairo. There is a guard, a carpet way and a group of officers and civilians. The General, looking at the group, recognizes old friends. "Why," he says, "there's Loring, whom I have not seen for thirty years;" and "There's Stone, who must have been dyeing his hair to make it so white." The cars stop, and General Stone enters, presenting the representative of the Khedive. This officer extends the welcome of his highness, which General Grant accepts with thanks. General Loring comes in, and receives a hearty greeting from his old friend in early days and his enemy during the war. The General asks General Loring to ride with him, while General Stone accompanies Mrs. Grant, and so we drive off to the Palace of Kassr-el-Noussa—the palace placed at General Grant's disposal by the Khedive.

The General dined with his family, and next day called on the Khedive. We reached the palace shortly after

CAIRO FROM THE CITADEL—VIEWED BY GENERAL GRANT AND HIS PARTY eleven. There was a guard of honor, and the officers of the household were ranged on the stairs. We had scarcely entered when the carriage of the Khedive was announced. The General received the Khedive, who was accompanied by his secretary for foreign affairs, and welcomed him in the grand saloon. The officers of the "Vandalia" were present, and their striking uniforms, the picturesque costume of the Khedive and his attendants, and the splendid, stately decorations of the room in which they assembled made the group imposing. In the course of this conversation, General Grant spoke of General Stone, now chief



GENERAL GRANT VISITS THE KHEDIVE,

of staff to the Khedive. He said he had known General Stone from boyhood, and did not think he had his superior in our army; that he was a loyal and able man, and he was pleased to see him holding so important a command. The Khedive said he was very much pleased with General Stone; that he found him a most useful as well as a most able man, especially fitted to organize troops, and had made him a member of his privy council. At the close of the interview General Grant escorted the Khedive to his carriage. Official calls were then made upon the two sons of the Khedive, who at once returned the calls, and so ended our official duties.

During their stay in Cairo General Grant and his party made the usual visit to the Pyramids. The distance from Cairo to the Pyramids is six miles in an air line, but is much greater by the road.

The Khedive placed a government steamer at the service of General Grant for the Nile voyage; and, after a few days' stay in Cairo, "on Wednesday, the 16th of January," says Mr. Young, in his letter to the *New York Herald*, "we embarked on the Nile. As the hour of noon passed, the drawbridge opened, farewells were waved to the many kind friends who had gathered on the banks, and we shot away from our moorings, and out into the dark waters of the mighty and mysterious stream.

ISMAIL, EX-KHEDIVE OF EGYPT.

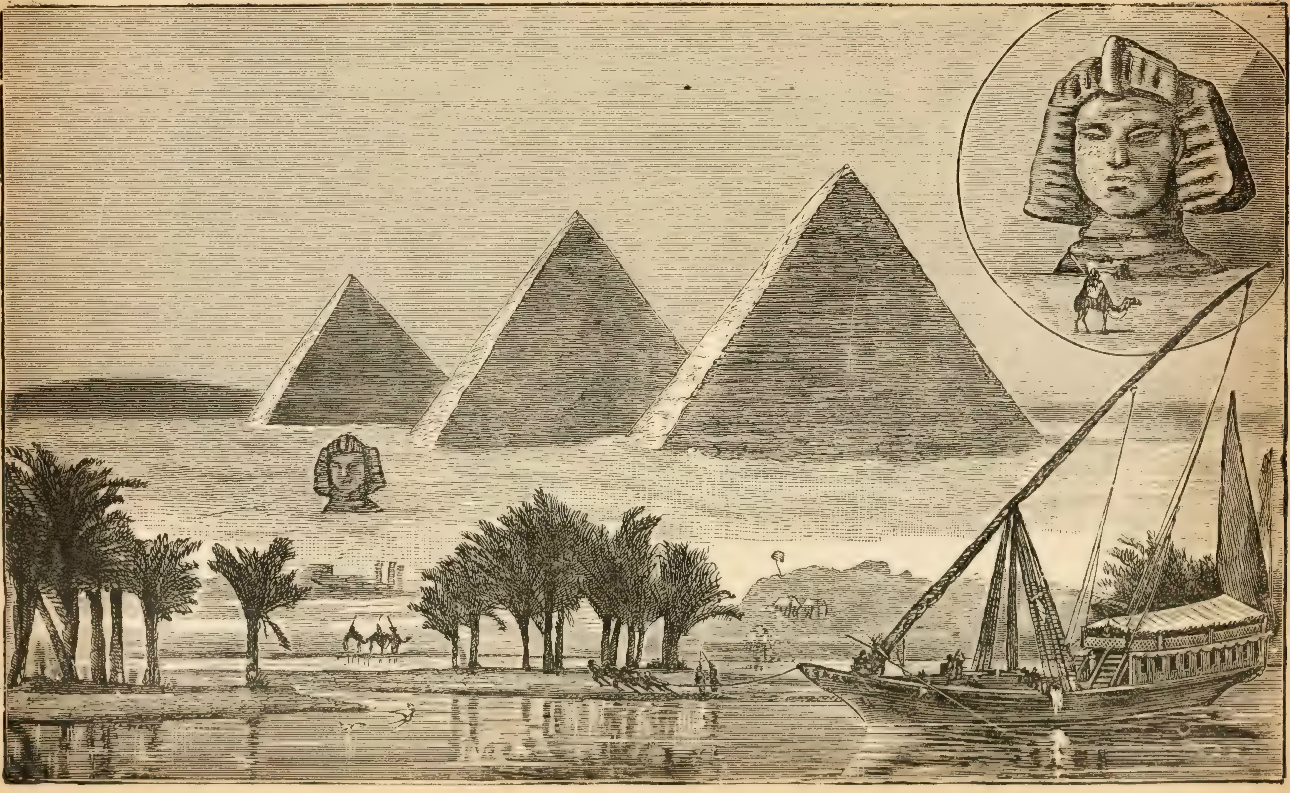
"We had many friends to see us off,—General Stone, Judge Batcheller and Judge Barringer, with their wives, General Loring, and others.

"At noon the signal for our journey is given and farewells are spoken, and we head, under full steam, for the equator.

"Our party is thus composed: We have the General, his wife and his youngest son, Jesse, Consul-General E. E. Farnan, his wife, Khawasse Hassam, and three naval officers. The Khedive has assigned us an officer of his household, Sami Bey, a Circassian gentleman, educated in England. Sami Bey is one of the heroes of our host, and we soon came to like him, Moslem as he is, for his quaint, cordial, kindly ways. I suppose we should call Sami Bey the executive officer of the expedition, as to him all responsibility is given. We have also with us, thanks to the kindness of the Khedive, Emile Brugsch, one of the directors of the Egyptian Museum. Mr. Brugsch is a German, brother to the chief director, who has made the antiquities of Egypt a study. Both were commissioners of the Egyptian Department at the Centennial Exhibition. Mr. Brugsch knows every tomb and column in the land. He has lived for weeks in the temples and ruins, superintending excavations, copying inscriptions, deciphering hieroglyphics, and his presence with us is an advantage that cannot be overestimated, for it is given to him to point with his cane and unravel mystery after mystery of the marvels engraved on the stones and rocks, while we stand by in humble and listening wonder. "What a blank our trip would be without Brugsch!" said the General, one day as we were coming back from a ruin—a ruin as absolute and meaningless as the Aztec mounds in New Mexico, but which our fine young friend had made as luminous as a page in Herodotus.

"The Nile boats seem arranged to meet any emergency in the way of land; for this river is sprawling, eccentric, comprehensive, without any special channel—running one way to-day, another next day. To know the river, therefore, must be something like knowing the temper of a whimsical woman—you must court and woo her and wait upon her humors.

"On the 21st of January we hauled up to the bank in the town of Girgeh. We found Admiral Steadman and Mr.



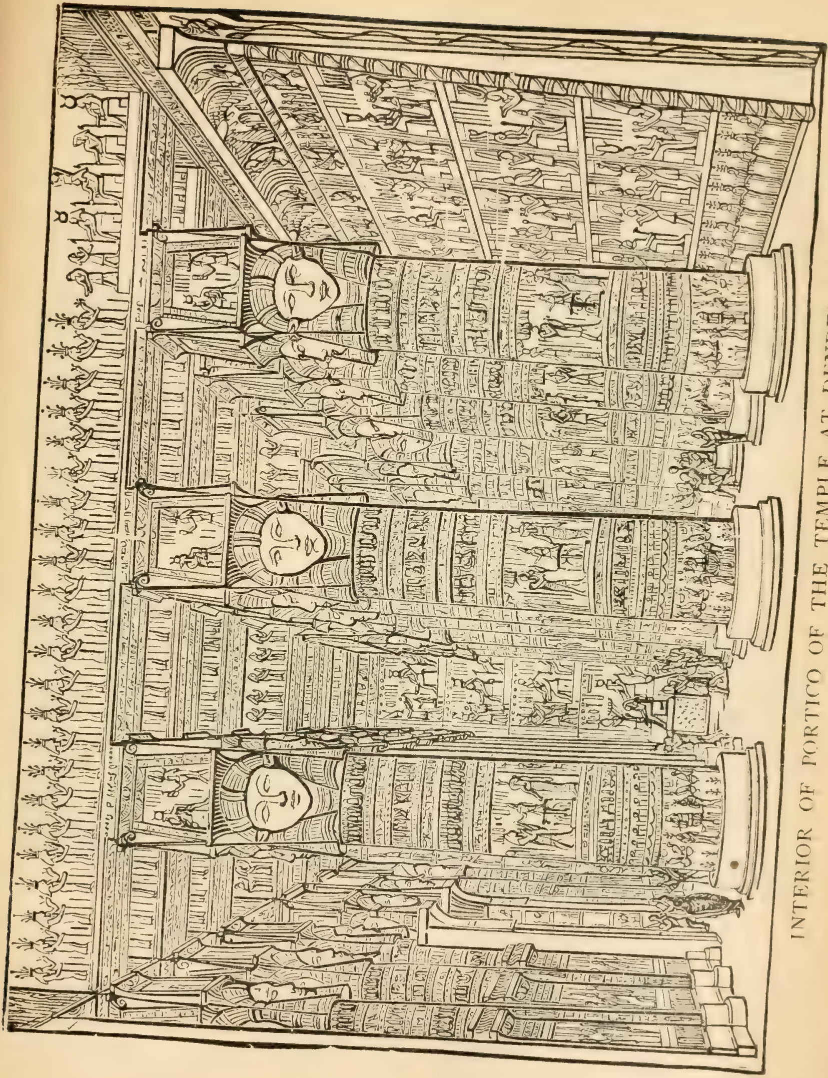
GRANT ASCENDING THE NILE IN THE KHEDIVE'S YACHT—LANDING NEAR THE PYRAMIDS.

Davis, of Boston, moored in their dahabeeah, and they repeated the same story that we heard all along the Nile, that they had had a good time, a splendid time—could not have had a better time.

"'Here,' said Brugsch, as we dismounted from our donkeys and followed him into the ruins of the temple, 'here we should all take off our hats, for here is the cradle, the fountain-head of all the civilization of the world.' This was a startling statement, but Brugsch is a serious gentleman and does not make extravagant speeches. Then he told us about Abydos, which lay around us in ruins. This was the oldest city in Egypt. It went back to Menes, the first of the Egyptian kings, who, according to Brugsch, reigned 4,500 years before Christ. It is hard to dispute a fact like this, and one of the party ventured to ask whether the civilization of China and India did not antedate, or claim to antedate, even Abydos. To be sure it did, but in China and India you have traditions; here are monuments. Here, under the sands that we are crunching with our feet, here first flowed forth that civilization which has streamed over the world.

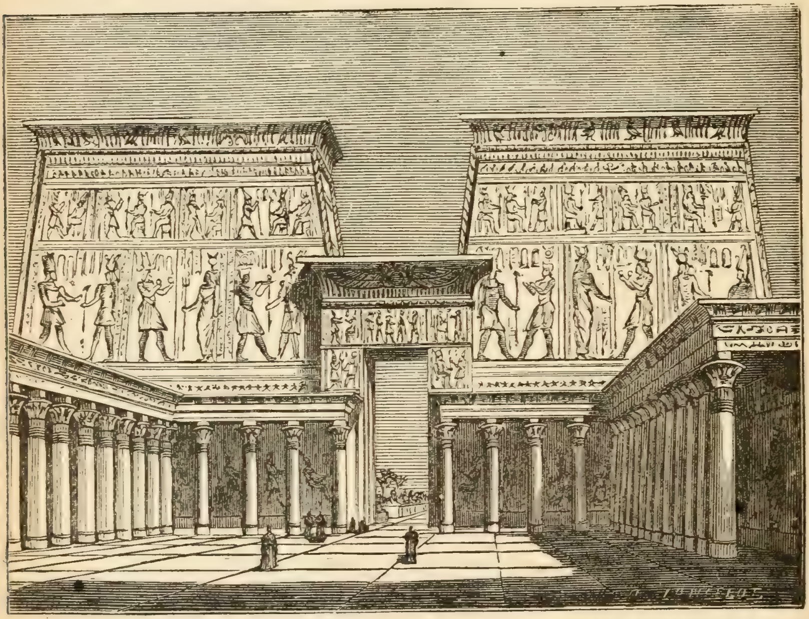
"We follow Brugsch out of the chamber and from ruined wall to wall. The ruins are on a grand scale. Abydos is a temple which the Khedive is rescuing from the sand. The city was in its time of considerable importance, but this was ages ago, ages and ages; so that its glory was dead even before Thebes began to reign. Thebes is an old city, and yet, I suppose, compared with Thebes, Abydos is as much older as one of the buried Aztec towns in Central America is older than New York.

"As we stood on the elevation, talking about Egypt and the impressions made upon us by our journey, the scene was very striking. There was the ruined temple; here were the gaping excavations, filled with bricks and pottery. Here were our party; some gathering beads and skulls and stones; others having a lark with Sami Bey; others following Mrs. Grant as a body-guard as her donkey plodded his way along the slopes. Beyond, just beyond, were rolling plains of shining sand—shining, burning sand—and, as the



INTERIOR OF PORTICO OF THE TEMPLE AT DENDERAH, EGYPT shrinking eye followed the plain and searched the hills, there was no sign of life. I have seen no scene in Egypt more striking than this view from the mounds of Abydos.

"By the time we approached Thebes we were well up in our Rameses, and knew all about Thebes, the mighty, the magnificent Thebes, the city of a world's renown, of which we had been reading and dreaming all these years. And as Brugsch, leaning over the rail, talked about Thebes, we listened and watched through the clear air for the first sign of its glory. There were the mountains beyond, the very mountains of which we had read, and there was the plain. But where was Thebes? We looked through our glasses and saw at first only the brown caverned hills, the parched fields and the shining sand. We looked again, and there, sure enough, were the colossal statues of Memnon, two broken pillars, so they seemed, with a clump of trees near them. Only the fields, the sand and the hills beyond; only the same cluster of hovels on the shore and the two distant



ANCIENT EGYPTIAN TEMPLE VISITED BY GENERAL GRANT.

columns. This was all that remained of the city that was the glory of the ancient world.

"There was one, at least, in that small company whose imagination fell, and who could scarcely believe that so much splendor could only be this barren plain. But this is no time for moral reflections, as we are coming into the town of Luxor, one fragment of the old city, and on the shore opposite to Memnon. The population of Luxor is on the river-bank; all the consulates have their flags flying. Right at the landing-place is a neat, three-storied stone building, painted white, with the American and Brazilian flags on the roof.

"The town of Luxor, as it is called, is really a collection of houses that have fastened upon the ruins of the old temple. This temple is near the river, and has a fine façade. It was built by Amunoph III. and Rameses II., who reigned between thirteen and fifteen hundred years before Christ. I am not very particular about the dates, because I have learned that a century or two does not make much difference in writing about the Egyptian dynasties. In fact, the scholars themselves have not agreed upon their chronology. There is a fine obelisk here, the companion of the one now standing in the Place de la Concorde, at Paris. There is a statue of Rameses, of colossal size, now broken and partly buried in the sand. The walls are covered with inscriptions of the usual character—the glory of the king, his victories, his majesty, his devotion to the gods, and the decree of the gods that his name will live for millions of years.

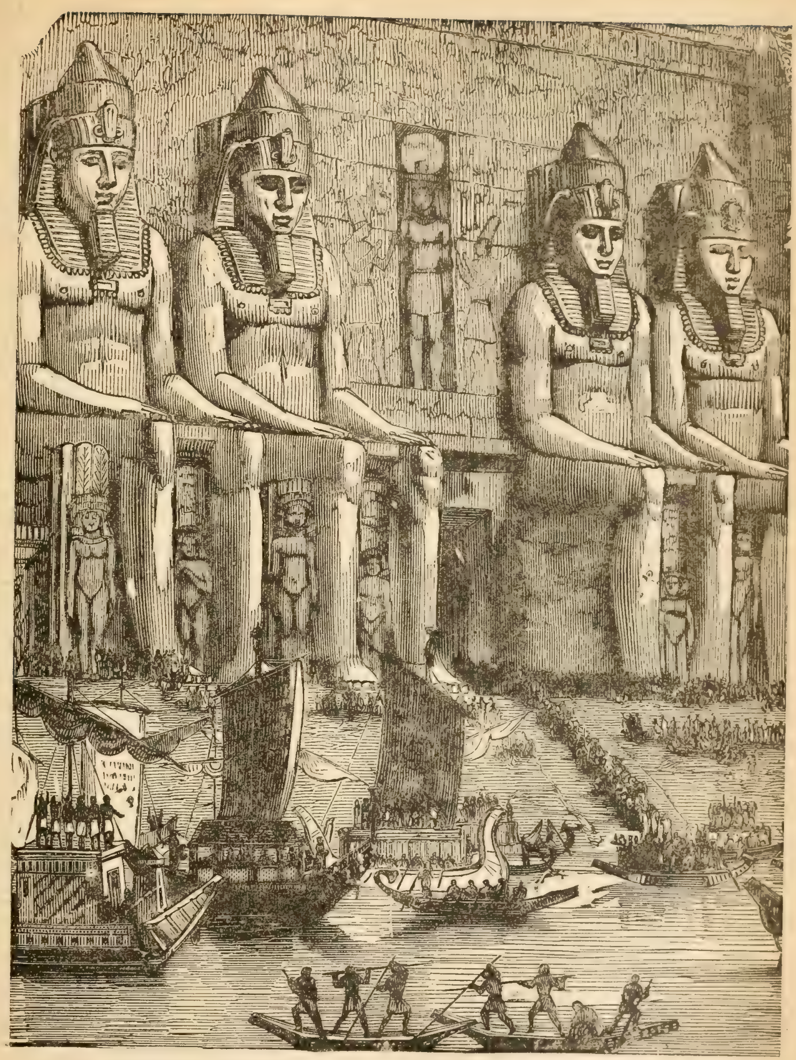
"In the morning we made ready for our trip to Memnon and the temple-home of Rameses. We had to cross the river, our boatmen singing their Arab music. And when we landed on the other shore, we had, thanks to the forethought of our consul at Thebes, a collection of stable donkeys, with a well-mounted horse for the General.

"We had seen Thebes; we had even begun to grow weary of Thebes. There was a dinner in state which had to be eaten.

"It was served in the upper chamber of the house, and the host sat on one side of the table, eating nothing, in a state of constant alarm, that made us sympathize with him. I suppose the honor of entertaining the Chief Magistrate of the United States, and the fear lest he might not do us all the honor he wished, oppressed him. The dinner was a stupendous affair, course after course in Oriental profusion, until we could not even pay the dishes the compliment of tasting them. Then came the coffee and the pipes. During the dinner a group of Arab minstrels came in and squatted on the floor. The leader of the band was blind, but his skill in handling his instrument was notable. It was a rude instrument, of the violin class, the body of it a cocoanut shell. He held it on the ground and played with a bow, very much as one would play a violoncello. He played love-songs and narratives, and under the promptings of Sami Bey, went through all the grades of his art.

"We were to see the wonder of the world in Karnak

"Karnak, which was not only a temple, but one in the series of temples which constituted Thebes, is about a half-mile from the river, a mile or two from the temple of Luxor. The front wall, or propylon, is three hundred and seventy feet broad, fifty feet deep, and the standing tower one hundred and forty feet high. Leading up to this main entrance is an avenue lined with statues and sphinxes, two hundred feet long. When you enter this gate you enter an open court-yard, two hundred and seventy-five feet by three hundred and twenty-nine. There is a corridor, or cloister, on either side; in the middle a double line of columns, of which one only remains. You now come to another wall, or propylon, as large as the entrance, and enter the great hall—the most magnificent ruin in Egypt. The steps of the door are forty feet by ten. The room is one hundred and seventy feet by three hundred and twenty-nine, and the roof was supported by one hundred and thirty-four columns. These columns are all, or nearly all, standing, but the roof has gone. The inscriptions on them are almost as clear as though they had been cut yesterday, so gentle is this climate in its dealings with time. They celebrate the victories and virtues of the kings who reigned seventeen hundred years before Christ, and promise the kings in the name of the



ROCK TEMPLE OF IPSAMBUL—VISITED BY GENERAL GRANT.

immortal gods that their glory shall live for ages. We pass into a chamber very much in ruins and see an obelisk ninety-two feet high and eight square,—the largest in the world. This monument commemorates the virtues of the king's daughter, womanly and queenly virtues, which met their reward, let us hope, thirty-five centuries ago. You may form some idea of what the Egyptians could do in the way of mechanics and engineering when you know that this obelisk is a single block of granite; that it was brought from the quarry miles and miles away.

"Wherever we find walls we have inscriptions. The inscriptions are in hieroglyphic language—a language as clear to scholars now as the Latin or the Sanskrit. Brugsch reads them off to us as glibly as though he were reading signs from a Broadway store. The stories will hardly bear repetition, for they are the same that we saw at Dendoreh, at Abydos, all through Egypt. They tell of battles and the glory of the king Rameses, who is supposed to be the Sesostris of the Greeks. We have him leading his men to attack a fortified place. Again we see him leading foot soldiers and putting an enemy to the sword. We have him leading his captives as an offering to the gods—and offering not only prisoners, but booty of great value. The groups of prisoners are rudely done, but you see the type of race clearly outlined. We knew the Hebrew by the unmistakable cast of features—as marked as the face of Lord Beaconsfield. We trace the Phœnician, the Etruscan, as well as the negro types from Ethiopia, and thus learn of the warlike achievements of this monarch, whose fame is carved all over Egypt, and about whose name there is an interesting debate. Again and again these war themes are repeated, one king after another reciting his conquests and his virtues, wars and treaties of peace. It seemed in the building of these temples that the intention was to make the walls monumental records of the achievements of various reigns. When the walls were covered, or a king wished to be especially gracious to the priests, or, as is more probable, desired to employ his soldiers, he would built a new wing, or addition, to the temple already existing, striving, if possible, to make his own addition more magnificent than those of his predecessors. In this way came the Great Hall of Karnak, and in every temple we have visited this has been noticed. As a consequence, these stupendous, inconceivable ruins were not the work of one prince and one generation, but of many princes and many generations. And, as there was always something to add and always a new ambition coming into play, we find these temples, tombs, pyramids, obelisks all piled one upon the other, all inspired by the one sentiment and all telling the same story. It was because Thebes was the centre of a rich and fertile province, sheltered from an enemy by the river and the mountains, that she was allowed to grow from century to century in uninterrupted splendor. What that splendor must have been we cannot imagine. Here are the records and here are the ruins. If the records read like a tale of enchantment, these ruins look like the work of gods. The world does not show, except where we have evidences of the convulsions of nature, a ruin as vast as that of Karnak. Imagine a city covering the two banks of the Hudson, for six or seven miles, all densely built, and you have an idea of the extent of Thebes. But this will only give you an idea of size. The buildings were not Broadways and Fifth Avenues, but temples and colossal monuments and tombs, the greatness of which, and the skill and patience necessary to build them, exciting our wonder to-day—yes, to-day, rich as we are with the achievements and possibilities of the nineteenth century. Thebes in its day must have been a wonder of the world, even of the ancient world which knew Nineveh and Babylon. To-day all that remains are a few villages of mud huts, a few houses in stone flying consular flags, a plain here and there strewed with ruins, and under the sands ruins even more stupendous than those we now see, which have not yet become manifest.

"Assouan was to be the end of our journey, the turning-point of our Nile trip.

"It was very warm when we gathered under the trees the next morning to make ready for our journey to Philæ.

We land and climb into the ruin. Philæ is not specially interesting as a temple after you have seen Thebes and Abydos. I can think of nothing useful to say about it, except that as a ruin it is picturesque.

We had seen the Nile for a thousand miles from its mouth, with no want of either comfort or luxury, and had made the trip much more rapidly than is the custom; as Sami Bey remarked, it had been the most rapid trip he had ever known. Now, when there was no help for it, we began to wish we had seen more of Dendoreh, and had not been content with so hurried a visit to Karnak—Karnak, the grandest and most imposing ruin in the world.

We now returned to Cairo and remained for a few days, making many interesting excursions and visits, and enjoying the continued hospitality of the Khedive.

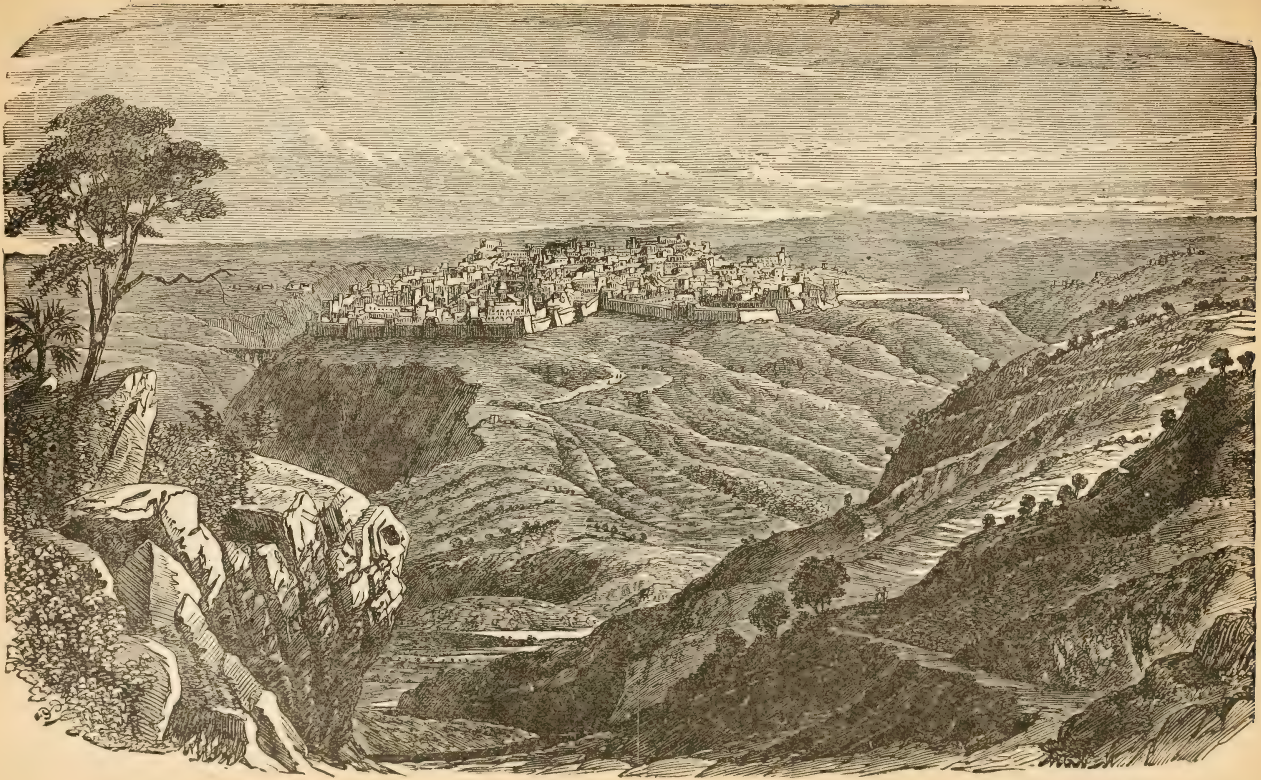
Bidding adieu to our friends at Cairo, we started for Port Said.

The "Vandalia" sailed from Port Said in the afternoon of February 9th, 1878, and the next morning the coast of Palestine was in full view. The travellers were on deck early, and they watched every point of this famous shore as they steamed rapidly past it. Soon after breakfast the "Vandalia" hove to off Jaffa. The American Consul, Mr. Hardegg, came on board to welcome General Grant to Syria, and in a little while the General and his party went ashore in the "Vandalia's" boat. Landing, they proceeded at once to the residence of Mr. Hardegg, in the suburbs of the town.

The party set out from Jaffa in the afternoon, going up to Jerusalem by the road traversed by most modern travellers.

"We had expected to enter Jerusalem in our quiet, plain way, pilgrims really coming to see the Holy City, awed by its renowned memories. But, lo! and behold, here is an army with banners, and we are commanded to enter as conquerors, in a triumphal manner!

"We were taken to a hotel—the only one of any size in the town. As I lean over the balcony, I look out upon an open street or market-place, where Arabs are selling fruits and grain, and heavy-laden peasants are bearing skins



DISTANT VIEW OF JERUSALEM—VISITED BY GENERAL GRANT.

filled with water. The market-place swarms with Jews, Arabs, Moslems, Christians. Horsemen are prancing about, while the comely young officer in command sits waiting, calmly smoking his cigarette. A group of beggars, with petitions in their hands, crowd the door of the hotel, waiting the coming of the man who, having ruled forty millions of people, can, they believe, by a wave of the hand, alleviate their woes."

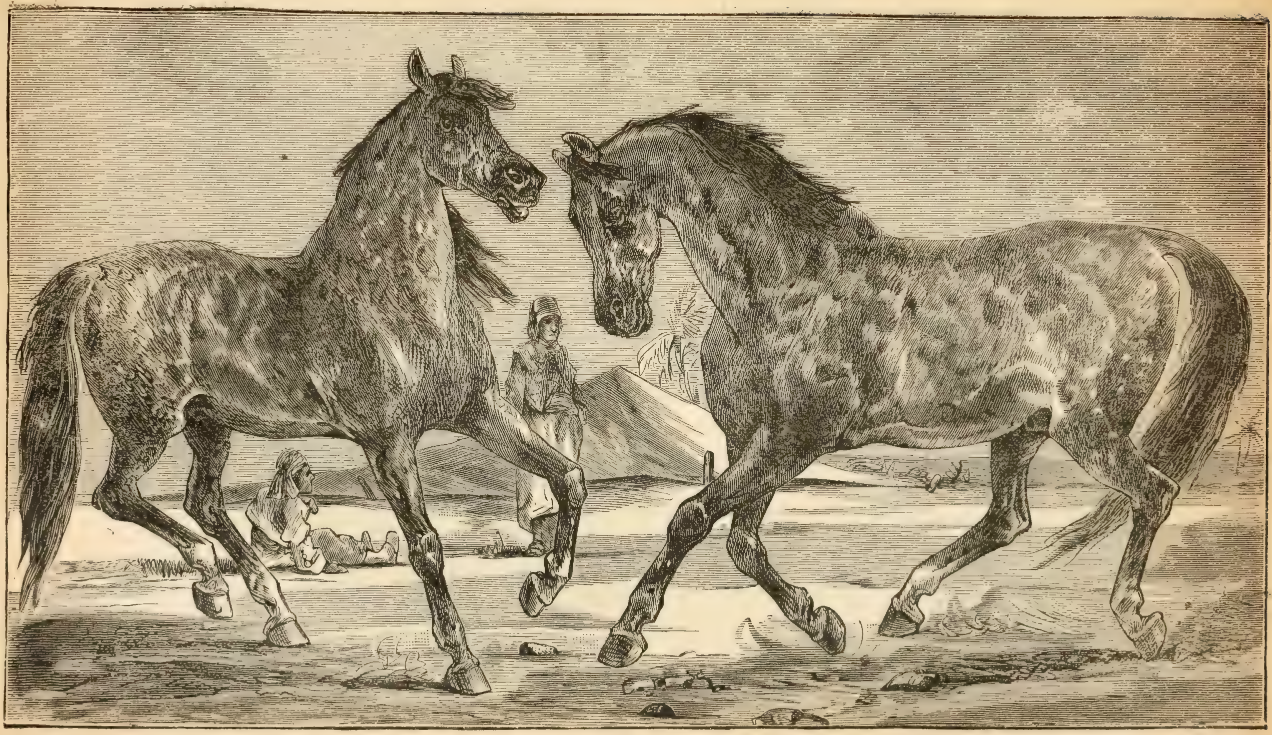
General Grant reached Jerusalem on Monday, February 11th, and remained there until the following Saturday, visiting the various points of interest, and making excursions to Bethlehem, Bethany and other places.

During his stay in Jerusalem the General was the recipient of distinguished attentions at the hands of the Turkish authorities and the consuls. The Pacha called upon him in state, and expressed his sense of the honor conferred upon Palestine by the General's visit. The General returned this call with due ceremony. The bishops and patriarchs called, and blessed the General and the house in which he lodged. The Pacha entertained General Grant and his party at a state dinner, which was a very pleasant affair. The rest of the time was passed by the General in sight-seeing.

Leaving Jerusalem, General Grant and his party journeyed northward toward Damascus. The route lay by Shiloh, where the Tabernacle was set up after the conquest of the land by the Israelites, to Nabulûs, where but a brief stir was made.

From Nabulûs the travellers pressed on rapidly to Nazareth, passing Samaria, and striking across the great plain of Esdraelon, the battle-field of Palestine. Distant views were caught of the scene of Joshua's great victory, of Mount Bilboa, of Jezreel, of the scene of Gideon's wonderful exploits, of Mount Carmel, of Little Hermon, of Endor, of Mount Tabor, and of Nain, the scene of the Saviour's miracle, and at last Nazareth was reached.

From Nazareth the travellers proceeded to Damascus. The route lay by the Sea of Galilee, Tiberias, Lake Huleh, Cæsarea, Philippi and Mount Hermon, from



ARABIAN HORSES PRESENTED TO GENERAL GRANT BY THE SULTAN OF TURKEY.

which the travellers passed out of the Holy Land into Syria.

The stay at Damascus was brief, as General Grant was anxious to push on and reach Constantinople. The party saw the city thoroughly, however, and greatly enjoyed it.

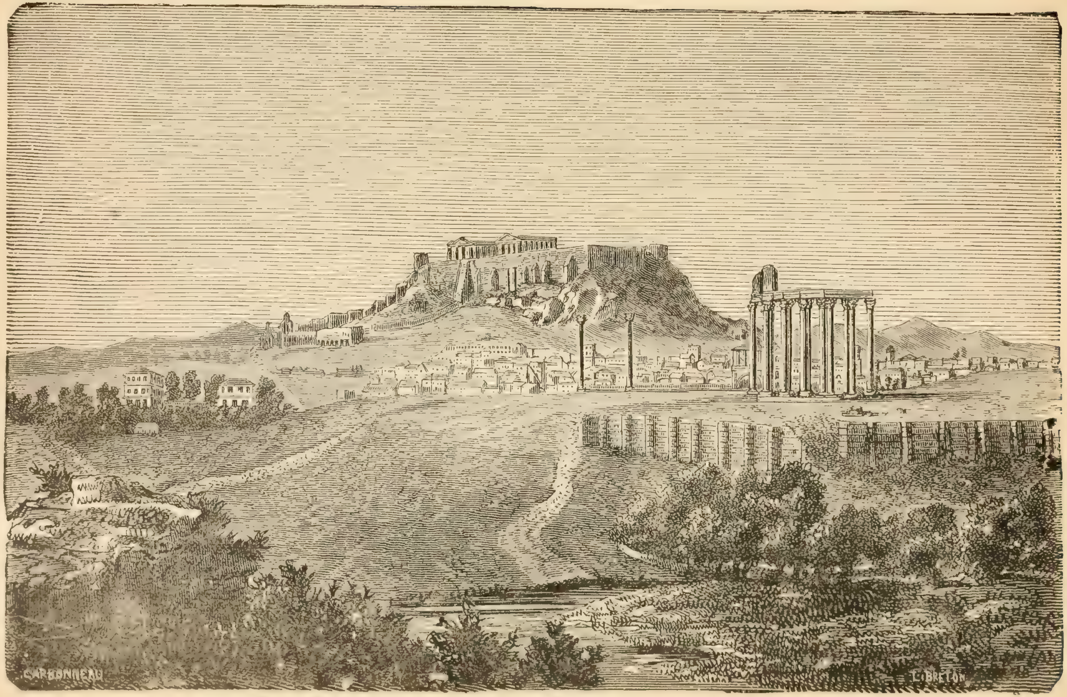
From Damascus the party proceeded to Beyrout, the principal seaport of Syria, where the "Vandalia" was in waiting to convey them to Constantinople.

General Grant reached Constantinople on the 5th of March, 1878. He was welcomed to the city by the American Minister and Consul, and by an aide-de-camp of the Sultan.

Immediately upon arriving at Constantinople General Grant paid a formal visit to the Sultan, who received him most cordially, and ordered the Master of Ceremonies to present the General with a pair of Arabian horses from the Imperial stables.

When the visit to the Turkish capital came to a close, the General and his party sailed for Greece. The run from Constantinople to the harbor of Piræus, the port of Athens, was a short and pleasant one. From Piræus a short railway trip of a few miles took the party to Athens. General Grant was cordially welcomed by General John Meredith Read, the American Minister to Greece, and a number of Americans, and was escorted to his hotel. The first visit was naturally paid to the King, who received the General with enthusiasm and presented him and his party to the Queen. Both sovereigns and people showered attention upon General Grant, who was obliged to decline many of them in consequence of the shortness of his stay. A grand *fête* was given to the General by the King and Queen, which was attended by the most distinguished persons of the country and by the foreign ministers. Every effort was made to render the visit enjoyable in the highest degree.

Modern Athens owes its importance solely to the historic renown of the ancient city on the site of which it stands. It is in part a well-built city, with bright, gay streets, but in some of the quarters dirt and squalor prevail. Among the



RUINS OF THE ACROPOLIS, ATHENS—VISITED BY GENERAL GRANT.

public buildings are the Royal Palace, a fine building, three stories in height, the Chamber of Deputies, the Barracks, the Mint, the Theatre, the National Academy, the Museum and the Polytechnic School. Like the ancient city, modern Athens is built around the base of the hill of the Acropolis, which towers up one hundred and fifty feet above it. From the earliest times this rock has been the site of a fortress. It rises almost perpendicularly above the city, and was the site of the citadel and most sacred buildings of ancient Athens. The walls stand on the very verge of the cliff, and have a circumference of nearly 7,000 feet. They are of great antiquity, being the work of many ages—of the Pelagians of Themistocles, of Cymon, of Valerian, of the Turks, and of the Venetians.

A visit was made to the battle-field of Marathon, and on the 18th of March the General and his party bade adieu to Athens and embarked once more upon their ship. A visit was made to Corinth, where several days were spent in wandering through the ruins, and then the "Vandalia" sailed for Syracuse, where a brief stoppage was made to visit the ancient city. Then the "Vandalia" set sail once more, this time for Naples, where the General and his party terminated their Mediterranean voyage, and taking leave of the "Vandalia" and her officers, set out for Rome.

General Grant and his party visited all the objects of interest in the city, and spent many pleasant days in examining the wonders of ancient and modern Rome. The Eternal City was deeply interesting to the General, and he studied it with an eagerness and attention that showed how great that interest was. St. Peter's—that grandest of all Christian churches—the Capitol, the Vatican, the ruined Colosseum, the monuments of the Cæsars, and the remains of later glories, each and all had a charm for him.

The General was fortunate in the time of his arrival at Rome. The excitement over the election of the new Pope had subsided, and Leo XIII. was comfortably seated in the Chair of St. Peter. His Eminence, Cardinal McCloskey, of New York, was present in Rome at the time, and immediately upon General Grant's arrival called upon him, and offered to secure for him any facilities he might desire for seeing the churches, the Vatican and the objects of interest under the immediate care of the Church. The Cardinal also arranged for an interview between General Grant and the Pope, and accordingly, on the 13th of March, General and Mrs. Grant were formally presented to His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., who received them cordially, Cardinal McCloskey making the presentation. A pleasant interview followed, and the parties separated mutually pleased with each other.

ST. PETER'S AND THE VATICAN—VISITED BY GENERAL GRANT.

Immediately upon the arrival of General Grant at Rome he was waited upon by an aide-de-camp of King Humbert, who, in his sovereign's name, welcomed the General to Rome, and placed at his disposal every facility he might desire for seeing the monuments and museums of the Eternal City. The General promptly called upon the King, and an interesting and cordial interview took place. On the 15th of April King Humbert entertained General Grant at a magnificent state dinner, at which all the Italian ministers were present. This was one of the most distinguished honors ever conferred by an Italian sovereign upon a citizen of a foreign country.

From Rome the travellers went to Florence, the favorite of Italian cities with Americans, which was reached April 20, 1878. The stay of the General and his party in this beautiful city was brief, but very pleasant. The authorities of the city showed him every attention in their power, and exerted themselves to make his visit a delightful one.

From Florence General Grant and his party went to Venice by railway, and reached that city on the 23rd of April. He was met at the station by the American Consul-General, Mr. John Harris, and a large party of Americans. The city authorities were also present to welcome him to Venice and to offer him the hospitalities of the city. Several speeches of a congratulatory character were made, to which the General returned suitable replies, and then the travellers were conducted to their hotel. Three days were passed in Venice. They were very pleasant, and, as there was much to see, were busy ones.

General Grant left Venice on the 26th of April, and reached Milan on the 27th. He remained in that famous city a week. He was received at the station, upon his arrival, by the Prefect, Syndic and other city officials, and welcomed to the metropolis of Northern Italy. During his stay in Milan General Grant had a constant stream of American visitors.

Paris was reached on the 7th of May, 1878, and General Grant proceeded direct to his hotel. The International Exposition had been opened on the 3rd of May, and was the absorbing topic in Paris. It was decided that General Grant should make a formal visit to the Exposition, and inspect the American Department, and on the 11th of June General R. C. McCormick, Commissioner-General for the

CATHEDRAL OF MILAN—VISITED BY GENERAL GRANT.

United States, called on General Grant and asked him to fix a time for his visit. The 17th of May, Saturday, being the most convenient day, was appointed. On that occasion General and Mrs. Grant, together with a large party of friends, visited the Exposition, and were received by the officials of the American Department and escorted through it. The General was much pleased with the display made by his countrymen.

General Grant remained in Paris a little more than a month, enjoying a constant round of hospitality at the hands of his countrymen and of distinguished Frenchmen. It was during this visit that President MacMahon declared that "France was honored by the presence of so illustrious a soldier."

The General began to tire of Paris, however, and near the middle of June set out for Holland, intending to make a tour of Northern Europe before returning to France.

The travellers went direct to the Hague, the capital of Holland, called by the Dutch s'Gravenhagen, where an imposing reception met General Grant at the railway station. The General was presented to the King of the Netherlands, and was cordially received by him, and, during his stay at the Hague, a fine review of Dutch troops was held in his honor. He was entertained at luncheon by his Royal Highness, Prince Frederick, the King's uncle, at the royal villa of Hins in t'Bosch, or "The House in the Woods," about a mile and a half from the Hague, and the entertainment proved one of the most delightful enjoyed by the General during his visit abroad.

The General's time passed pleasantly at the Hague, for in spite of their proverbial phlegm, the Dutch were enthusiastic over their distinguished visitor, and showered upon him marks of attention and respect.

From the Hague General Grant went to Rotterdam, where he met with a cordial reception from the authorities and from many of his own countrymen residing there.

During his stay in Rotterdam General Grant was entertained by the Burgomaster of the city at a grand dinner, which was numerously attended. Speeches were made and toasts were drunk, expressing the heartiest and most unaffected friendship for General Grant and for the United States. It was but a ride of a few hours from Rotterdam to Amsterdam, to which the travellers proceeded next.

During his stay in Amsterdam General Grant was entertained at a magnificent banquet given in his honor by fifty of the leading merchants of the city. It was attended by all the dignitaries of the city and by a brilliant company. It was one of the most splendid entertainments attended by General Grant while in Europe. A visit was made to the North Sea Canal in company with the directors of the company, and the General carefully inspected that magnificent work. The excursion wound up with a superb collation offered to the General by one of the directors. Another excursion was to Haarlem, where the grand organ of the Church of St. Bavon, the largest instrument in the world, was played in honor of General Grant. Another excursion still was to Broek, a town six miles east of Amsterdam, and was of an amusing charater. This place contains 9,000 inhabitants, and is noted for the wealth of its residents, who "are principally landed proprietors or retired merchants, but more celebrated for the extreme cleanliness of its houses and streets, the attention to which has been carried to an absurd and ridiculous excess. The houses are mostly of wood, painted white and green; the fronts of many of them are painted in various colors; the roofs are of polished tile, and the narrow streets are paved with bricks or little stones set in patterns. Carriages cannot enter the town; you cannot even ride your horse through it, but must lead him or leave him outside. The natives are very much like the Turks: they take off their shoes before entering their houses, and walk in slippers or in their stockings. Even the Emperor Alexander, when he visited Broek, was obliged to comply with this custom."

Thus passed away two delightful weeks in Holland. General Grant would have been glad to prolong his stay, but he was anxious to be in Berlin during the European Congress, and was compelled to bid adieu to his pleasant Dutch friends and hasten on.

# CHAPTER XV.

Arrival of General Grant at Berlin, the Capital of the German Empire—The European Congress—A Memorable Interview with Prince Bismarck—A visit to Denmark, Norway and Sweden—A visit to Russia—Interview with the Czar and Prince Gortschakoff—Moscow—Warsaw—Vienna—General and Mrs. Grant dine with the Emperor and Empress of Austria—Munich—Return to Paris—A Trip to Southern France, Spain and Portugal—Ireland—Preparations for his Indian Tour.

GENERAL GRANT and party reached Berlin on the 26th of June, 1878.

General Grant was much interested in Berlin, and industriously visited its sights and places of interest. He was the recipient of many social attentions, and also met many German officers who had served under him during the American civil war, and who were eager to pay their respects to their old chief.

The European Congress, for the final settlement of the questions arising out of the war between Russia and Turkey, was in session at the time of the General's visit. Most of the foreign representatives were known to General Grant, he having met them in their respective countries. Visits of ceremony were paid to each. As Prince Gortschakoff, the Russian Plenipotentiary, was too much crippled with the gout to make calls, General Grant called upon him, and had a long and pleasant interview. The Prince urged him to visit Russia, and assured him of a hearty and cordial reception by the Emperor and people.

Among the first to call to see General Grant was Prince Bismarck, the German Prime Minister. The General was absent at the time, and the visit of the Prince was repeated.

"The Prince wears an officer's uniform, and, on taking the General's hand, he says, 'Glad to welcome General Grant to Germany.'

"The General replied that there was no incident in his German tour that interested him more than this opportunity of meeting the Prince. Bismarck expressed surprise at seeing the General so young a man, but on a comparison

TOWN HALL, BERLIN—VISITED BY GENERAL GRANT.

of ages it was found that Bismarck was only seven years the General's senior.

"'That,' said the Prince, 'shows the value of a military life, for here you have the frame of a young man, while I feel like an old one.'

"The General, smiling, announced that he was at that period of life when he could have no higher compliment paid him than being called a young man.

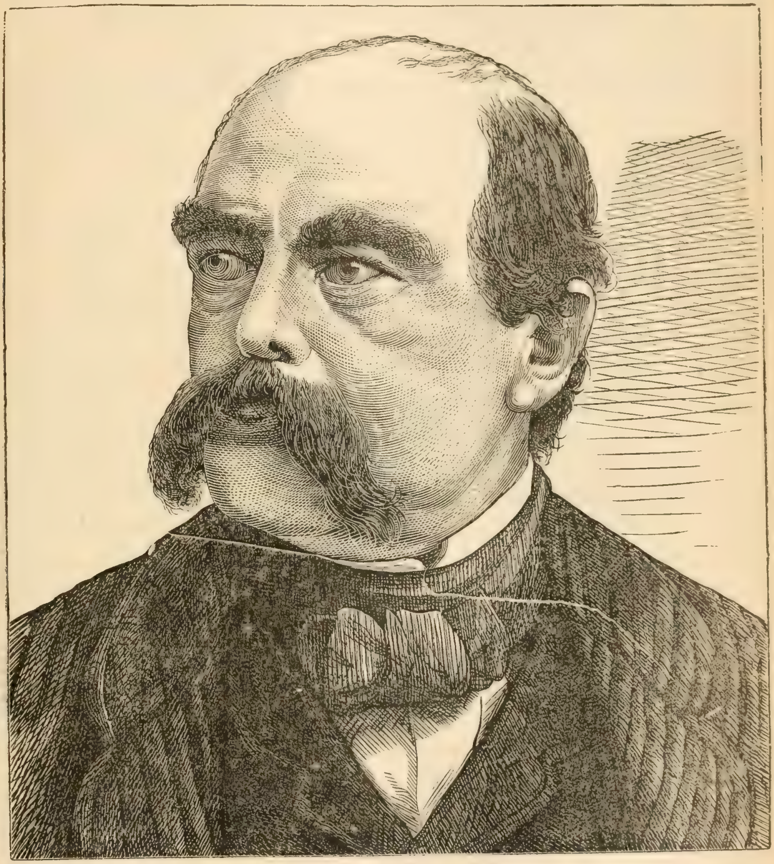
INTERVIEW BETWEEN GENERAL GRANT AND PRINCE BISMARCK.

"One of the Prince's first questions was about General Sheridan.

"'The General and I,' said the Prince, 'were fellow-campaigners in France, and we became great friends.'

"The General made a reference to the deliberations of the Congress, and hoped that there would be a peaceful result

"'That is my hope and belief,' said the Prince. 'That is all our interest in the matter. We have no business with the Congress whatever, and are attending to the business of others by calling a Congress. But Germany wants peace, and Europe wants peace, and all our labors are to that end.'



PRINCE BISMARCK.

"Prince Bismarck said the Emperor was especially sorry that he could not in person show General Grant a review, and that the Crown Prince would give him one. 'But,' said the Prince, 'the old gentleman is so much of a soldier and so fond of his army, that nothing would give him more pleasure than to display it to so great a soldier as yourself.'

"The General said that he had accepted the Crown Prince's invitation to a review for next morning, but with a smile continued: 'The truth is I am more of a farmer than a soldier. I take little or no interest in military affairs, and, although I entered the army thirty-five years ago and have been in two wars, in Mexico as a young lieutenant, and later, I never went into the army without regret and never retired without pleasure.'

"'I suppose,' said the Prince, 'if you had had a large army at the beginning of the war it would have ended in a much shorter time.'

"'We might have had no war at all,' said the General; 'but we cannot tell. Our war had many strange features—there were many things which seemed odd enough at the time, but which now seem providential. If we had had a large regular army as it was then constituted, it might have gone with the South. In fact, the Southern feeling in the army among high officers was so strong that when the war broke out the army dissolved. We had no army—then we had to organize one. A great commander like Sherman or Sheridan even then might have organized an army and put down the rebellion in six months or a year, or, at the farthest, two years. But that would have saved slavery, perhaps, and slavery meant the germs of new rebellion. There had to be an end of slavery. Then we were fighting an enemy with whom we could not make a peace. We had to destroy him. No convention, no treaty was possible—only destruction.'

"'It was a long war,' said the Prince, 'and a great work well done—and I suppose it means a long peace.'

"'I believe so,' said the General.

"The Prince asked the General when he might have the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Grant. The General answered that she would receive him at any convenient hour.

"'Then,' said the Prince, 'I will come to-morrow before the Congress meets.'

"Both gentlemen arose, and the General renewed the expression of his pleasure at having seen a man who was so well known and so highly esteemed in America.

"'General,' answered the Prince, 'the pleasure and the honor are mine. Germany and America have always been in such friendly relationship that nothing delights us more than to meet Americans, and especially an American who has done so much for his country, and whose name is so much honored in Germany as your own.'

"The Prince and the General walked side by side to the door, and after shaking hands the General passed into the square. The guard presented arms, the General lit a fresh cigar, and slowly strolled home.

"'I am glad I have seen Bismarck,' the General remarked. 'He is a man whose manner and bearing fully justify the opinions one forms of him.'"

The next morning, at half-past seven, General Grant attended a review given in his honor by the Crown Prince. A furious rain was driving across the field at the time, but, notwithstanding this, the manœuvres were brilliantly executed, all the branches of the service taking part in the display. After the review, the General inspected one of the military hospitals and the quarters of a cavalry regiment. This was followed by an informal mess-room lunch with the Crown Prince and his officers, during which the General expressed his gratification at the spectacle he had witnessed, and proposed the health of the Crown Prince.

About noon on the same day, Prince Bismarck returned General Grant's visit, and was presented to Mrs. Grant. The visit proved exceedingly pleasant to all parties.

Prince Bismarck entertained General Grant at a grand dinner at the Radziwill Palace. After dinner the Prince and General Grant adjourned to a cozy apartment in the palace for a pleasant chat.

Among the notable incidents of General Grant's stay in Berlin was the dinner given to him at the American Legation by Bayard Taylor, the American Minister, and a pleasant reception at the same place. They were both quiet and informal, but very pleasant.

From Berlin General Grant set out for Copenhagen, going by way of Hamburg, which place was reached on the 2d of July.

General Grant left Hamburg on the 6th of July, and proceeded direct to Copenhagen, travelling through Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark.

There General Grant spent several very pleasant days, exploring every portion of it, and was so much pleased with the city that he would have been glad to stay longer, but time was pressing, and he had to depart.

Leaving Copenhagen by steamer, the travellers sailed up the Cattegat to Gothenburg, in Sweden.

From Christiana General Grant made the journey to Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, by rail, reaching that city on the 24th of July, 1878. All along the route crowds assembled at the stations to see and cheer the distinguished American General; triumphal arches were erected, and addresses of welcome were read at the prominent places. Upon the arrival of the train at Stockholm, the General was met by the city authorities and welcomed to Stockholm. An immense crowd had assembled at the station, and he was loudly cheered as he passed out on his way to his hotel.

Embarking at Stockholm on board of one of the Baltic steamers, General Grant and his party crossed the Baltic Sea to St. Petersburg. The length of the voyage is about four hundred miles. The passage was made in about two days. As Cronstadt was approached, the weather cleared up, and the steamer put out all her flags, and in honor of General Grant ran up the Stars and Stripes to the foremast. As the steamer drew near the outer forts, the heavy granite structures were wreathed in smoke, and a grand salute of welcome thundered over the waves. As other forts were passed, salutes were fired, and at length the steamer came to anchor in the harbor. A deputation of the officials of the place came on board and welcomed General Grant to Russia.

The trip to the city was a short one, and, upon arriving at his hotel, the General was met by Mr. E. M. Stoughton, the American Minister to Russia, who warmly welcomed him to St. Petersburg. He was followed by Prince Gortschakoff, the Emperor's Aide-de-Camp, and several other high officers of the Imperial Court, who brought messages of welcome from the Emperor. This was the 30th of July, and it was arranged that the General should be presented to the Czar the next day, July 31st.

Accordingly, the presentation took place the next day. The Emperor manifested great cordiality. The General was presented by Prince Gortschakoff. His Majesty talked of his health and the General's travels. He seemed greatly interested in our national wards, the Indians, and made several inquiries as to their mode of warfare.

ST. PETERSBURG—REVIEW IN HONOR OF GENERAL GRANT.

At the close of the interview the Emperor accompanied Grant to the door, saying: "Since the foundation of your government the relations between Russia and America have been of the friendliest character, and as long as I live nothing shall be spared to continue that friendship."

The General answered that although the two governments were directly opposite in character, the great majority of the American people were in sympathy with Russia, and would, he hoped, so continue.

General Grant also met the Grand Duke Alexis, who had visited the United States, and been entertained at the White House during the General's Presidency.

An imperial yacht was placed at General Grant's disposal, and the General and his party made a pleasant excursion to Peterhoff—the Versailles of St. Petersburg—which commands a fine view of the Russian capital, Cronstadt and the Gulf of Finland. After visiting Peterhoff, a visit was paid to the Russian man-of-war, "Peter the Great," where the General was saluted with twenty-one guns.

During his stay in St. Petersburg General Grant was received by the Czarewitch at a special audience. The French Ambassador gave a dinner in his honor, and there was a special review of the fire brigade of the city. The Emperor was unfailing in his kind attentions, and caused everything that could be done for the comfort of General Grant and his party to be done with promptness and cordiality.

On the 8th of August, General Grant and party set out for Moscow. The distance is four hundred miles, and the road which unites the two places, and which is a very good one, was built by two American contractors, Messrs. Winans, of Baltimore, and Harrison, of Philadelphia. The road is also one of the straightest in existence, running in almost a direct line between the two points.

The churches are numerous; some of them are very elaborate, and contain many interesting historical relics.

A few pleasant days were passed at Moscow, and then General Grant determined not to return to St. Petersburg, but to set off direct for Warsaw, in Russian Poland, six hundred miles distant. The start was made promptly, and on the 13th of August Warsaw was reached. The travellers were very tired from their long railway journey, and several days were passed in the old Polish capital to rest. Then the journey was resumed, and on the night of the 18th of August the party reached Vienna. The General was met at the railroad station by Minister Kasson, the

THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW—VISITED BY GENERAL GRANT.

secretaries and members of the American Legation, and a large number of the American residents. He was loudly cheered as he stepped out of the railway carriage.

On the 21st General and Mrs. Grant were entertained by the imperial family, and dined with the Emperor in the evening. During the morning Baron Steinberg accompanied the Emperor's American guests to the Arsenal.

On the 22d Minister Kasson gave a diplomatic dinner in honor of our ex-President, at which nearly all the foreign Ambassadors were present. The members of the Austro-Hungarian Cabinet attended the reception in the evening, and added to the brilliancy of the occasion. The General expressed himself greatly pleased with Vienna. He was gratified also at the marked attentions of the Emperor's household and the earnest endeavor shown to honor him as a citizen of the United States.

From Vienna the travellers went to Munich, the capital of Bavaria, where several days were passed in seeing the city and its rich art treasures. A halt was also made at the venerable town of Augsburg, from which place the journey was continued through Ulm into Switzerland. Halts were made at Schaffhausen and Zurich. On the 23d of September, Mr. S. H. Byers, the American Consul at Zurich, entertained General Grant at a dinner, at which the Burgomaster and the city authorities were present. From Zurich General Grant returned to Paris by way of Lyons.

On the 10th of October, 1878, General Grant and party left Paris for a trip through Spain and Portugal.

"It was the intention of General Grant when he left Paris," says Mr. Young, in his letter to *The New York Herald*, "to make a short visit to the Pyrenees, and especially Pau.

"When Vittoria was reached, there were all the authorities out to see him, and he was informed that in the morning the King Alfonso would meet him. Ten o'clock was the hour, and the place was a small city hall or palace, where the King resides when he comes into his capital. At ten the General called, and was escorted into an ante-room where were several aides and generals in attendance. He passed into a small room, and was greeted by the King. The room was a library, with books and a writing-table covered with papers, as though His Majesty had been hard at work. When the General entered, the King gave him a seat and they entered into conversation. There was a little fencing as to whether the conversation should be in English or Spanish. The General said he knew Spanish in Mexico, but thirty-five years had passed since it was familiar to him and he would not venture upon it now. The King was anxious to speak Spanish, but English and French were the only languages used.

"At eleven o'clock General Grant, King Alfonso, and a splendid retinue of generals, left the King's official residence to witness the manœuvres which were to take place on the historic field of Vittoria, where the French, under Joseph Bonaparte and Jourdan, were finally crushed in Spain by the allies under Wellington on June 21, 1813.

"King Alfonso and General Grant rode at the head of the column, side by side, His Majesty pointing out the objects of interest to the right and the left, and, when the vicinity of the famous field was reached, halting for a few minutes to indicate to his guest the location of the different armies on that famous June morning. As they proceeded thence General Concha was called to the side of the King and introduced to General Grant. Several other distinguished officers were then presented. The weather was very fine, and the scene was one of great interest to the American visitor. General Grant spent the day on horseback, witnessing the manœuvres."

In the evening he dined with the King, and the next day there was a grand review of the troops held in his honor.

From Vittoria General Grant went to Madrid, reaching that city on the 28th of October. James Russell Lowell, our Minister, met him at the station, when the General was welcomed by Colonel Noeli, a Spanish officer of distinction, who was detailed to attend him. Mr. Lowell gave the General a dinner and a reception, where men of all parties came to pay their respects to the ex-President. There was a dinner at the Presidency of the Council, the only State dinner given since the poor Queen died. There were arsenals to be inspected and picture galleries, the royal palace and the royal stables. There were long walks about Madrid and long talks with Mr. Lowell, whom General Grant had never met before, but for whom he conceived a sincere attachment and esteem. There were calls from all manner of public men, especially from Captain-General Jovellar, with whom the General had satisfying talks about Cuba, and one from Castelar, whom the General was most anxious to see. Castelar had been so friendly to the North in our war, and he had been also a constitutional President of the Republic, and the General was anxious to do him honor. He contemplated a dinner to Castelar. But Spanish politics is full of torpedoes, and the General was in some sort a guest of the nation, and it was feared that the dinner might be construed into a republican demonstration—an interference in other people's affairs—and it was abandoned.

During his stay in Madrid General Grant visited the Palace of the Escurial, which is about two hours distant from Madrid. "This mammoth edifice, second only to the Pyramids of Egypt in size and solidity, was commenced by Philip II., to fulfil a vow made to San Lorenzo, that if the battle of St. Quentin, which was fought on the saint's day, should result favorably to him, he would erect a temple to his honor; and also to obey the injunctions of his father, the Emperor Charles V., to construct a tomb worthy of the royal family, and most magnificently did he carry out both purposes."

From Madrid General Grant went to Lisbon, the capital of the kingdom of Portugal.

"The King of Portugal, on learning that General Grant had arived in Lisbon, came to the city to meet him. There was an audience at the palace, the General and his wife meeting the King and Queen. The King, after greeting the General in the splendid audience chamber, led him into an inner apartment, away from the ministers and courtiers who were in attendance on the ceremony. They had a long conversation relative to Portugal and the United

States, the resources of the two countries, and the means to promote the commercial relations between Portugal and America. Portugal was, above all things, a commercial nation, and her history was a history of discovery and extending civilization. The King had been a naval officer, and the conversation ran into ships of war and naval warfare. There were other meetings between the King and the General. The day after the palace reception was the King's birthday, and there was a gala night at the opera. The King and royal family came in state, and during the interludes the General had long conversations with His Majesty. The next evening there was a dinner at the palace in honor of the General, the Ministry, and the leading men of the court in attendance.

From Lisbon General Grant returned to Spain, and proceeded direct to Cordova.

"After a long ride it was pleasant to rest, even in the indifferent condition of comfort provided in a Spanish inn. There was a visit to the theatre, a ramble about the streets, which is General Grant's modern fashion of taking possession of a town; there was a stroll up the Roman bridge, the arches of which are as fresh as if the workmen had just laid down their tools. There was a visit to a Moorish mill, in which the millers were grinding wheat. There was the casino and the ascent of a tower from which Andalusia is seen spreading out before us, green and smiling. This sums up Cordova.

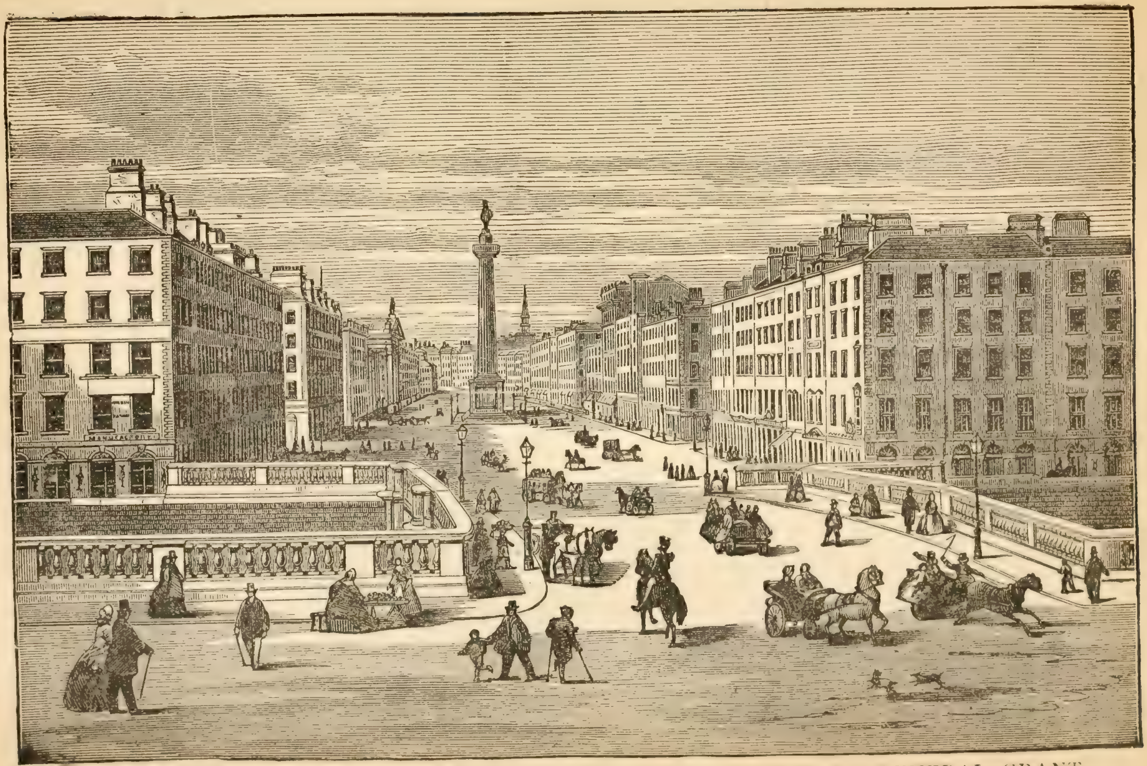
From Cordova the travellers went to Seville, which was reached on December 4th, 1878. "Our stay in Seville was marked by an incident of a personal character worthy of veneration—the visit of General Grant to the Duke of Montpensier. The day after General Grant arrived in Seville the Duke called on him, and the next day was spent by the General and his party in the hospitable halls and gardens of St. Elmo. The Duke regretted that, his house being in mourning on account of the death of his daughter, Queen Mercedes, he could not give General Grant a more formal welcome than a quiet luncheon party. The Duke, the Duchess and their daughter were present, and after luncheon the General and Duke spent an hour or two strolling through the gardens, which are among the most beautiful in Europe. The Duke spoke a great deal of his relations with America, and especially of the part which his nephews had played in the war against the South."

After leaving Seville, the route of General Grant and his party lay along the beautiful Guadalquiver to Cadiz, sixty-seven miles distant. Cadiz was reached on the 6th of December.

After a short visit to Gibraltar, General Grant returned to Spain and journeyed directly north to Paris. But a brief stay was made in Paris, General Grant and his party proceeding immediately to England. He now determined to redeem his promise to visit Ireland, and Mrs. Grant decided to remain with her daughter, Mrs. Sartoris, in England, during the General's absence in Ireland.

He left London by the regular mail train on January 2d, 1879, going by way of Holyhead and Kingstown. He reached Dublin on January 3d, and was met by the representatives of the corporation. He at once prepared to visit the City Hall to meet the Lord Mayor. The city was full of strangers, and much enthusiasm was manifested. On arriving at the Mayor's official residence they were cheered by a large crowd that had gathered to meet the illustrious ex-President. The Lord Mayor, in presenting the freedom of the city, referred to the cordiality always existing between America and Ireland, and hoped that in America General Grant would do everything he could to help a people who sympathize with every American movement. The parchment on which was engrossed the freedom of the city was enclosed in an ancient carved bog-oak casket.

General Grant appeared to be highly impressed by the generous language of the Lord Mayor. He replied substantially as follows: "I feel very proud of being made a citizen of the principal city of Ireland, and no honor that I have received has given me greater satisfaction. I am by birth the citizen of a country where there are more Irish-



CARLISLE BRIDGE AND SACKVILLE STREET, DUBLIN—VISITED BY GENERAL GRANT.

men, native born or by descent, than in all Ireland. When in office I had the honor—and it was a great one, indeed—of representing more Irishmen and descendants of Irishmen than does Her Majesty the Queen of England. I am not an eloquent speaker, and can simply thank you for the great courtesy you have shown me." Three cheers were given for General Grant at the close of his remarks, and then three more were added for the people of the United States.

In the evening General Grant was entertained by the city authorities at a handsome banquet. The Lord Mayor presided.

On the 4th, General Grant breakfasted with the Duke of Marlborough, and the rest of the day was spent in strolling about Dublin and seeing the sights of the city, and Sunday was passed quietly at the Shelbourne Hotel.

On January 6th General Grant and his party left Dublin for Londonderry. The weather was cold and stormy; but in spite of this, large crowds had assembled at Dundalk, Omagh, Strabane and other places, and cheered the General enthusiastically upon the arrival and departure of the train. Londonderry was reached at two o'clock. An immense crowd had assembled around the station, and General Grant's arrival was hailed with a storm of cheers. The General was received by the Mayor in a complimentary speech of welcome, to which he replied briefly.

The next morning was spent in exploring the sights of the city, and the party left for Belfast, accompanied by Sir Harvey Bruce, lieutenant of the county, Mr. Taylor, M. P., and other distinguished gentlemen. At every station crowds assembled to welcome and cheer General Grant, and among those thus assembled were many old soldiers who had served in the United States army under General Grant during our recent Civil War, and who were eager to greet their old commander. At Coleraine there was an immense crowd. General Grant, accompanied by the Member of Parliament, Mr. Taylor, left the cars, entered the waiting-room at the depot and received an address. In reply, General Grant repeated the hope and belief expressed in his Dublin speech, that the period of depression was ended, and that American prosperity was aiding Irish prosperity. At Ballymoney there was another crowd. As the train neared Belfast a heavy rain began to fall.

The train reached Belfast station at half-past two o'clock. The reception accorded General Grant was imposing and extraordinary. The linen and other mills had stopped work, and the workmen stood out in the rain in thousands. The platform of the station was covered with scarlet carpet. The Mayor and members of the City Council welcomed the General, who descended from the car amid tremendous cheers. Crowds ran after the carriages containing the city authorities and their illustrious guest, and afterward surrounded the hotel where the General was entertained.

The public buildings were draped with American and English colors. Luncheon was served at four o'clock, and the crowd, with undaunted valor, remained outside amid a heavy storm and cheered at intervals.

The Belfast speakers made cordial allusions to many people in America.

On the morning of the 8th, General Grant and his party, accompanied by Mayor Brown, visited several of the large mills and industrial establishments of the city.

At three o'clock in the afternoon the General left for Dublin. Immense crowds had gathered at the hotel and at the railway station. The Mayor, with Sir John Preston and the American Consul, accompanied the General to the depot. As the train moved off, the crowd gave tremendous cheers, the Mayor taking the initiative.

At Portadown, Dundalk, Drogheda and other stations there were immense crowds, the populations apparently turning out *en masse*. Grant was loudly cheered, and thousands surrounded the car with the hope of being able to shake the General by the hand, all wishing him a safe journey.

When the train reached Dublin, Lord Mayor Barrington and a considerable number of persons were on the platform at the railway station, and cordially welcomed the General. As soon as all the party had descended, the

Lord Mayor invited the General into his carriage, and drove him to Westward Row, where the Irish mail train was ready to depart, having been detained eight minutes for the ex-President.

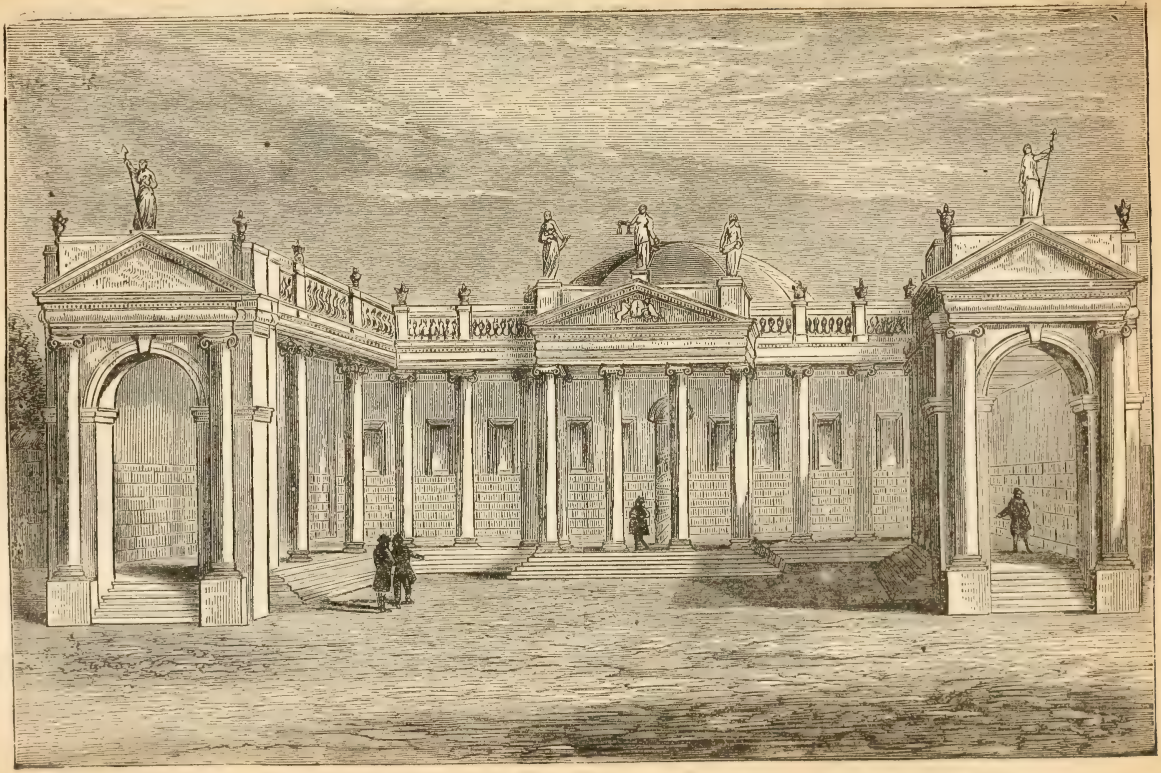
There was a most cordial farewell and a great shaking of hands. The Mayor and his friends begged Grant to return soon and make a longer stay. Soon Kingston was reached, and in a few minutes the party were in the special cabin which had been provided for them on board the mail steamer. Special attention was paid to the General by the officers of the vessel. Grant left the Irish shores at seven o'clock.

London was reached on the morning of the 9th of January, and the General spent the day and evening at the residence of Mr. John Welsh, the American Minister.

On Monday, 13th, General Grant and his party left London for Paris, reaching that city the same evening. The season was so far advanced that an immediate departure for India was necessary.

The General spent a week in Paris preparing for his Indian voyage, and receiving many attentions at the hands of the authorities and citizens. On the evening of the 16th he was entertained by President MacMahon at a grand dinner at the Elysée.

On the 21st he left Paris with his party for Marseilles, to embark at that place for India.



OLD PARLIAMENT HOUSE, DUBLIN—VISITED BY GENERAL GRANT.

# CHAPTER XVI.

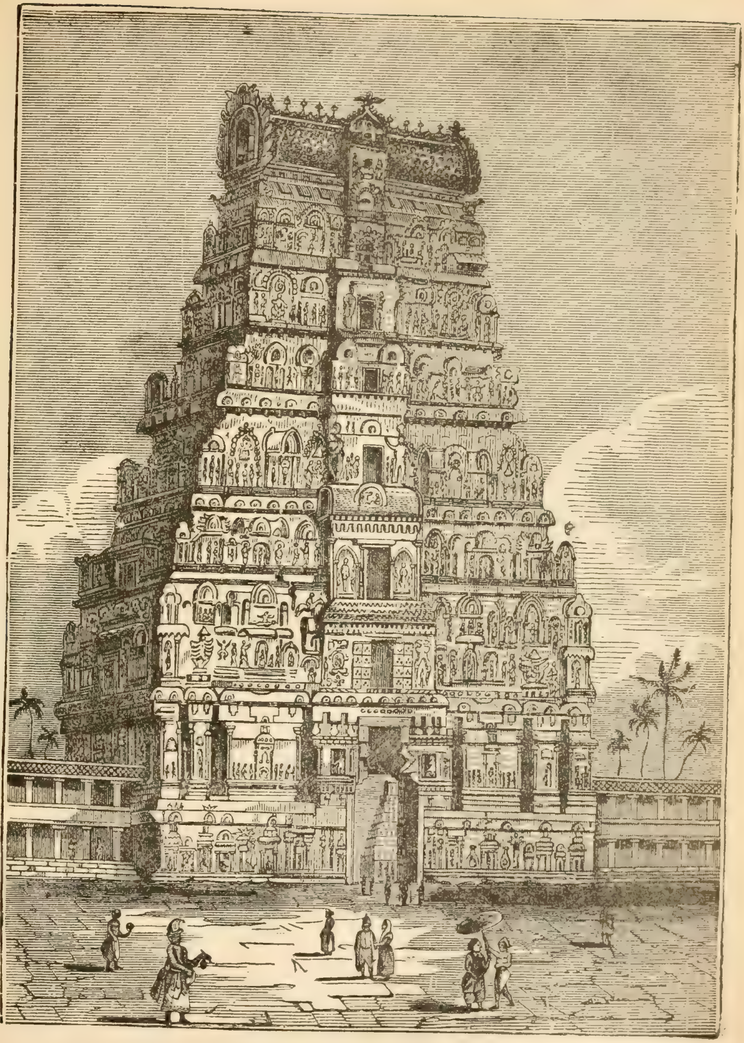
General Grant Embarks for India—On the Red Sea—Aden—Arrival at Bombay—Hospitalities to the General—Elephanta—Allahabad—Agra—Taj-Mahal—Jeypore—Visit to the Maharajah of Bhurtpoor—Delhi—Lucknow—Calcutta—A Visit at Rangoon and Bangkok—Hong Kong—Canton—Shanghai—Tientsin—Pekin—Interview with the Prince Regent of the Chinese Empire, Prince Kung—Chefoo—The Great Wall of China—Japan—Nagasaki—Yokohama—Tokio—Japanese Hospitality—Grant the Guest of Japan—Received and Visited by the Emperor—Festivities—Departing for the United States.

"When General Grant returned from Ireland," says Mr. Young, in his letter to *The New York Herald*, he learned that the American man-of-war 'Richmond,' which was to carry him to India, had not left the United States. The warm season comes early, and all the General's advices were to the effect that he should be out of India by the 1st of April. He concluded not to wait for the 'Richmond,' and leave Marseilles for Alexandria on a steamer belonging to the Messagerie Maritime, and connect at Suez with the Peninsular and Oriental steamer. On the 24th of January, at noon, our party embarked at Marseilles.

Our party, as made up for the India trip, is composed of General Grant, Mrs. Grant, Colonel Frederick D. Grant, Mr. A. E. Borie, formerly Secretary of the Navy; Dr. Keating, of Philadelphia, a nephew of Mr. Borie, and John Russell Young.

"At nine o'clock in the morning the last farewells were spoken, we took our leave of the many kind and pleasant friends we had made on the 'Venetia,' and went on board the government yacht. Our landing was at the Apollo Bunder—the spot where the Prince of Wales landed.

"Our home in Bombay is at the Government House, on Malabar Point, in the suburbs of the city. Malabar Point was in other days a holy place of the Hindoos. Here was a temple, and it was also believed that if those who sinned made a pilgrimage to the rocks there would be expiation or regeneration of soul." A State dinner at Malabar Point closed General Grant's visit to Bombay.



PAGODA OF CHILLENBAUM, INDIA—VISITED BY GENERAL GRANT.

On the 20th the party arrived at Tatulpur, and visited the Marble Rocks, after which the journey was resumed to Allahabad, where a short stay was made. On the 22d of February General Grant left Allahabad for Agra, where he arrived the next day. From Agra General Grant and his party went to Jeypore, to visit the Maharajah of that place, one of the wealthiest and most powerful of Indian Princes. On his return to Agra General Grant stopped at Bhurtpoor, to visit the Maharajah of that place.

General Grant and his party left Agra on the 1st of March for Delhi, at which place they arrived in the afternoon. "It was early morning, and the stars were out," says Mr. Young, in his letter to *The New York Herald*, "when we drove to the Agra station to take the train for Delhi. On the afternoon of our arrival we were taken to the palace, which is now used as a fort for the defence of the city. Leaving Delhi General Grant and his party reached Lucknow on the 5th of March."

There are few sights in India more interesting than the ruins of the Residency in Lucknow, where, during the mutiny, a handful of English residents defended themselves against the overwhelming forces of the Sepoys until relieved by Havelock and Sir Colin Campbell. The story of that defence is one of the most brilliant in the annals of heroism and will always redound to the honor of the British name.

On the 8th of March, General Grant and his party left Lucknow for Benares, arriving there at ten o'clock the same evening. The day had been warm and enervating, and our journey was through a country lacking in interest.

"We were all tired and drowsy and not wide awake when the train shot into Benares station. The English representative of the Viceroy, Mr. Daniells, came on the train and welcomed the General to Benares. The General and Mrs. Grant, accompanied by the leading military and civic English representatives and native rajahs, walked down the line with uncovered heads.

"Benares is the city of priests. Its population is less than two hundred thousand. Of this number from twenty

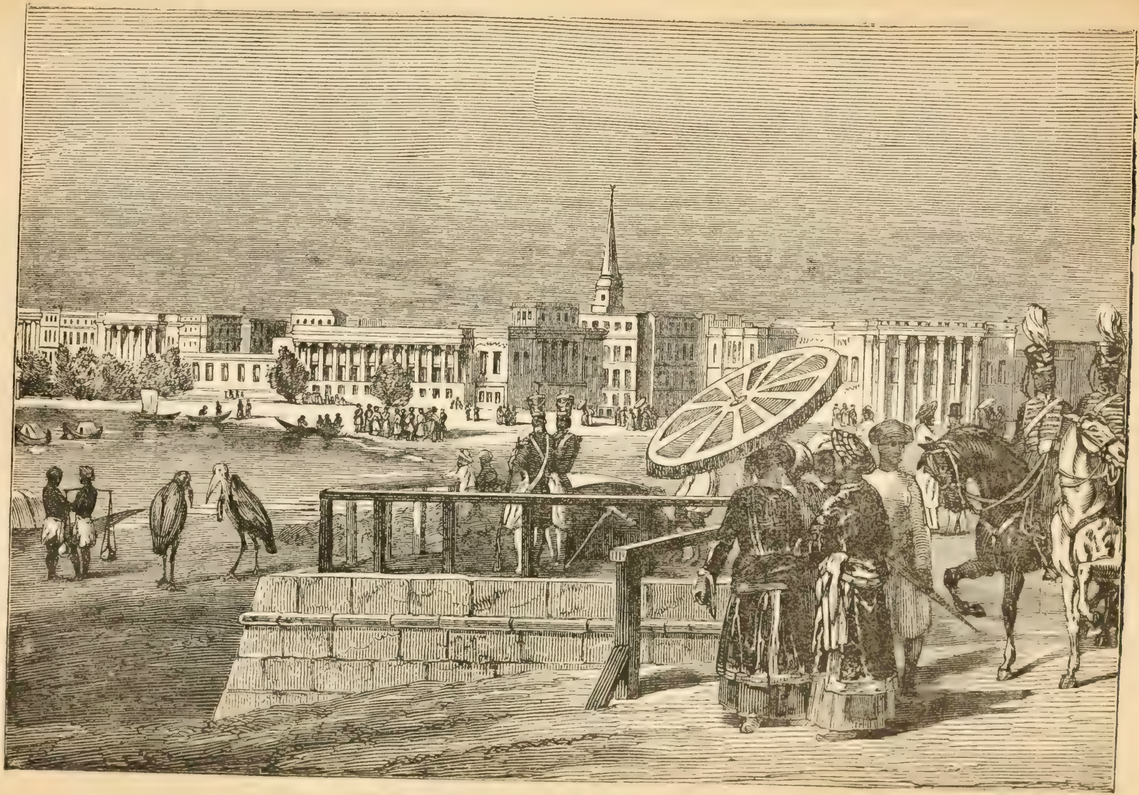
THE GANGES, THE SACRED RIVER OF THE HINDOOS—VISITED BY GENERAL GRANT.

to twenty-five thousand are Brahmins. They govern the city and hold its temples, wells, shrines and streams. Pilgrims are always arriving and going, and as the day of General Grant's visit fell upon one of the holiest of Indian festivals, we found it crowded with pilgrims. Sometimes as many as two hundred thousand come in the course of a year. They come to die, to find absolution by bathing in the sacred waters of the Ganges. The name comes from a prince named Banar, who once ruled here."

On the 9th of March, General Grant and his party left Benares for Calcutta, the capital of British India, and reached that city early on the morning of the 10th, after a very fatiguing journey. The General drove off in the state carriage, with a small escort of cavalry, to the Government House, where preparations had been made by Lord Lytton for the reception of himself and party.

"The Viceroy received General Grant with great kindness. Lord Lytton said he was honored in having as his guest a gentleman whose career he had so long followed with interest and respect, and that it was especially agreeable to him to meet one who had been chief magistrate of a country in which he had spent three of the happiest years of his life. Nothing could have been more considerate than the reception. The Viceroy regretted that the duties of his office, which, on account of Burmese and Afghan complications and his departure for Simla, were unusually pressing, prevented his seeing as much of the members of the General's party as he wished. In the afternoon we drove around the city and listened to the band. All the English world of Calcutta spend the cool of the day in the gardens, and the General and the Viceroy had a long stroll. It was dark before we reached the Government House, and we had just time to dress for a state dinner, the last to be given by Lord Lytton before leaving Simla. This dinner was made the occasion for presenting to General Grant the leading members of the native families. We had had a reception of this kind in Bombay, but the scene in Calcutta was more brilliant.

The visit to Calcutta closed the Indian tour of General



CALCUTTA—VISITED BY GENERAL GRANT.

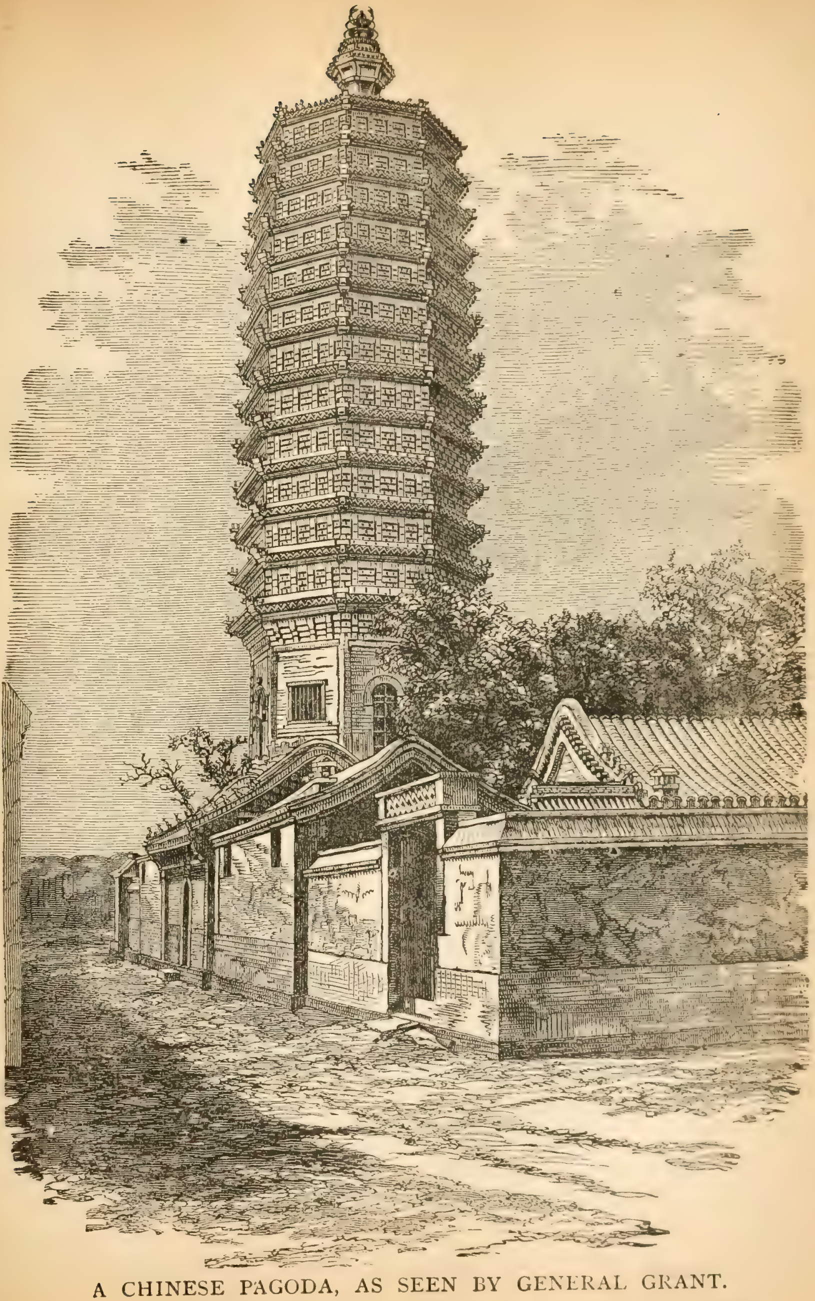
Grant. "We left Calcutta at midnight, on the 17th of March, in order to catch the tides in the Hoogly, on board the steamer 'Simla,' of the British India Navigation Company. After a short visit at Rangoon and Bangkok, where he was received with high honor by the officials and the King of Siam, General Grant went to Singapore, and from there sailed to Hong Kong, in China. This place was reached on the 20th of April. The General was warmly welcomed by the United States Consul and a number of prominent merchants and citizens. A visit was paid to the United States war steamer 'Ashuelot,' which was lying in the harbor.

"A pleasant half-hour was spent aboard the 'Ashuelot,' after which we again took the steam launch and proceeded towards Murray pier, where preparations had been made to receive us.

"As the ex-President stepped from the launch and mounted the red-covered stairway, the Governor came forward, and, warmly shaking him by the hand, welcomed him and Mrs. Grant to Hong Kong.

"Several pleasant days were passed at Hong Kong, and then the General and his party proceeded up the river to Canton.

"It was nine o'clock in the evening before we saw the lights of Canton. The Chinese gunboats as we came to an anchorage burned blue lights and fired rockets. The landing was decorated with Chinese lanterns, and many of the junks in the river burned lights and displayed the American flag. Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Scherzer, French Consul, Dr. Carson, and other representatives of the European colony, came on board to welcome us and to express a disappointment that we had not arrived in time for a public reception. The General and party landed without any ceremony and went at once to the house of Mr. Lincoln, where there was a late dinner. General Grant remained at home during the morning to receive calls, while Mrs. Grant and the remainder of the party wandered into the city to shop and look at the curious things, and especially at the most curious thing of all, the city of Canton.



A CHINESE PAGODA, AS SEEN BY GENERAL GRANT.

"The coming of General Grant had created a flutter in the Chinese mind. No foreign barbarian of so high a rank had ever visited the Celestial Kingdom. Coming from America, a country which had always been friendly with China, there were no resentments to gratify, and accordingly, as soon as the Viceroy learned of the visit, he sent word to our Consul that he would receive General Grant with special honors.

The Viceroy is a Chinaman, and not of the governing Tartar race. His manner was the perfection of courtesy and cordiality. He said he knew how unworthy he was of a visit from one so great as General Grant, but that this unworthiness only increased the honor.

After General Grant had been presented, we were each of us in turn welcomed by the Viceroy and presented to his suite. Mr. Holcombe and the Chinese interpreter of the Consul, a blue-button Mandarin, who speaks admirable English, were our interpreters.

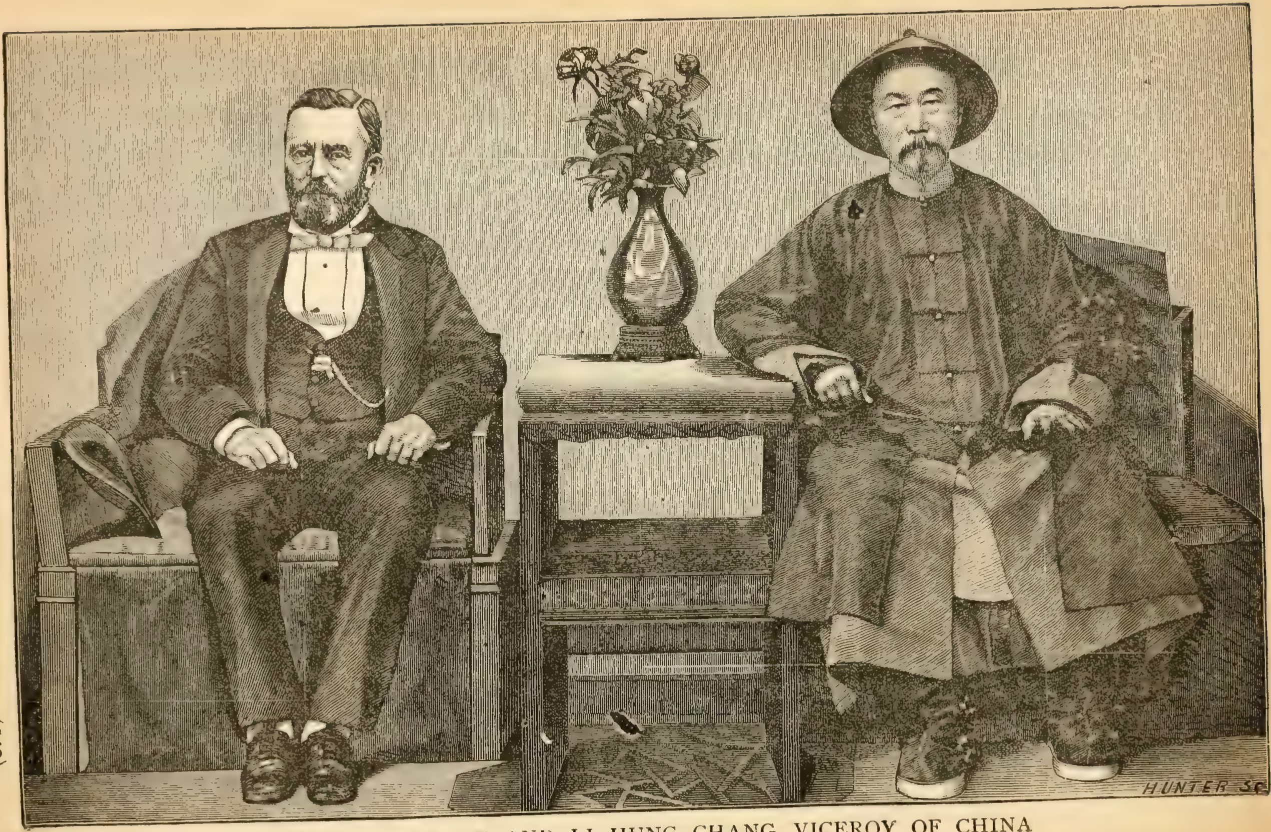
"During this interchange of compliments the reception-room was filled with members and retainers of the court. Mandarins, aids, soldiers—all ranks were present. The whole scene was one of curiosity and excitement. The Chinamen seemed anxious to do all they could to show us how welcome was our coming; but such a visit was a new thing, and they had no precedent for the reception of a stranger who had held so high a position as General Grant. The question of who should call first had evidently been much in the Viceroy's mind, for he said, apparently with the intention of assuaging any supposed feeling of annoyance that might linger in the General's mind, that, of course, that was not a call; it was only the General on his way about the town coming in to see him. The assurance was certainly not necessary, and I only recall it as an illustration of the Oriental feature of our visit. After the civilities were exchanged, the Viceroy led the General and party into another room, where there were chairs and tables around the room in a semi-circle. Between each couple of chairs was a small table, on which were cups of tea. The General was led to the place of honor in the centre, and the Chinese clustered together in one corner. After some persuasion, the Viceroy was induced to sit beside the General, and the conversation proceeded. Nothing was said beyond the usual compliments, which were only repeated in various forms."

The next day the Viceroy and the Chinese officials returned the visit. On the 9th of May General Grant and his party left Canton for Macao and Shanghai.

From the latter place the "Ashuelot" sailed for Tientsin, at the mouth of the Peiho River, from which point General Grant intended visiting Pekin, the capital of China. His Excellency Li Hung Chang, by far the greatest living general of China, was very attentive to General Grant, and the General, on his part, conceived a high admiration for the Viceroy.

"The great Viceroy, Li Hung Chang, took the deepest interest in the coming of General Grant. He was of the same age as the General. They won their victories at the same time—the Southern rebellion ending in April, the Taeping rebellion in July, 1865. As the Viceroy said to a friend of mine, 'General Grant and I have suppressed the two greatest rebellions known in history.' Those who have studied the Taeping rebellion will not think that Li Hung Chang coupled himself with General Grant in a spirit of boasting.

"The General formed a high opinion of the Viceroy as a statesman of resolute and far-seeing character. This opinion was formed after many conversations—official, ceremonial and personal. The visit of the Viceroy to the General was returned next day, May 29th, in great pomp. There was a marine guard from the 'Ashuelot.' We went to the viceregal palace in the Viceroy's yacht, and as we steamed up the river every foot of ground, every spot on the junks, was covered with people. At the landing troops were drawn up. A chair lined with yellow silk, such a chair as is only used by the Emperor, was awaiting the General. As far as the eye could reach the multitude stood expectant and gazing, and we went to the palace through a line of troops who stood with arms at a present. Amid the firing

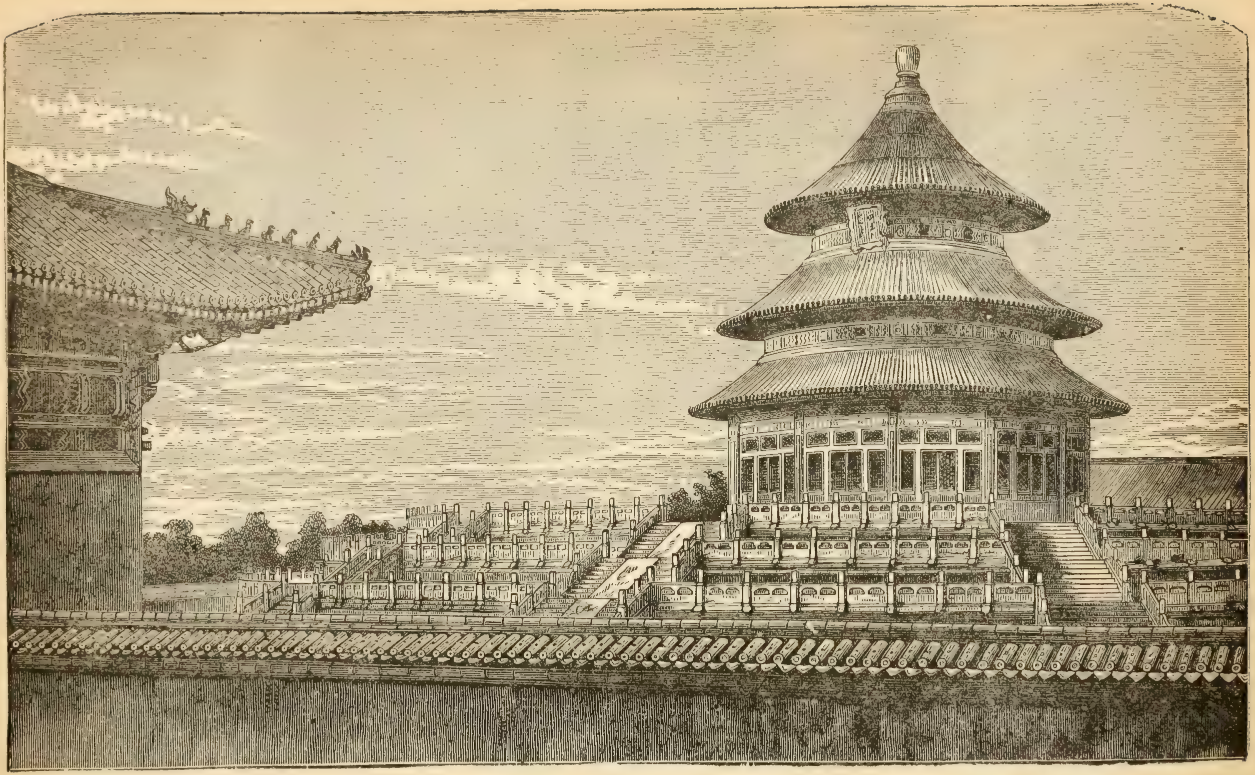


GENERAL GRANT AND LI HUNG CHANG, VICEROY OF CHINA of guns, the beating of gongs, our procession slowly marched to the palace door. The Viceroy, surrounded by his mandarins and attendants, welcomed the General. At the close of the interview the General and the Viceroy sat for a photograph. This picture Li-Hung Chang wished to preserve as a memento of the General's visit, and it was taken in one of the palace rooms. A day or two later there was a ceremonial dinner given in a temple. The dinner was a princely affair, containing all the best dishes of Chinese and European cookery, and, although the hour was noon, the afternoon had far gone when it came to an end."

On the 31st of May General Grant and his party embarked on the Peiho River for Pekin.

"On the 3d day of June, shortly after midday, we saw in the distance the walls and towers of Pekin. We passed near a bridge where there had been a contest between the French and Chinese during the Anglo-French expedition, and one of the results of which was that the officer who commanded the French should be made a nobleman, under the name of the Count Palikao, and had later adventures in French History. As we neared the city the walls loomed up and seemed harsh and forbidding, built with care and strength as if to defend the city. We came to a gate and were carried through a stone arched way, and halted, so that a new escort could join the General's party.

"Within an hour or two after General Grant's arrival in Pekin he was waited upon by the members of the Cabinet, who came in a body, accompanied by the military and civil governors of Pekin. These are the highest officials in China, men of grace and stately demeanor. They were received in Chinese fashion, seated around a table covered with sweetmeats, and served with tea. The first Secretary brought with him the card of prince Kung, the Prince Regent of the Empire, and said that His Imperial Highness had charged him to present all kind wishes to General Grant and to express the hope that the trip in China had been pleasant. The Secretary also said that as soon as the Prince Regent heard from the Chinese Minister in Paris that General Grant was coming to China, he sent



THE TEMPLE OF HEAVEN, PEKIN, CHINA—VISITED BY GENERAL GRANT.

orders to the officials to receive him with due honor. The General said that he had received nothing but honor and courtesy from China, and this answer pleased the Secretary, who said he would be happy to carry it to the Prince Regent.

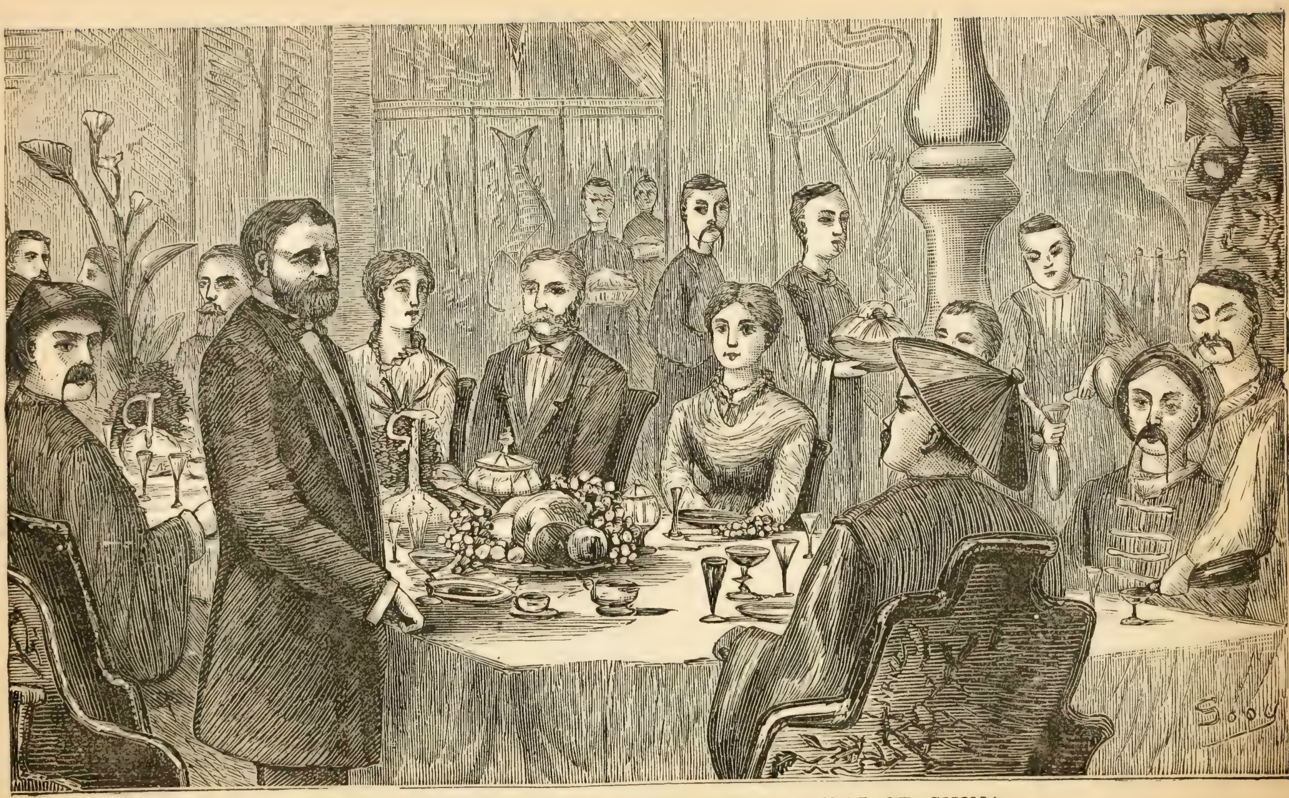
"As soon as General Grant arrived at Pekin he was met by the Secretary of State, who brought the card of Prince Kung, and said His Imperial Highness would be glad to see General Grant at any time.

"The Prince met the General the next day. He expected to see a uniformed person, a man of the dragon or lion species, who could make a great noise. What he saw was a quiet, middle-aged gentleman in evening dress, who had ridden a long way in the dust and sun, and who was looking in subdued dismay at servants who swarmed around him with dishes of soups and sweetmeats, dishes of bird's nest soup, sharks' fins, roast ducks, bamboo sprouts, and a teapot with a hot, insipid tipple made of rice, tasting like a remembrance of sherry, which was poured into small silver cups. We were none of us hungry. We had had luncheon, and we were on the programme for a special banquet in the evening. Here was a profuse and sumptuous entertainment. The dinner differed from those in Tientsin, Canton and Shanghai, in the fact that it was more quiet; there was no display of parade, no crowd of dusky servants and retainers hanging around and looking on, as though at a comedy.

"There were some points in this first conversation that I gather up as illustrative of the character of the Prince and his meeting with the General. I give them in the form of a dialogue:

"*General Grant*—I have long desired to visit China, but have been too busy to do so before. I have been received at every point of the trip with the greatest kindness, and I want to thank your Imperial Highness for the manner in which the Chinese authorities have welcomed me.

"*Prince Kung*—When we heard of your coming we were glad. We have long known and watched your course, and we have always been friends with America. America has never sought to oppress China, and we value very much



GENERAL GRANT DINING WITH PRINCE KUNG OF CHINA.

the friendship of your country and people. The Viceroy at Tientsin wrote of your visit to him.

"*General Grant*—I had a very pleasant visit to the Viceroy. He was anxious for me to visit Pekin and see you. I do not wish to leave Pekin without saying how much America values the prosperity of China. As I said to the Viceroy, that prosperity will be greatly aided by the development of the country.

"*Prince Kung*—China is not insensible to what has been done by other nations.

"*A Minister*—China is a conservative country, an old Empire governed by many traditions, and with a vast population. The policy of China is not to move without deliberation.

"*General Grant*—I think that progress in China should come from inside, from her own people. I am clear on that point. If her own people cannot do it, it will never be done. You do not want the foreigner to come in and put you in debt by lending you money and then taking your country.

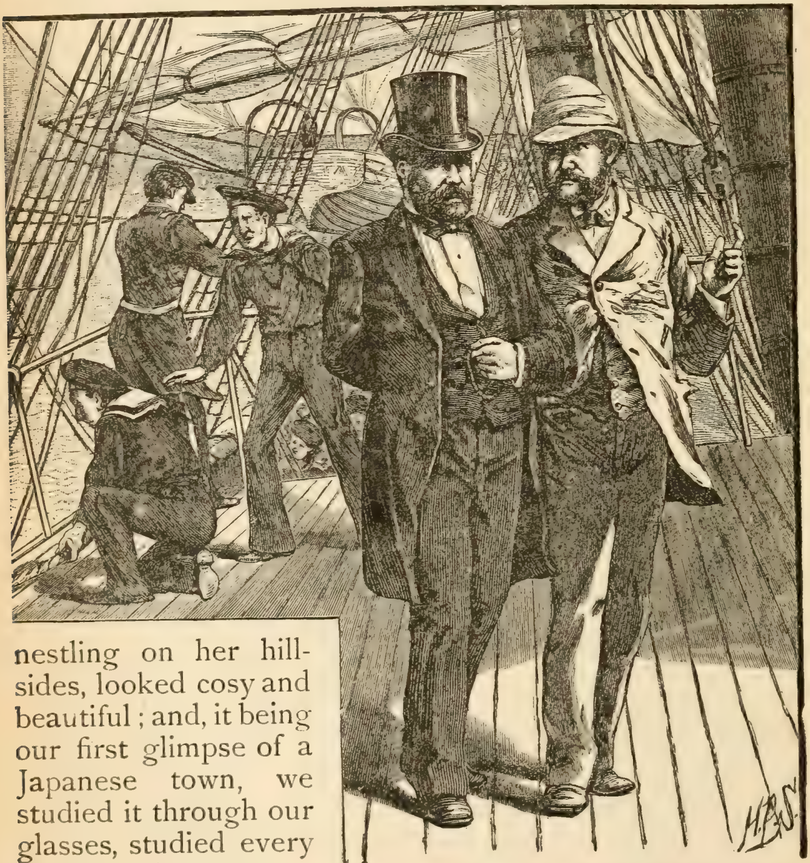
"The ministers all cordially assented to this proposition with apparent alacrity."

During his stay at Pekin Prince Kung had an important interview with General Grant, in which he asked him to use his good offices with the government of Japan, in order that an honorable and peaceable settlement of the question at issue between the two countries concerning the Loo Choo Islands might be had.

From Pekin General Grant returned to Tientsin, and there met the "Richmond," which soon sailed for Cheefoo, in order to enable the General and his party to see the great wall of China at the point where it comes to an end on the sea-shore.

From Chefoo the "Richmond" sailed direct for Nagasaki, in Japan. "There was no special incident in our run from China. On the morning of the 21st of June we found ourselves threading our way through beautiful islands and rocks rich with green, that stood like sentinels in the sea, and hills on which were trees and gardens, and high, commanding cliffs, covered with green, and smooth, tranquil waters, into the Bay of Nagasaki.

"The 'Richmond' steamed between the hills, and came to an anchorage. It was the early morning, and over the water were shadows of cool, inviting green. Nagasaki, nestling on her hillsides, looked cosy and beautiful; and, it being our first glimpse of a Japanese town, we studied it through our glasses, studied every feature—the scenery, the picturesque attributes of the city, the terraced hills that rose beyond, every rood under cultivation; the quaint, curious houses; the multitudes of flags which showed that the town knew of our coming and was preparing to do us honor. We noted, also, that the wharves were lined with



GENERAL GRANT TAKING A MORNING WALK ON BOARD THE STEAMER "RICHMOND."

JAPANESE MUSICIANS PLAYING FOR GENERAL GRANT.

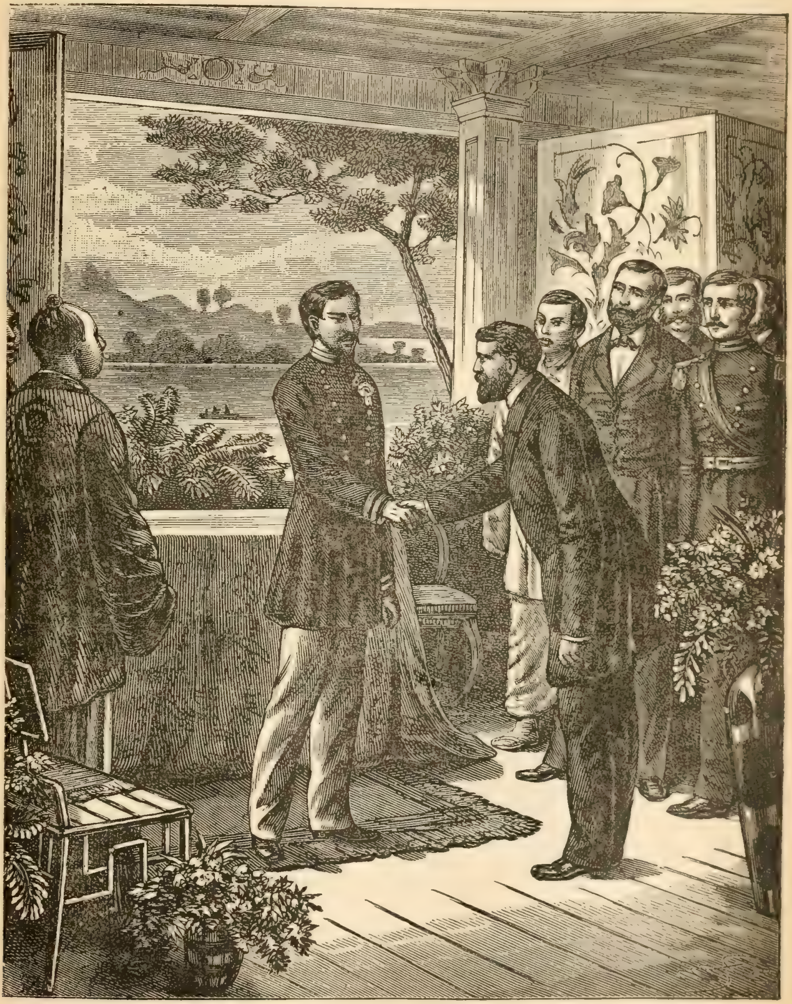
a multitude, and that the curious population were waiting to see the guest whom their nation honors and who is known in common speech as the American Mikado. In a short time the Japanese barge was seen coming, with Prince Dati and Mr. Yoshida and the Governor, all in the splendor of court uniforms. Prince Dati said that he had been commanded by the Emperor to meet General Grant on his landing, to welcome him in the name of His Majesty, and to attend upon him as the Emperor's personal representative so long as the General remained in Japan."

From Nagasaki the "Richmond" sailed to Yokohama, which was reached on the 3d of July. There was a special train waiting, and in the afternoon the party started for Tokio.

"The ride to Tokio, the capital of Japan, was a little less than an hour, over a smooth road, and through a pleasant, well-cultivated and apparently prosperous country. As the General descended from the train a committee of the citizens advanced and asked to read an address, which was accordingly read in both Japanese and English, and to which General Grant made an admirable reply. The General's carriage drove slowly in, surrounded by cavalry, through line of infantry presenting arms, through a dense mass of people, under an arch of flowers and evergreens, until, amid the flourish of trumpets and the beating of drums, he descended at the house that had been prepared for his reception—the Emperor's summer palace of Eurio Kwan.

"The Emperor and Empress have agreeable faces, the Emperor especially showing firmness and kindness. The solemn etiquette that pervaded the audience-chamber was peculiar, and might appear strange to those familiar with the stately but cordial manners of a European Court. But one must remember that the Emperor holds so high and so sacred a place in the traditions, the religion and the political system of Japan that even the ceremony of to-day is so far in advance of anything of the kind ever known in Japan that it might be called a revolution. The Emperor, for instance, as our group was formed, advanced and shook hands with the General.

"The first audience of General Grant with the Emperor, on the Fourth of July, was stately and formal. The Emperor, before our return from Nikko, sent a message to



GENERAL GRANT MEETING THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN.

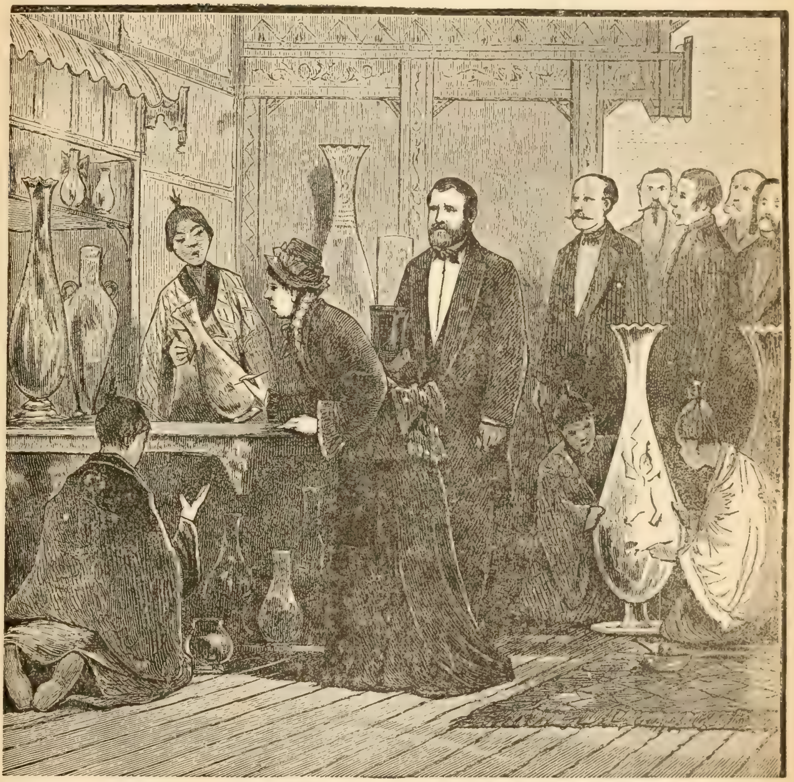
the General that he desired to see him informally. Many little courtesies had been exchanged between the Empress and Mrs. Grant, and the Emperor himself, through his noblemen and Ministers, kept a constant watch over the General's comfort. General Grant returned answer that he was entirely at the pleasure of His Majesty. It was arranged, consequently, that on the 10th of August the Emperor would come to the Palace of Eurio Kwan, where General Grant and his party resided. On this occasion the conversation lasted for two hours.

"General Grant said he would leave Japan with the warmest feelings of friendship toward the Emperor and the people. He would never cease to feel a deep interest in their fortunes. He thanked the Emperor for his princely hospitality. Taking his leave, the General and party strolled back to the palace, and His Majesty drove away to his own home in a distant part of the city.

"There were dinners and *fêtes* and many pleasant parties during our stay at Eurio Kwan.

"Among the most pleasing incidents of our last days in Tokio was a dinner with Sanjo, the Prime Minister, who entertained us in Parisian style, everything being as we would have found it on the Champs Elysées.

"On Saturday, August 30th, 1879, General Grant took his leave of the Emperor. A farewell to the Mikado meant more in the eyes of General Grant than if it had been the ordinary leave-taking of a monarch who had shown him hospitality. He had received attentions from the sovereign and people such as had never been given. He had been honored not alone in his own person, but as the representative of his country. In many ways the visit of the General had taken a wide range, and what he would say to the Emperor would have great importance, because the words he uttered would go to every Japanese household. General Grant's habit in answering speeches and addresses is to speak at the moment without previous thought or preparation. On several occasions, when bodies of people made addresses to him, they sent copies in advance, so that he might read them and prepare a response. But he always declined these courtesies, saying that he would wait until he heard the addresses in public, and his best response would be what came to him on the instant. The farewell to the Emperor was so important, however, that the General did what he has not done before during our journey. He wrote out in advance the speech he proposed making to His Majesty. I mention this circumstance simply because the incident is an exceptional one, and because it showed General Grant's anxiety to say to the Emperor and the people of Japan what would be most becoming in return for their kindness, and what would best conduce to good relations between the two nations.



GENERAL GRANT VISITS THE JAPANESE POTTERY.

"At two in the afternoon the sound of the bugles and the tramp of the horsemen announced the arrival of the escort that was to accompany us to the imperial palace. Prince Dati and Mr. Yoshida were in readiness, and a few minutes after two the state carriages came. General and Mrs. Grant rode in the first carriage. On reaching the palace, infantry received the General with military honors. The Prime Minister, accompanied by the Ministers for the Household and Foreign Affairs, were waiting at the door when our party arrived. The princes of the imperial family were present. The meeting was not so formal as when we came to greet the Emperor and have an audience of welcome. Then all the Cabinet were present, blazing in uniforms and decorations. Then we were strangers, now we are friends. On entering the audience-chamber—the same plain and severely-furnished room in which we had been received—the Emperor and Empress advanced and shook hands with the General and Mrs. Grant. The Emperor is not what you would call a graceful man, and his manners are those of an anxious person not precisely at his ease—wishing to please and make no mistake. But on this farewell audience he seemed more easy and natural than when we had seen him before.

"The audience with the Emperor was the end of all festivities; for, after taking leave of the head of the nation, it would not have been becoming in others to offer entertainments."

General Grant and party returned to Yokohama, and there engaged passage on the Pacific Mail Steamer "City of Tokio," which sailed for San Francisco on the 3d of September.

The voyage from Japan to San Francisco was pleasant but uneventful. A head wind held the steamer back during the latter part of the voyage, but the run, on the whole, was enjoyable.

# CHAPTER XVII.

## HOME AGAIN.

Arrival of the "City of Tokio" at San Francisco—Reception of General Grant—A Brilliant Demonstration—Honors paid to him—A Trip to the Yosemite Valley—The General's Visit to Portland, Oregon, Sacramento, Carson City, Virginia City—The Sutro Tunnel, Omaha and Burlington, Iowa—Arrival at Galena, Ill.—Enthusiastic Reception at Chicago, Logansport, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Louisville Cincinnati, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia—A Short Trip through the Southern States, Cuba, Mexico—Returning Home.

THE citizens of San Francisco determined to welcome General Grant back to his native country in the most cordial manner.

It was half past five o'clock when a puff of white smoke from seaward, from the earthworks back of and above Fort Point, and the booming of a heavy gun announced that the steamer was near at hand. In a few moments the entrance to the harbor was veiled in wreaths of smoke, and as the batteries opened fire in succession the whole channel was soon shrouded in clouds from their rapid discharges. For some time the position of the approaching ship could not be discovered, but shortly before six o'clock the outlines of the huge hull of the "City of Tokio" loomed through the obscurity of smoke and rapidly approaching shades of evening lit up by the flashes of guns, and in a few moments she glided into full view, surrounded by a fleet of steamers and tugs, gay with flags and crowded with guests, while the yacht squadron brought up the rear, festooned from deck to truck with brilliant bunting. Cheer after cheer burst from the assembled thousands as the vessels rounded Telegraph Hill. The United States steamer "Monterey," lying in the stream, added the roar of her guns to the general welcome, and the screaming of hundreds of steam whistles announced that the "City of Tokio" had reached her anchorage.

The General and his party were transferred to the ferry steamer "Oakland," and as she reached the dock the band struck up "Home Again," and amid cheers from the crowd

ARRIVAL OF GENERAL GRANT AT SAN FRANCISCO IN THE STEAMER "CITY OF TOKIO," General Grant stepped once more upon the shore of his native land.

General Grant was then conducted to his carriage and escorted to his hotel by the grandest and most imposing procession ever witnessed on the Pacific coast.

General Grant remained several weeks on the Pacific coast, and while in San Francisco was the guest of the city and the recipient of numerous and flattering attentions.

On the 23d of September, General and Mrs. Grant were formally presented by the municipal authorities to the citizens of San Francisco. The ceremonies took place at the City Hall, and were elaborate and imposing.

On the morning of the 30th of September General Grant and his party left San Francisco for a trip to the famous valley of the Yosemite.

The Yosemite Valley was reached on the 2d of October. A delightful visit to the noted points of this famous valley ensued, and the party returned to San Francisco on the 8th of October.

On the afternoon of the 9th, General Grant and his party sailed from San Francisco, on the steamer "St. Paul," for a visit to Oregon. Vancouver was reached on the 13th of October, at a quarter to six in the evening.

General Grant was met at Vancouver by the Governor and other officers of the State of Oregon, and the journey was continued to Portland, which was reached on the 14th.

While in Portland, General Grant was handsomely entertained by the State and city authorities. His visit was necessarily brief, and he returned to San Francisco on the 20th of October.

On the 22d of October General Grant and his party left San Francisco for Sacramento, which was reached at one o'clock in the afternoon.

In the evening the General received the citizens of Sacramento at the Capitol.

General Grant and his party returned to San Francisco on the 24th, reaching that city at noon, and were immediately driven to the Palace Hotel.

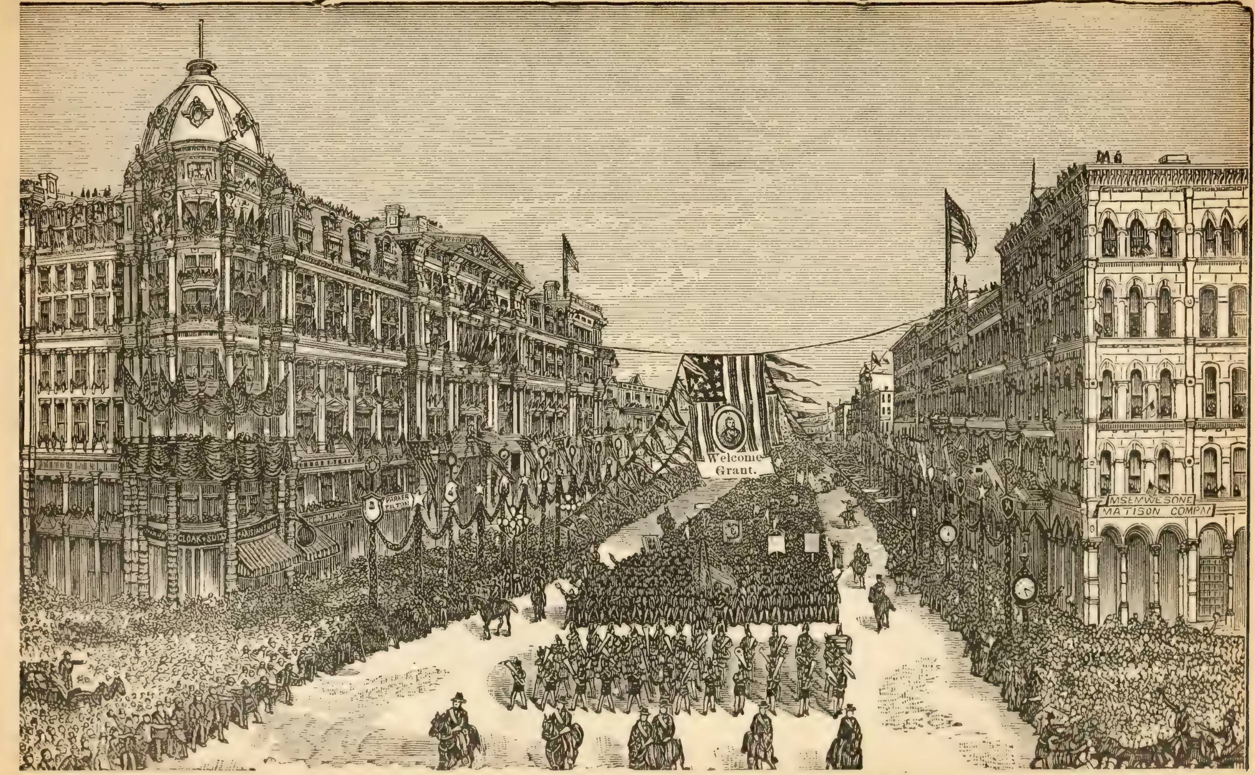
On the night of the 25th, a magnificent banquet was given, at the Palace Hotel, in honor of General Grant. At half-past eleven o'clock the Presidential party bade good-by, and the company took a special train for Nevada, being accompanied to the depot by many citizens.

On the 29th the General and his party visited the Sutro tunnel. They left Virginia City at six o'clock and were driven in four-in-hand turnouts over a fine mountain road to the town of Sutro, where they arrived at eight o'clock, the General expressing himself as much pleased with the early morning drive. His welcome was emphasized by the ringing of bells, blowing of whistles of the company's work-shops and by a heavy discharge of giant powder from the mountain tops overlooking the town. The party were received at the Sutro mansion by Mrs. Adolphe Sutro, Superintendent H. H. Sheldon and officers of the company, and after an examination of the works of the company at the mouth of the tunnel, and the reception of the citizens of the town and vicinity, a sumptuous breakfast was served.

After returning to Virginia City, General Grant resumed his journey eastward in a special train. Ogden was reached at three o'clock on the afternoon of the 30th, and here the General was received by Governor Emery, of Utah Territory. A halt of only half an hour was made, and the General was again speeding eastward. At Cheyenne and Omaha there were enthusiastic receptions. Upon the arrival of the General at Omaha, a special train was sent from Chicago to that place by the officials of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad to convey the General and his party further eastward. Omaha was left on the morning of the 3d of November. At Council Bluffs and other points along the route the General was received with enthusiasm.

Galena, Ill., the home of General Grant previous to the war, was reached on the 5th of November, where he was enthusiastically received by his neighbors and friends.

A week's rest at his home in Galena was all that General Grant permitted himself to enjoy. He had promised to attend the reunion of the veterans of the Army of the Tennessee, which was to be held at Chicago on the 12th of



GRANT'S RECEPTION IN CHICAGO—REVIEWING THE PROCESSION FROM THE PALMER HOUSE.

November, and on that day he set out from Galena to fulfil his promise. Great preparations had been made in Chicago to receive him, and it was determined by the people that their reception to General Grant should surpass anything of the kind ever witnessed in this country.

The train from Galena, containing General Grant, arrived at Park Row, on the south side, promptly at one o'clock. At this time the rain was falling heavily, but in a few minutes the clouds lifted and the sun shone brightly. General Grant alighted with his party from the special car of President Ackerman, of the Illinois Central Railroad, and took a seat in the carriage provided for him.

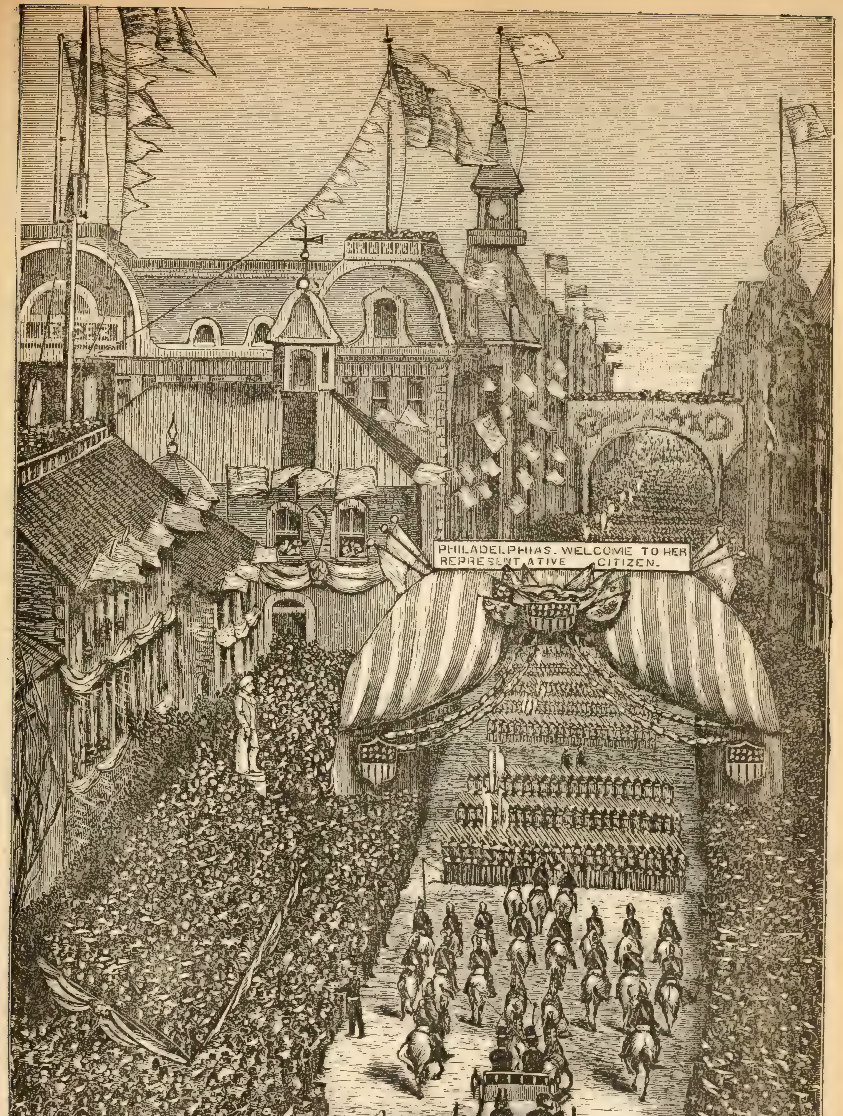
The procession moved from Park Row north through Michigan Avenue to Washington Street, thence through Clark to Washington, thence through Franklin to Monroe, thence through La Salle to Madison, thence through Dearborn to Adams, thence through Clark to Van Buren, thence through State to Madison, and thence through Wabash Avenue until dismissed. General Grant left the procession at the Palmer House and reviewed it from a temporary balcony.

After the review General Grant was formally welcomed by Mayor Harrison, who spoke in the rotunda of the Palmer House.

On the morning of the 13th of November the Union Veteran Club gave a reception to General Grant at McVicker's Theatre.

In a similar way General Grant was received by the citizens of Logansport, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh and Harrisburg.

General Grant and his party passed the night on board of the special train at Harrisburg. An early start was made for Philadelphia, at which point the General's journey around the world came to an end. The great city had made the most magnificent preparations for the reception of its distinguished guest, and there can be no question that the reception was one of the most tremendous ovations ever tendered to any man in the United States, and the moving column, which was more than twelve miles in



GENERAL GRANT'S RECEPTION IN PHILADELPHIA.

THE PROCESSION PASSING INDEPENDENCE HALL.

length, was admirably managed. It occupied six hours in passing any given point.

The point at which Mayor Stokley was waiting to receive General Grant was reached at twenty minutes past nine. The General and his friends had moved into the fourth car when the fifth was taken into West Philadelphia, and in this car he received the Mayor. Upon entering the car, Mayor Stokley raised his hat and cordially grasped the extended hand of the ex-President, the latter holding his hat in his left hand. The Mayor then welcomed the distinguished guest to the city.

General Grant left the train at twenty-two minutes after ten, accompanied by Mayor Stokley. Then followed Governor Hoyt, Colonel Jones, the members of the Reception Committee and others. There was a glad, a tumultuous shout of welcome as General Grant was recognized by the crowd. The Mayor and his guest entered a six-in-hand barouche, and drove off to take the place assigned in the procession, which, from daylight, had been forming on Broad and all the streets leading into it between Market Street and Girard Avenue. The other members of the party followed in open carriages.

Any number of columns might be written about this triumphal journey, whose itinerancy led down Broad to the new public buildings, thence around into Market Street, passing under an arch bearing the legend,—"All Honor to the Great Hero of the Nineteenth Century;" down Market to Fourth, through which the column passed to Chestnut. The old Independence Hall was decorated and festooned from the pavement to the roof, and in front was the grand triumphal arch spanning Chestnut Street, decorated with exquisite taste, and showing the motto,—"Philadelphia's Welcome to the Patriot and Soldier."

Upon this archway were five hundred ladies. Far as the perspective effect permitted the eye to see up the street was a fluttering forest of flags and streamers.

To sum up the whole parade in one paragraph, it may be said that the appearance of General Grant's carriage was heralded blocks ahead,—to the ear by the shouts of applause, and to the eye by the waving of hats and handkerchiefs. Nowhere was any disapprobation shown, but everywhere good humor and welcome. As his carriage reached the front of Independence Hall, a few moments before one o'clock, a round of applause greeted him, the bell tolled forth a salute, and this was the signal for a general outburst of enthusiasm all along the line.

General Grant remained in Philadelphia about a fortnight and was the recipient of the heartiest and most cordial hospitality at the hands of its citizens.

On the 27th General Grant, accompanied by Mrs. Grant, General and Mrs. Sheridan, Colonel and Mrs. Fred Grant, and Miss McKenna, left Philadelphia for Washington.

Washington was reached at a little after four o'clock in the afternoon. Several days were spent in the National Capital, one of which General Grant devoted to a visit to the farm of his friend, General Beale, in the vicinity, where his Arabian horses were being kept for him.

President Grant and party made a short trip through the Southern States, and finally, on the 21st, they embarked on the splendid new steamer "Admiral" for Havana.

At half-past eleven o'clock on the morning of January 22d the "Admiral" entered the harbor of Havana. On landing, the party entered carriages belonging to the Captain-General and were driven to the palace, where, after their reception at the foot of the staircase by General Callejas, Vice-Governor-General, and Joaquin Cirbonell, Secretary of the Government, they entered and inspected the palace.

On the 24th an official banquet was given to General Grant at the palace. About eighty persons were present, including General Callejas, the Vice-Governor-General, the intendants of the Treasury and army, General Arias, Governor of the Province of Havana, members of the municipality, the Bishop of Havana and other distinguished persons. Those of the guests who were married were accompanied by their ladies.

During his stay in Cuba General Grant visited many points of interest in that island, and returned to Havana about the 1st of February. On the 2d of February he visited the Vento Water-Works, near Havana. On the night of the 3d a grand ball was given at the Vice-regal Palace, in honor of the American visitors.

On the 13th of February General Grant and his party bade adieu to their hospitable Cuban friends, and embarked on the steamship "City of Alexandria" for Vera Cruz, in Mexico, where they were cordially received by the officials and citizens. From Vera Cruz they went to Orizaba, and a few days later to the city of Mexico.

"Upon Monday, February 23d, at 11 A. M., Generals Grant and Sheridan, with Colonel Fred Grant and their respective ladies, repaired to the national palace for the purpose of an official call upon President Diaz.

"Tuesday afternoon carriages were taken to Molino del Rey, which means simply 'King's Mills.' It was at the portal in the wall surrounding these buildings that the desperate assault was made by the Americans which drove the Mexicans out like rats toward Chapultepec, half a mile away, and immortalized the spot in our national annals. The ancient walls plainly show the rain marks of bullets and of cannon-balls. A plain monument upon the crest of a hill gives due token of the event. It was here that General Grant, then a young lieutenant, won his captaincy."

On the evening of the 1st of March, President Diaz gave a grand banquet at the National Palace in honor of General Grant. All the members of the Cabinet and Diplomatic Corps, with many other persons of distinction, were present. After the banquet a festival took place. The plaza was tastefully adorned and illuminated, and was crowded with people.

On the 20th of March General Grant's visit to Mexico came to an end. Bidding adieu to his Mexican friends at the capital, he travelled by railway to Vera Cruz, retracing the route by which he had reached the Mexican metropolis, and on the 20th embarked on the steamship "City of Mexico" for Galveston, where he was enthusiastically received. From there he returned North *via* San Antonio and Houston, Texas.

# CHAPTER XVIII.

## GRANT IN PRIVATE LIFE.

General Grant at Home Again—He makes New York City His Permanent Residence—Mrs. Grant Presented with a Residence on Sixty-sixth Street—The Chicago Convention of 1880—The Firm of Grant & Ward—The Fund of $250,000 raised for General Grant—Death of the Mother of General Grant—History of the Failure of Grant & Ward—A Loan from William H. Vanderbilt—An Interesting Correspondence.

General Grant's tour through the Southern States was of great importance to the peace and welfare of the country at large, because it did more than any other effort heretofore made to conciliate those formerly in rebellion against the government of the United States. Everywhere he was received with great enthusiasm and courtesy, especially by those who had fought against him during our civil war. His visits to Mexico and Cuba had been prompted by the desire to see established closer commercial relations between those countries and the United States. Though not traveling in an official capacity, he was recognized as the representative of our country. It is due to General Grant that we now enjoy a very advantageous commercial treaty with Mexico.

On his return from Mexico General Grant made New York City his permanent residence. His many years of service for his country had brought him fame enough, but only a small fortune, and the competence that he possessed had been greatly diminished by the expenses incurred during his tour around the world. As he had no home to call his own in that great city, his friends purchased a superb brown-stone mansion in Sixty-sixth Street, one door from Fifth Avenue, for the sum of $100,000, and presented it to Mrs. Grant. There was a mortgage of $60,000 on it, and although the full amount was raised, only $40,000 were paid down on the delivery of the deed, and the remainder was placed to Mrs. Grant's credit in the bank. She made repeated efforts to raise the incumbrance, but as it had a long term of years to run, the holder of the mortgage would not discharge it. When the firm of Grant & Ward was started, Mrs. Grant transferred her account to the house, and with it the $60,000 to pay off the mortgage on their home. That sum went in the crash of the firm of Grant & Ward.

General Grant neither desired nor sought a nomination for a third term at the hands of the Republican National Convention, which met at Chicago in June, 1880. No man had more respect for the unwritten law laid down by Washington, declaring a third term in the Presidential chair inimical to the best interests of the Republic.

The extraordinary enthusiasm which had greeted General Grant on his return home from his tour around the world undoubtedly proved the fact that he was the most popular man in the United States, and that no single man of any prominence in the Republican party held the affection of the masses to so high a degree as he.

COL. FREDERICK D. GRANT.

This fact naturally turned the attention of the leaders of that party to General Grant as the most fitting candidate for the highest office in the gift of the people, and the one most sure to be elected. They were fearful of consulting him beforehand; they dreaded to allow him the opportunity of declining to be a candidate before the convention, and flattered themselves with the hope that if he were nominated, even against his will, they might be able to induce him to remain in the field.

Such a firm hold did this delusion have on them, that for 36 ballots in the convention, 306 of the delegates cast their votes for General Grant, and even on the decisive ballot, when General Garfield was nominated, refused to make the vote unanimous, exclaiming: "The old guard dies, but never surrenders."

The steadfastness with which that band of three hundred and six had clung to their champion was subsequently commemorated by the striking off of medals, which were distributed to each one.

A short time afterward the firm of Grant & Ward was started. As is well known, the firm later on failed, ruining its members financially, and many persons, who had entrusted to its care their wealth as well as their savings of many years.

On January 11th, 1881, Senator Logan, of Illinois, introduced a bill in the U. S. Senate to place General Grant on the retired list with the rank and full pay of a general of the army. This bill did not pass at that session and friends of the general voluntarily raised a fund of $250,000, the interest of which, amounting to $15,000 per annum, he was to have the use of during his life; the principal he could dispose of by will.

This fund was in no sense of the word a charitable gift, but merely a just recognition of the invaluable services he had rendered to his country. Though all of the contributors to the fund were warm personal friends of the general, he had solicited nothing from them, had thrown out no hint or suggestion that he in any wise needed the gift. He was entirely ignorant of its being raised until it was presented to him, and it was only after a great deal of persuasion that he was induced to accept it.

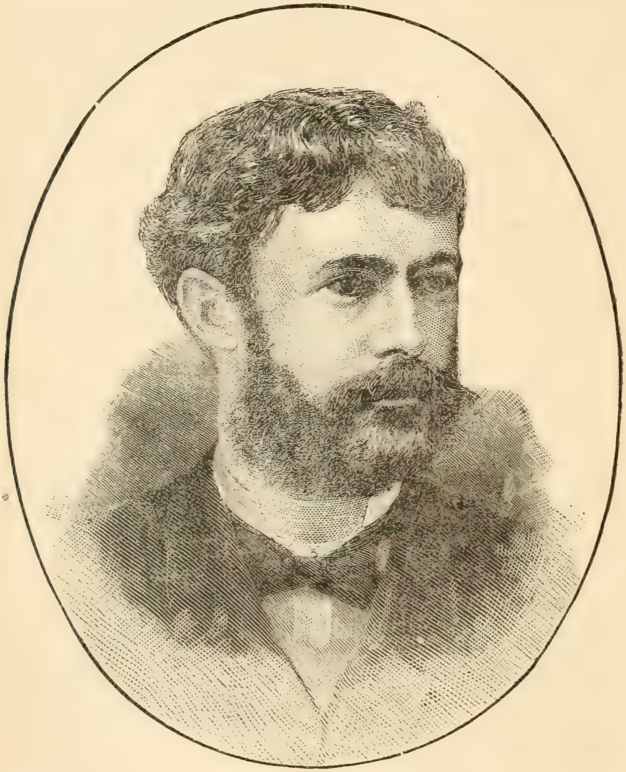
For the rest of that year and the next General Grant led a very retired life. On the 11th of May, 1883, he suffered the loss of his mother, who died at the ripe age of eighty-four years, at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Corbin, at Jersey City Heights. Heaven had permitted her to live long enough to see honors showered on her son, such as no mother had ever witnessed before.

On December 24th, of that year, a very serious accident befell General Grant. In the evening he left his residence for the purpose of paying a visit. The night was rainy and disagreeable, and the sidewalk very slippery. He passed down the steps and crossed to the curb, where his carriage was waiting; but just as he was about entering the vehicle, slipped and fell. His body struck the sharp end of the curb, severely bruising his side, and the weight of the fall caused serious injury to his thigh, which deprived him of all power to rise. The accident confined him to his bed for several weeks, and it was some months before he could leave his residence again

The year 1884 was destined to be the saddest year of General

Grant's life. On May 6th the firm of Grant & Ward closed its doors; and, as was subsequently ascertained, $14,000,000 were swept away in the crash, and with it the whole of General Grant's fortune financially.

The General wished his three sons well established in business, and he had hoped and believed that he would do so when, in the summer of 1880, they became partners of Ferdinand Ward in the banking and brokerage business.



ULYSSES S. GRANT, JR.

The firm started out with great brilliancy; and by a number of apparently successful operations, Mr. Ward achieved the cognomen of the "Young Napoleon of Finance." Mr. James D. Fish, President of the Marine National Bank, shortly after became a partner, and in November of the same year General Grant himself asked to be admitted to the firm. Neither the General nor his sons had any experience in financial affairs, and trusted entirely to the honor and integrity of Mr. Ward. It now appears evident that he carried on a number of real-estate and other speculations without the knowledge of the other members of the firm, and used for this purpose the moneys and credits of the firm, and of the Marine National Bank.

The imaginary profits dwindled away into nothing; the deposits of trusting creditors were used to avert the inevitable, and on the Saturday previous to the failure the news came to the General like a thunder-clap, that unless a very large sum of money could be immediately raised, he and his family would be ruined.

We will not attempt to picture the horror of the old warrior, who for sixty-two years of his life had borne his good name without a stain or reproach upon it, and who now felt that, however innocent, he would be made the target of the arrows of indignation and reproach, which would be hurled from all sides as soon as the terrible calamity should have happened. All night long he kept considering some plan of escape, and on the next day, as a last resource, and with but little hope in his heart, visited the residence of Mr. W. H. Vanderbilt, and asked that millionaire to lend him $150,000 on his personal check.

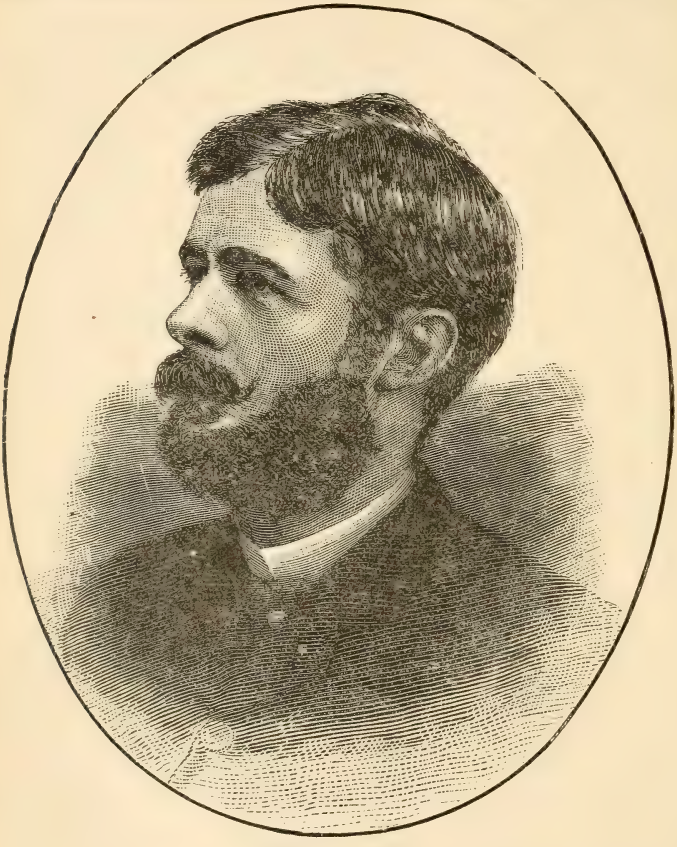
It is true Mr. Vanderbilt at once gave him the required sum, and the money was deposited in the Marine National Bank to the credit of the firm of Grant & Ward. But this was a mere drop in the bucket. It would not ward off the inevitable. On the fatal Tuesday the Marine National Bank closed its doors, and a few minutes later the firm of Grant & Ward announced its inability to pay its debts.

The outburst of indignation which General Grant feared would be directed against him did arise, but only to change into a great wave of sympathy for him and his as soon as it was ascertained how wofully his confidence had been misplaced and abused, and to what a wretched strait he and his family had been reduced.

Everything that an upright, conscientious man can do towards satisfying his creditors had been done by the general; and his family, his respected wife, and his sons and their wives, had nobly aided him in these efforts.

His debt to Mr. Vanderbilt weighed especially on his mind, and he did not rest satisfied until he had been permitted to confess judgment for the amount. Mr. Vanderbilt made a levy on the personal property, including the valuable gifts received by the general during his tour around the world, and the medals presented to him, and then offered to present them to Mrs. Grant. At first she accepted the offer, but the general would not allow her to receive them; and as the only way to satisfy the old soldier's fine sense of honor, Mr. Vanderbilt was finally obliged to request the general to permit Mrs. Grant to remain in possession of them until they could be presented to the nation and preserved in the Smithsonian Institute at Washington.

In this connection we publish the following correspondence, which reflects credit as well on Mr. Vanderbilt as on General and Mrs. Grant.



JESSE R. GRANT.

"No. 640 Fifth Avenue, *Jan.* 10, 1885.

"Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant:

"*Dear Madam*—So many misrepresentations have appeared in regard to the loan made by me to General Grant, and reflecting unjustly upon him and myself, that it seems proper to briefly recite the facts.

"On Sunday, the 4th of May, 1884, General Grant called at my house and asked me to lend him $150,000 for one day. I gave him my check without question, not because the transaction was business-like, but simply because the request came from General Grant. The misfortunes which overwhelmed him in the next twenty-four hours aroused the sympathy and regret of the whole country. You and he sent me within a few days of the time, the deeds of your joint properties to cover this obligation, and urged my acceptance on the ground that this was the only debt of honor which the General had personally incurred, and these deeds I returned. During my absence in Europe the General delivered to my attorney mortgages upon all his own real estate, household effects and the swords, medals and works of art which were the memorials of his victories and the presents from governments all over the world. These securities were in his judgment worth the $150.000.

"At his solicitation the necessary steps were taken by judgment, &c., to reduce these properties to possession, and the articles mentioned have been this day bought in by me, and the amounts bid applied in reduction of the debt. Now, that I am at liberty to treat these things as my own, the disposition of the whole matter most in accord with my feelings is this:

"I present to you as your separate estate the debt and judgment I hold against General Grant; also the mortgages upon his real estate and all the household furniture and ornaments, coupled only with the condition that the swords, commissions, medals, gifts from the United States, States, cities and foreign governments, and all articles of historical value and interest shall at the General's death or, if you desire it, sooner be presented to the government at Washington, where they will remain as perpetual memorials of his fame and of the history of his time.

"I enclose herewith assignments to you of the mortgages and judgments, a bill of sale of the personal property and a deed of trust in which the articles of historical interest are enumerated. A copy of this trust deed will, with your approval, be forwarded to the President of the United States for deposit in the proper department.

"Trusting that this action will meet with your acceptance and approval, and with the kindest regards to your husband, I am yours respectfully,

"W. H. VANDERBILT."

To this General Grant replied:

"NEW YORK CITY, *Jan.* 10, 1885.

"*Dear Sir:*—Mrs. Grant wishes me to answer your letter of this evening to say that, while she appreciates your great generosity in transferring to her the mortgages given to secure my debt of $150,000, she cannot accept it in whole. She accepts with pleasure the trust which applies to articles enumerated in your letter to go to the government of the United States, at my death or sooner, at her option. In this matter you have anticipated the disposition which I had contemplated making of the articles. They will be delivered to the government as soon as arrangements can be made for their reception.

"Papers relating to all other property will be returned, with the request that you have it sold and the proceeds applied to the liquidation of the debt which I so justly owe you. You have stated in your letter with the minutest accuracy the history of the transaction which brought

GENERAL GRANT'S COTTAGE AT LONG BRANCH.

me in your debt. I have only to add that I regard your giving me your check for the amount without inquiry, as an act of marked and unusual friendship. The loan was to me personally. I got the money, as I believed, to carry the Marine National Bank over a day, being assured that the bank was solvent, but owing to unusual calls, needed assistance until it could call in its loans.

"I cannot conclude without assuring you that Mrs. Grant's inability to avail herself of your great kindness in no way lessens either her sense of obligation or my own. Yours truly, "U. S. GRANT."

"W. H. VANDERBILT, ESQ."

Whereupon Mr. Vanderbilt wrote the following letter:

"GENERAL U. S. GRANT: "No. 640 FIFTH AVENUE, *Jan.* 11, 1885.

"*My Dear Sir*:—On my return home last night I found your letter in answer to mine to Mrs. Grant. I appreciate fully the sentiments which actuate both Mrs. Grant and yourself in declining the part of my proposition relating to the real estate. I greatly regret that she feels it her duty to make this decision, as I earnestly hoped that the spirit in which the offer was made would overcome any scruples in accepting it. But I must insist that I shall not be defeated in a purpose to which I have given so much thought, and which I have so much at heart. I will, therefore, as fast as the money is received from the sales of the real estate, deposit it in the Union Trust Company.

"With the money thus realized, I will at once create with that company a trust, with the proper provisions for the income to be paid to Mrs. Grant during her life, and giving the power to her to make such disposition of the principal by her will as she may elect. Very truly yours,

"GENERAL U. S. GRANT." "WLLLIAM H. VANDERBILT.

General Grant first accepted the generous offer, as will be seen from the following letter: NEW YORK CITY, *Jan.* 11, 1885.

"*Dear Sir*:—Your letter of this date is received. Mrs. Grant and I regret that you cannot accept our proposition to retain the property which was mortgaged in good faith to secure a debt of honor. But your generous determination compels us to no longer resist. Yours, truly,

"W. H. VANDERBILT." "U. S. GRANT."

Finally, Mrs. Grant declined the offer of Mr. Vanderbilt by the following note: NEW YORK, SUNDAY, *Jan.* 11, 1885.

"*My Dear Mr. Vanderbilt*:—Upon reading your letter of this afternoon General Grant and myself felt that it would be ungracious to refuse your princely and generous offer. Hence his note to you. But upon reflection I find that I cannot, I will not, accept your munificence in any form.

I beg that you will pardon this apparent vacillation and consider this answer definite and final.

With great regard and a sense of obligation that will always remain, I am yours very gratefully, "JULIA D. GRANT."

"TO MR. WILLIAM H. VANDERBILT.

# CHAPTER XIX.

## GENERAL GRANT'S ILLNESS.

General Grant's Trouble and Illness—His Physicians Declare it a Cancer—General Grant's Statement in Relation to the Failure of Grant and Ward—Not Engaged in Government Contracts—Ward's Methods—Grant's Opinion of his Partner—Young Ulysses S. Grant on Ward.

THERE is no doubt, that the trouble arising from this ignominious failure accelerated the illness, with which General Grant was threatened for several months. A cancer, or a dangerous ulceration of the throat had developed itself, in spite of the best endeavors of the most prominent specialists of New York City to cure it. For a while the General was able to take a daily airing in his carriage, but soon he grew worse, and from the beginning of the month of April up to the 20th anniversary of Lee's surrender at Appomattox, his condition was such that his life was despaired of; some of the bulletins issued by his physicians reading, "his death can only be a question of hours or days."

One of his physicians, who makes a speciality of cancer, on the 8th of April said: "General Grant would have been dead weeks ago but for the superior attendance he has had. His will power has done much to sustain him. He is reported to have said that he wanted to die. I imagine that he said this when momentarily depressed. But his stubbornness, the 'never licked' feeling, as Abe Lincoln used to say of him, forces itself to the front, and in my belief, he hopes against hope. It's his nature to do this, and I am of opinion that he couldn't help feeling so if he wanted to. Of course this feeling is an aid to the physicians. From my knowledge of cancer treatment I believe that the plan followed in his case is a constant moistening of the throat with gargles and liquid nourishment, thus allaying local inflammation as much as possible and reserving injection remedies for emergencies.

While General Grant was lying on his death bed, the trial of James D. Fish, the ex-President of the Marine Bank, which went into bankruptcy on the same day with the firm of Grant & Ward, on the charges of misapplying the funds of the bank and making false entries on the books, was going on. It was essential to have the General's testimony, and on the 6th of March District-Attorney Root and Messrs. Smith and Clark, for the defense, went up to the house of General Grant, accompanied by the court stenographer, in order to take his deposition, which was afterwards read to the jury.

Counsel and stenographer reached the Grant residence in Sixty-sixth Street about five o'clock, and were at once shown to the patient's sick room on the second floor. Here they found the General stretched out in an easy-chair, with his slippered feet in another chair.

He gave his testimony from beginning to end with a seeming desire to tell all he knew, and without apparent exhaustion, and only a slight hoarseness was noticeable in an otherwise clear enunciation. At the instance and by agreement of counsel for both parties, the administering of the oath to the witness was waived, the deposition to be taken and read with the same effect as though the oath were administered. This complimentary action on the part of counsel was entirely exceptional.

The direct examination was conducted by Counsellor Clark, upon whose motion the witness was called. It ran over the entire connection of General Grant with the collapsed firm, and, while nothing of a very sensational character was brought out, there were many points upon which the General failed to throw any light, owing to his entire ignorance of the details of the business of the firm.

The General at several points volunteered information which he thought would throw light upon some point. He did not appear in the least vindictive, nor did he at any time refer to Mr. Ward or to any one else in words showing that he cherished any feelings other than friendly for them.

The taking of testimony having been completed, the party broke up into an informal conversation, speaking of mutual friends and past occurrences, but the Grant sons were mindful of the fact that their father's strength was waning, and cut the talking seance short by a proposition to adjourn to the parlors on the floor below. This left the old General alone with the faithful Harrison.

A letter dated July 6, 1882, and addressed to Fish, was identified by General Grant as in his handwriting. He was asked by the counsel for the government whether this letter was an answer to any communication in reference to government contracts. General Grant replied:

"No; I had told Mr. Ward when it was mentioned that there never must be any government contracts there. There is nothing wrong in being engaged in government contracts more than in anything else, unless made wrong by the acts of the individual, but I had been President of the United States and I did not think it was suitable for me to have my name connected with government contracts, and I knew that there was no large profit in them, except by dishonest measures. There are some men who got government contracts year in and year out, and whether they managed their affairs dishonestly to make a profit or not—they are sometimes supposed to—I did not think it was any place for me."

"And you did not find in that letter that you received any reference to anything of that sort?"

"I did not find anything of that sort or I should have stopped; but, as a matter of fact, I may never have seen that letter. Mr. Ward may just simply have given me a statement of the contents of that letter when at his office."

"Did you at any time know or understand that the firm of Grant & Ward had been engaged in government contracts or in furnishing money to be used in carrying out government contracts?"

General Grant drew no profits from the firm. He left his money there, and never got it out. He said: "Ward came up to see me the Sunday night before the failure, and asked me to go down with him to see Mr. Newcomb to see if he couldn't get $150,000 from him; that he had himself raised $230,000, and if he could raise $150,000 more, it would carry the Marine Bank through; that we had $660,000 in the Marine Bank, besides $1,300,000 of securities in our vaults; that we should be inconvenienced very much if we couldn't carry the bank through, and he said the Marine Bank was all sound and solid if it had time to collect in or draw in a little of its time loans. I went down there with him, and Mr. Newcomb was not home, and he asked me if I knew William H. Vanderbilt well enough to ask him, and I, after some little hesitation, said I did, and Mr. Vanderbilt loaned it to me without hesitation at all. He said, at the time he gave it to me, that he was lending this to me, and that he had no recollection of ever having done such a thing before, but that he would do it for me. Well, that has taken all the remaining property that I had."

Ward said nothing to Grant about their debts to the Marine Bank. Fish never said anything to Grant expressing distrust of Ward, nor did he (Grant) ever suspect Ward. "I had no distrust of Ward the night before the failure, not the slightest; and I recollect that my son, U. S. Grant, Jr., after the failure, said that 'Ferd would come out right yet; he had no doubt he would come out right;' for he had such profound friendship for his brother, Will Ward, that he didn't believe it was possible for him to do a dishonest act. It took me a day or two to believe it was possible that Ward had committed the act he had."

# CHAPTER XX.

## THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

General Grant growing worse—Arrival of his daughter, Mrs. Sartoris—The General put on the retired list of the U. S. Army by the efforts of Mr. Samuel J. Randall—Bulletins issued about the health of the president—A curious dream—Fanatical Temperance men—Smoking not the cause of General Grant's ailment—The Medical Record on the Case—Sympathy from all parts of the country, friend and foe—The 20th anniversary of Appomattox—The progress of Grant's illness—Improving—Is it cancer or ulcer?—Opinions of prominent Physicians—The men who were daily visitors of the sick-room.

DURING this time the disease of General Grant had made such an unfavorable progress that it was deemed wise to call his only daughter, Mrs. Nellie Sartoris, who lives at Southampton, England, to the sick-room of her father.

One evening, when General Grant was sitting in his bed-room, his ear caught the clatter of hurrying footsteps, and the sound of youthful voices reached him. He had been waiting for that sound for two days, and did not need preparation for it. Mrs. Grant stepped out into the hallway. There were a few joyous exclamations, and the next instant a slight figure in black, with brilliant cheeks and bright eyes, was in his doorway, across the room, and within his embrace all in an instant. It was his daughter Nellie, whose presence alone had been needed to make the family union complete. Colonel Fred. Grant and Jesse Grant followed their sister up stairs to greet the General. They had gone off in the morning to meet the Baltic and bring Mrs. Sartoris home, and had not seen the General all day, but just then his eyes and thoughts were only with the loving newcomer. Little was said by either, but the General showed his devotion and pleasure over her return by little caresses and smiles, and words of affection. Mrs. Sartoris did not stay in the room long. It was evidently a tax on the General to remain up, and although he would not admit it, she was quick to see it, and, pleading her own weariness, left him after a half hour. By 10.30 o'clock Dr. Douglas had finished his night's ministrations, and had "good reason to believe" that General Grant was asleep.

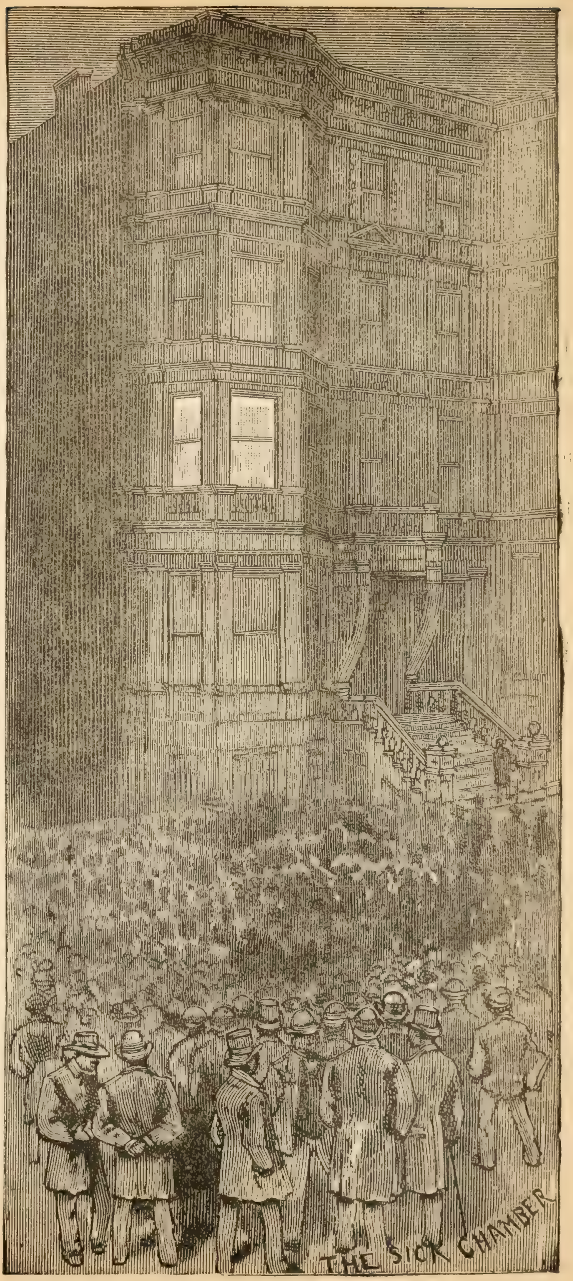
Mrs. Sartoris had been met at quarantine by her three brothers, and they brought her to the city, with her maid and baggage, in a revenue cutter.

For several years past every recurring session of Congress had been marked by the introduction of a bill to retire General Grant with the rank and pay of general for life. This simple act of justice toward a man who has so amply deserved this recognition of his eminent services has heretofore always failed of becoming a law, on account of mean-spirited political divisions in the National Legislature. It needed the sight of the heroic old man, stretched on the bed of sickness and pain, to awaken Congress to a tardy sense of its duty, and, by the efforts of Mr. Samuel J. Randall, a well-known Congressman from Pennsylvania, the bill was passed on the very last day of the session. It was at once presented to President Arthur for signature, and he immediately signed it, remarking that never since he had become President had it given him greater pleasure to affix his signature to any act than to this bill.

MRS. SARTORIS (NELLIE GRANT).

From all parts of the country, especially from his old comrades, inquiries came in relation to the health of the patient, and to avoid answering hundreds of letters, and to notify the public of everything of any importance in connection with this case, daily bulletins were telegraphed all over the land and eagerly read by hundreds of thousands of American citizens. Even from abroad many anxious inquiries were made about the state of health of General Grant, and the prospects of this unfortunate case. Nearly everybody with whom the General had the slightest acquaintance called to see him. First many were permitted to see the patient, but when his illness took an unfavorable turn, the physicians interposed a veto, and from that time only his most intimate friends were admitted to his presence.

His immediate family, ex-Senator Chaffee, Parson Newman, General Badeau and his attendants were the only persons who



THE RESIDENCE OF GENERAL GRANT, NEW YORK CITY—
SHOWING THE PATIENT'S CHAMBER.

were permitted to see him. On the morning of the 5th of April, when General Grant rubbed his eyes, looking into the faces of those clustered about him, he exclaimed:

"What a funny dream!"

Dr. Shrady bobbed up in his chair in a second. Mrs. Sartoris was dumfounded for, as the doctors say, the exclamation burst as naturally from the sick man as from a school-boy. The gas was burning above his bed and the face of the General was fresh-looking. These favorable symptoms were noticed by the physician, and after the General's throat had been moistened and the cancer dressed he was asked about his dream. He said it was too ridiculous to be told. His daughter, Mrs. Sartoris, begged for the story, and the General rested himself more comfortably in his chair and then said:

"Well, it was like this: I dreamed that I was off travelling in some far-away country. I had a satchel in my hand, and I was half undressed. I don't know what was in the satchel, but I do know there was no money in it nor in my pockets. I was very poor, and alone. I remember saying to myself that my poverty should not make me faint-hearted, because I had been poor so long. I journeyed along and came to a fence with a stile in it. I mounted the stile. I recall very well that I had an awful lot of trouble in getting over that stile, and how clumsily I climbed the steps. But I got over, and then to my surprise I discovered that my satchel was on the other side. I said to myself, 'I shall go back for my satchel; I can't get along without that. Why, I don't know.'

"I started to get it, when a gentleman appeared on the scene and said that I would have to pay duty on the satchel. It was on the other side of the line. Now, I was in a quandary. I didn't have a cent, and the law evidently was—no money no satchel. I concluded that there was only one way to get my satchel, and that was to go home and borrow the money from Mrs. Grant. I went home, and Mrs. Grant only had $17, not sufficient to pay the duty. I was then in great perplexity, when suddenly I woke up, and I tell you frankly I was very glad I did so, for I was in a very terrible frame of mind."

This was the story of the dream. Mrs. Sartoris laughed. It settled one point in Dr. Shrady's mind, and that was that any man who could remember as the General did the details of a dream, and tell it as easily as he did, certainly possessed all his faculties. The dream put the General in very good spirits, and he sat back in his chair composedly. Yet everyone knew that the joy which all day long brightened every nook and corner of the household was artificial, and, as the doctors said, the deadly cancer was still there, and would accomplish its work

It seems hard, after having had such a career as has General Grant, after conquering enemies by the thousand, to be conquered by so unromantic an ailment as a cancer. But the suffering that this cancer has given General Grant has been a greater test of his heroism than he has ever had on the field of battle. It is one thing to ride at the head of an army, leading it on to battle, amid the beating of drums and the braying of trumpets, and another to sit quietly down in a room and await the messenger of death, amid the most frightful sufferings that can be inflicted upon a man.

On the 19th day of April three weeks had elapsed since the physicians attending General Grant began their continuous watch. In that time their patient has passed through three different stages of a disease for which medical science has no other definition save epithelioma, but which certain people not directly interested in the case find it convenient, for the moment, to term malignant ulceration of the throat.

On each occasion the General was supposed to be on the brink of the grave. The first serious outbreak occurred just before dawn on the last Sunday in March, the 29th. Messengers were hastily dispatched for the doctors, and their timely arrival alone prevented a fatal termination. The last attack was occasioned by the rupture of a small throat artery on Tuesday morning, April 7.

During these two days General Grant's life hung in the balance of a weak man's struggle against hopeless fate. That he fought his way through with such terrible odds against him, when each successful rally postponed the dreaded end apparently but a few hours, is at once another evidence of the wonderful vitality and strength of body and mind that years ago made him the first soldier as well as the first citizen in the land, and a tribute to the skill and vigilance of his medical attendants

The improvement of General Grant and the relief from fear of immediate death have cleared up much which was in doubt earlier in the case. It has not been easy for the public to separate distinctly the danger which sprang from the depression into which Grant fell after the Grant and Ward failure and the risk arising from the cancerous disease whose acute and immediate form was a malignant ulcerated sore throat. Neither one nor the other would have put General Grant in immediate danger of his life.

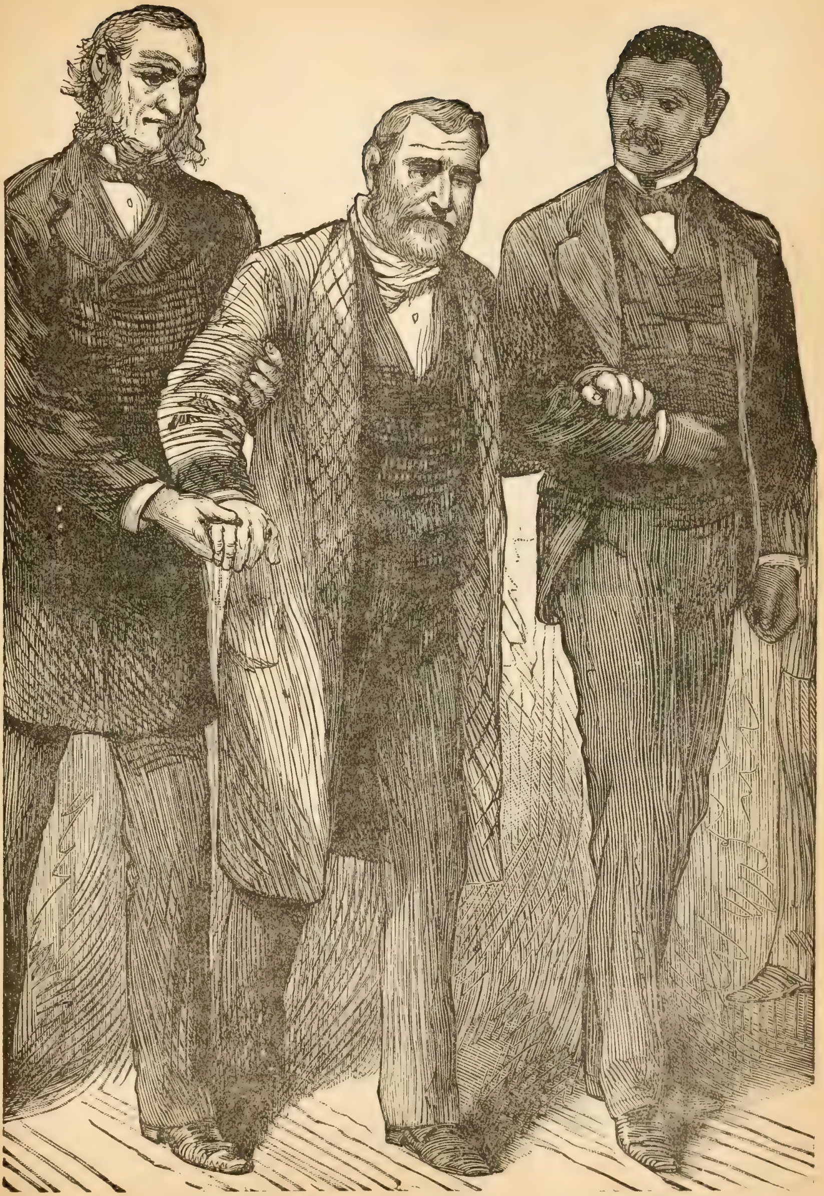
From the start in this case, first the four physicians in the case, Drs. Shrady, Douglas, Barker and Sands, while professionally unanimous, have personally differed over some aspects of the case ; second, the physicians have kept much more closely to the ambiguous, if accurate, term, "a cancerous growth," than the public has in general noticed ; third, there is a good deal of evidence that a change took place in the treatment some time ago which marked, more or less, distinctly a recognition by the physicians that the malignant inflammation and ulceration with which they had to do furnished opportunity, not merely for local treatment to assuage pain, but for more general remedies, directed to a wider purpose, a treatment not inconsistent with the presence of cancer.

Although much has been said with reference to the physicians and the members of General Grant's family, and although the doctors have spent almost all their days in New York, yet it would be safe to say that their faces would not be recognized by one out of every thousand persons on Broadway. Whatever may be General Grant's illness, it is certain that, on that Thursday morning when for the first time brandy was used, Dr. Shrady snatched the soldier from his grave, and thus on the tidal-wave of public opinion the two physicians, Drs. Shrady and Douglas, have risen to the summit of medical fame. Therefore a slight description of these two clever practitioners may not be out of place. Dr. Douglas has been with General Grant almost continuously for nearly six months. Day and night he has been in the sick-room, and the bond of sympathy which has been forged makes him very dear to the General and to his wife and children. The doctor resides in charming apartments on Fifty-ninth Street, and in his medical home he likes best to be among his books. He is far advanced in life. The ceaseless months of watching have done much to whiten the long silver beard that falls over his breast and to dim his kindly gray eyes. His carriage is quite erect. When he speaks he does so thoughtfully, giving one the impression that he thinks first what questions will be asked him next. A bit of history (which, by the way, was not intended for the public) will illustrate his nature. The other day his carriage was at the door, and a gentleman of the press asked him some questions concerning his patient.

"Step into my carriage and we will discuss the question," the doctor replied; and then, later on, when the conversation turned on where General Grant would go in case he got better, the reporter said that mountain air would be beneficial to reporters, and would not the doctor suggest for the General a place near New York so the gentlemen of the press could make occasional trips to the city, the doctor sat back in his carriage and said very thoughtfully:

"I shall lay the matter before the General and explain to him the necessity of not going so far away from the city, and that if he does the reporters cannot accompany him."

The good feeling of the physician has naturally been somewhat ruffled at the careless way in which his opinions on the case have been tossed about on the newspaper sea He has been so long on the case that he knows every twist and turn of the disease, and hence when irresponsible correspondents have been filling the mind



GENERAL GRANT TAKING HIS DAILY WALK.

with medical opinions as unique as the mind of man can conjure up, Dr. Douglas has now and again delivered very impressive opinions on humanity in general and far-away correspondents in particular.

There can hardly be imagined a greater difference between two, men than that between Dr. Douglas and Dr. Shrady. The former's face is full, slightly rounded, and his neck is set on very broad shoulders. Dr. Shrady's face is long and thin. The dark little goatee on his chin makes one think unintentionally of French physicians who, in dramas, stand, in the gray of the morning, medicine-case in hand, waiting for quarreling lovers to settle their disputes at the points of their swords. It is a very intelligent face. The lips are tightly drawn and the mouth decisive. When the physician speaks you feel that he means what he says. As the editor of the *Medical Record*, Dr. Shrady has already woven many chaplets of fame. His principal glory must, however, come from his connection with the case he has now on hand.

REPORTERS WAITING TO INTERVIEW THE DOCTORS.

As to the decisiveness of Dr. Shrady, the struggle which General Grant waged between life and death a week ago, fully illustrates it. That General Grant's life was one of minutes every one present believed. Human power had evidently been exhausted, and not the gold of another Crœsus or the lore of Æsculapius could keep the temperature down or calm the throbbing pulse. Dr. Shrady acted then with the decision that saved the life of the dying man. The morphia sped through the sick man's blood and the grave closed again. A quick intellect and a varied fund of medical knowledge are the characteristics of Dr. Shrady.

The new York newspapers have set on General Grant what they term the death watch. He may die at any moment and may be alive three months hence. But whenever he does die the newspapers must instantly have the news; hence some one must watch the house for the newspapers all the time. The chief papers have therefore hired a convenient room close to the Grant residence, and there all day and all night sit a group of reporters waiting for General Grant to die. They have books and a card-table and the daily newspapers, and whatever occurs to them may be of aid to help pass away the wearisome hours. They are well paid for their writing, and among them are some of the most trustworthy newspaper men in the city. It is very responsible work, and men who are of irregular habits are not selected for it.

At stated hours in the day and night the Grant mansion is visited, and Colonel Fred. Grant tells the reporters how the General has passed the preceding hours. Twice a day, and just before midnight, the physicians are seen, and they tell the reporters the condition of their distinguished patient. The work speedily becomes reduced to system, and the plan renders both the family and the physicians much more freedom than when the bell was rung twenty-five times a day by the representatives of the press in pursuit of information.

Probably it may not be kept open so long as was the room in which the reporters waited for the death of Commodore Vanderbilt. There the watch was kept up for just seven months, and a jolly time, indeed, the boys had. The room became a club-room, known to half the newspaper men in town, and they dropped in and out, and played cards and had a good time generally. Charles O'Connor, too, gave the press of New York much trouble and expense, and ended it by getting well, instead of dying. When, years afterward, he did die, at Nantucket, he got a very brief notice. Another notable newspaper wait was in the long absence of the jury in the Beecher-Tilton suit. There, too, a room was hired, and the newspaper men, all used it waiting for the verdict that never came. The chief newspapers had obituary notices of General Grant, descriptive of his last days, headings and everything save the bare announcement of death all set in type and made up, ready to print for several months before he died.

# CHAPTER XXI.

## GENERAL GRANT'S LAST ILLNESS.

A brief sketch of General Grant's illness—Its first symptoms—Doctors Barker, Sands, Shrady and Douglas his physicians—Grant in imminent danger of life—A subcutaneous injection of brandy saves his life—Celebration of Grant's birthday—Sympathy from every part of the country—The General removed to Mt. McGregor near Saratoga—Failing rapidly—Not able to speak—He writes his farewell to his family, his friends and his physician—His last injunctions.

THE following brief sketch of General Grant's illness from the time of its inception, is from an authoritative source, and contains many details never before given to the public.

Early in the autumn of 1884 General Grant was visiting at the house of Mr. George W. Childs, at Long Branch, and with his family and friends was sitting on the piazza one bright afternoon. In the course of conversation the General said: "I ate a peach the other day, and ever since I have had a sore throat." Thereupon he coughed considerably, and Mr. Childs suggested that he should allow Dr. Da Costa, of Philadelphia, who was also visiting at the house, to examine his throat. The Doctor did so, and decided in his own mind, at that time, that the case was one of epithelioma, or cancer of the throat. He at once advised the General to see his family physician as soon as he arrived in New York.

"Who is your family physician?" asked Dr. Da Costa.

"Dr. Fordyce Barker," answered the General.

"Ah! I am glad to hear that; you could not be in better hands," replied the doctor.

The General's throat continued to get sore, and troubled him not a little. When he came to New York, he called upon Dr. Barker, and asked him to look at it, which the doctor did, and after prescribing for him, asked him to call upon Dr. J. H. Douglas.

In a few days the General and Mrs. Grant called upon Dr. Douglas. This was early in October, and since that time the doctor has been his attending physician. Dr. Douglas is a specialist in throat diseases.

As far back as that time, each of these physicians, and Dr. Barker as well, agreed that the General had epithelioma, or cancer of the throat. Afterward they had a doubt as to the disease being epithelioma, and the General was put under special treatment on or about the 23d of October.

During the months of November, December and January there

GENERAL GRANT AT THE COTTAGE OF MR. GEO. W. CHILDS, LONG BRANCH, NEW JERSEY was no appreciable change for the worse, except that one day the General would feel very well, and the next day very much depressed. About the middle of February an alarming change was noticed.

Drs. Barker and Douglas, being unwilling to shoulder the entire responsibility of such an important case, decided to call some one else in. Dr. Barker had met in consultation, a few days before, in another case, Dr. Markoe; Dr. Douglas, in a similar way, had met Dr. Sands; and it was agreed to ask these two physicians to come in.

On the 19th of February all four physicians met at the residence of General Grant, and looked at his throat. They decided that the case was epithelioma. The result of this consultation was suppressed until February 22d, when the newspapers gave a full account of it. Previously Drs. Elliott and Satterthwaite had examined pieces of the throat under a microscope, and they, too, had decided that the case was epithelioma.

The next consultation was held on March 8th. Dr. George F. Shrady attended this consultation. His opinion coincided with that of the others; but, the physicians thinking that there might be one chance in a thousand against their diagnosis, again placed General Grant under specific treatment for another disease.

As the case went on, Drs. Barker and Sands attended only in consultation, the actual work devolving upon Drs. Douglas and Shrady. In a few days the General grew much worse. Besides the large ulcer in the throat, his system generally became very much depressed and wasted.

During the latter part of March his life hung by a thread, and the whole country awaited with feelings of the greatest apprehension the news of each day. The doctors had now become convinced that the disease was cancer of the tongue solely, and that all they could do was to ease the General along until his inevitable death. They remained in the house day and night. At times the General became very much alarmed, and gave up all hope. There were in the house Drs. Shrady and Douglas. Dr. Shrady had stayed up the previous night alone, and was completely worn out. Dr. Douglas, too, being an old man, was very tired. The family were up all night, and with them was Dr. Newman. General Grant was very low all night, and in the early morning had an alarming hemorrhage. The family were gathered around him, every member crying. The General reclined in one chair, with his pillow behind him, and rested his feet on another chair. Dr. Shrady was sleeping in another room. In rushed Dr. Douglas and roused him with the words, "It's all over."

"What!" said Shrady, "do you mean to say that the man is dead?"

"No; not dead, but he will be in a few minutes. Nothing can save him."

Dr. Shrady jumped up and ran into the room where the General was. Mrs. Grant, weeping, reached out her hand and said: "Ulysses, do you know me?"

The General's chin was resting upon his breast. He slowly raised his head and said: "Yes."

Dr. Newman exclaimed: "It is all over; I will baptize him." He went quickly into another room, got a silver bowl, filled it with water, came back, dipped his hand into it, and said: "I baptize thee, Ulysses Simpson Grant, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost."

The General slowly raised his head and remarked: "I thank you." Then, turning to his family he raised one hand and uttered the words: "I bless you all."

To Dr. Newman he observed, "Doctor, I intended to attend to this myself."

Meanwhile Drs. Shrady and Douglas were consulting with each other in the corner.

Dr. Douglas said: "He will die sure. He has gone; the pulse has left the wrist."

Dr. Shrady, as if struck by inspiration, replied: "I will give him brandy."

"You cannot do it; he cannot swallow," said Dr. Douglas.

"I will give it to him hypodermically," answered Dr. Shrady.

"How much?" asked Dr. Douglas.

"A barrelful if necessary," retorted Dr. Shrady.

Dr. Shrady rushed into another room. "Harrison," said he to the man-servant, "have you any brandy?" Harrison answered "Yes," and handed him some. Dr. Shrady rushed back and gave Grant a syringe-full in each arm. The General revived, the pulse returned to his wrist and his life was saved.

Dr. Newman walked into an adjoining room with Dr Shrady and asked; "Doctor, how is he?"

"I don't think he will die," said the doctor.

"Our prayers have been answered," said Dr. Newman.

The General rallied for a few days, and there was no other severe attack until the night when the spells of choking came on. Then he was convinced that he would soon die.

"I am choking to death," he said, in a feeble voice.

"Be quiet, be quiet, you won't," said Shrady; "it will be over in a moment."

Drs. Shrady and Douglas passed up and down the room, looked at the reporters on the sidewalk in front of the house smoking their cigars, and wished very much to change positions with them.

Since that time the General's system and appetite have grown much better. It was no longer necessary to give him morphia to induce rest. During his severest attacks the physicians would almost beg of him not to take any, but he insisted, and it was given him in small quantities only.

### GENERAL GRANT'S BIRTHDAY.

The 27th day of April, the sixty-third anniversary of the birth of General Grant was celebrated by his many friends and comrades all over the land. His state of health having greatly improved, he had a happy birthday.

He went outdoors twice, met and talked with friends in the parlor as well as in the library and joined his family at the birthday dinner, enjoying the evening with them afterwards. The day passed as quietly in the house as could be expected, and the General was fortunately in condition to make a good deal of it for an invalid, for besides seeing people and talking with them he was able to read many of the messages of congratulation addressed to him.

The General rested in the last part of the afternoon, so that he felt refreshed when dinner was announced at 6 30 o'clock. General Badeau, Senator Chaffee, and Mr. and Mrs. Newman had joined the family for this event. The family and guests had entered the dining-room when the General came down stairs. He was joyfully greeted and seemed very happy. In the centre of the table sixty-three tapers were aflame amid banks of flowers. The mantelpiece and windows were also bright and redolent with flowers. Dinner occupied about two hours, the general sitting through it and relishing as much as any one the pleasantries of the event. After dinner there were family devotions. Then all went into the parlor.

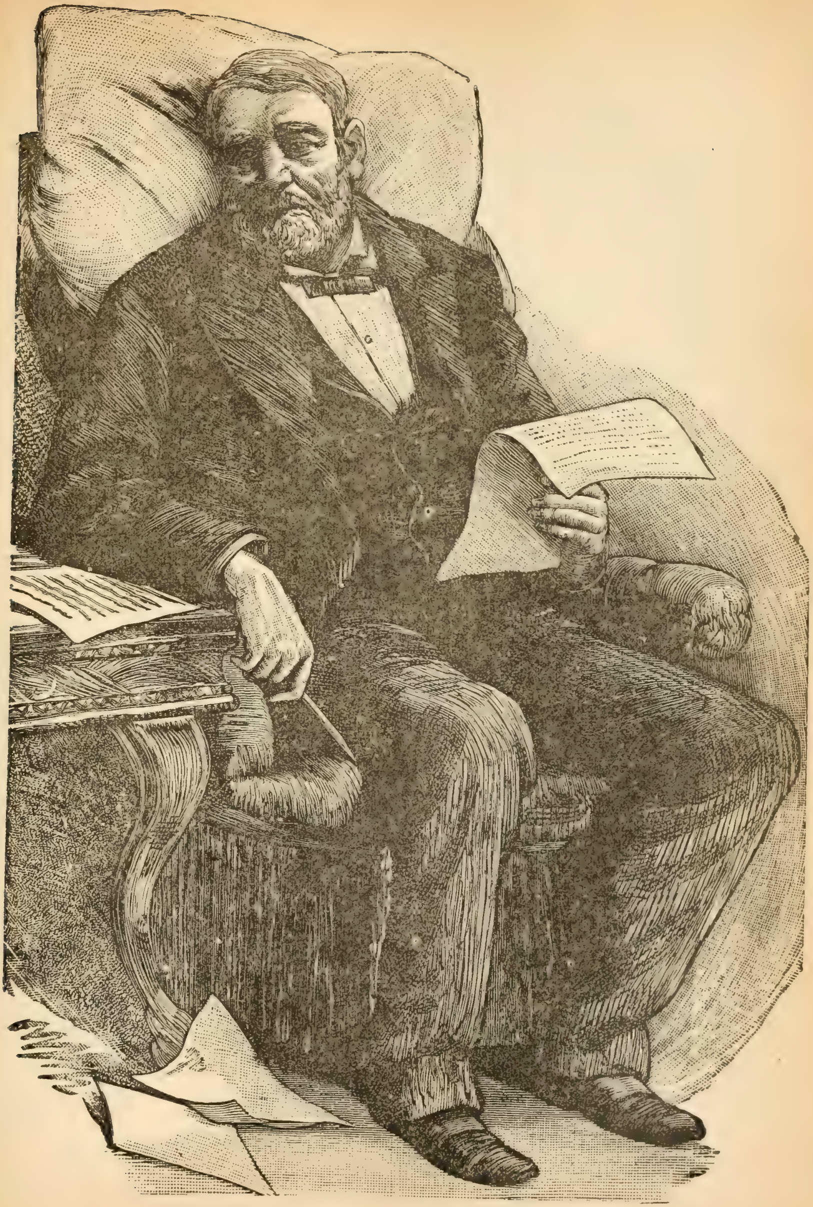
At 10 o'clock, thoroughly wearied by the unwonted excitement of the day, the General went to his room.

During the evening General Grant sent the following for publication:

> "To the various army posts, societies, cities, public schools, states, corporations, and individuals, North and South, who have been so kind as to send me congratulations on my 63d birthday, I wish to offer my grateful acknowledgments. The despatches have been so numerous and so touching in tone that it would have been impossible to answer them if I had been in perfect health.
>
> "U. S. GRANT."

Since that day the General lingered between life and death. Repeatedly he was able to take a ride to Central Park; on other days he was hardly able to rise from his easy-chair. At last it was thought advisable by his physicians to remove the patient to the country, and the kind offer of his cottage on Mt. McGregor, near Saratoga, by Mr. Jos. Drexel, the banker, was accepted.

It was not the General Grant of the portraits and busts with



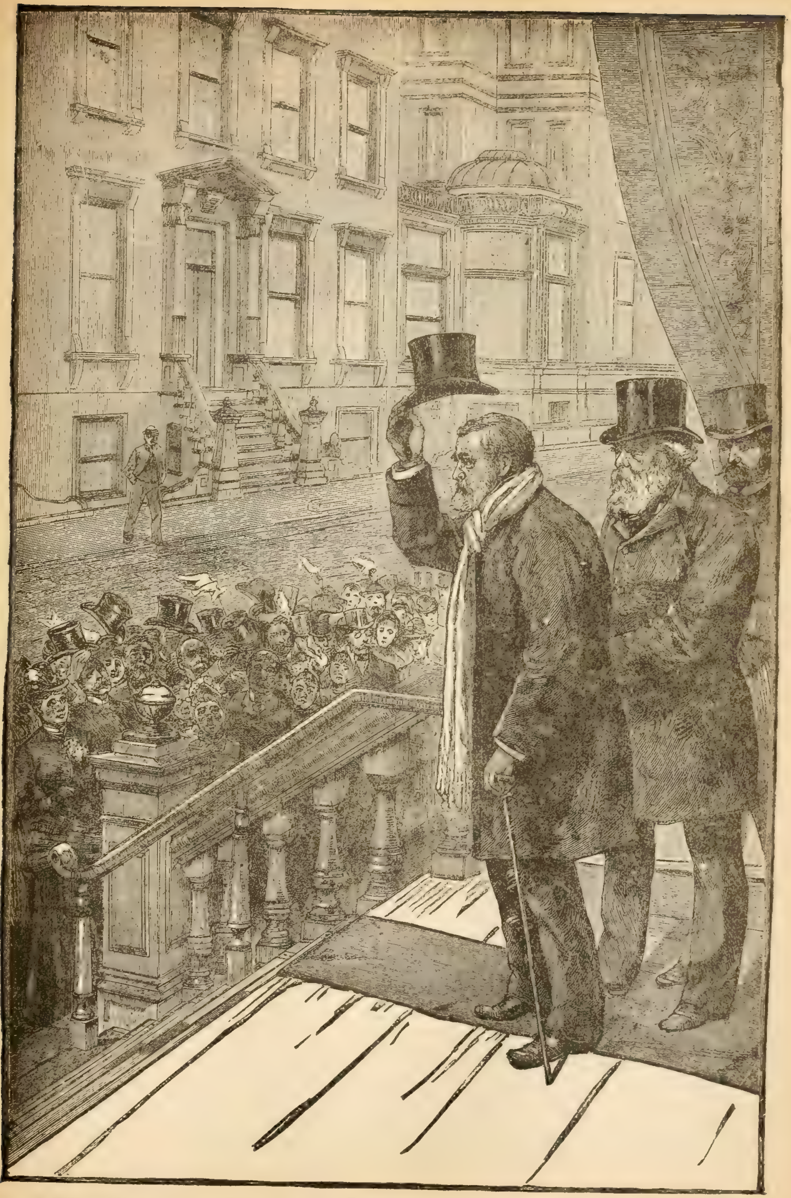
GENERAL GRANT IN HIS EASY CHAIR.

which the public is familiar who left his home in East Sixty-sixth street on the morning of June 16th, to take the cars for Saratoga. It was a bent, decrepit old man with shrunken limbs, on which his clothes hung pitifully loose, and one whose face was so wasted that its thinness put it out of all proportion to the rest of the head behind, which seemed abnormally large in consequence. A murmur of surprise and pity escaped the lips of those who stood with heads uncovered on the sidewalk over which the old soldier shuffled to his carriage. It was half-past 8 o'clock. The Grant household had been astir nearly two hours. Through the parlor windows the furniture could be seen covered over as it was to remain until the return of the family. Two carriages from a livery stable had taken Mrs. Fred Grant, Jesse Grant, and his wife and child, and the Colonel's children. Henry, the white nurse, rode on the box of one of the carriages. Then the family carriage, a closed landau, was driven in front of the door by the colored coachman. Twenty or thirty persons gathered on the sidewalk on either side of the house, and on the stoops up and down the street a few of the neighbors stood and watched the house.

When Harrison, the General's man servant, appeared in the front door with a valise the laborers on the new building on the opposite side of the street quitted work, and waited to see the General. He was not twenty steps behind Harrison. He tottered as he halted on the top step of the stoop. He wore his familiar old silk hat, now so large for him that it rested on his ears. A white cravet circled his neck, and hid from a cursory glance the frightful swelling on his neck. A black Prince Albert coat, light trousers, a world too wide for his shrunken limbs, completed his outer dress. He leaned on the crooked handle of his stout walking stick, without which he never stirs from his chair nowadays, as he looked up and down the hot street. He felt his way down the steps by putting his cane a step ahead of him, leaning on it, and then following it with his feet. When he reached the sidewalk he made his way to the carriage door. It was then that the low exclamation of pity escaped from the spectators; for it was evident that the hero had little left beside his indomitable will.

When the bystanders covered their heads and turned to look after the departing carriage, more than one man said sadly to his neighbor: "We will never see the General alive again in New York."

General Grant walked into the station without aasistance. He is not only ambitious but stubborn, and those who are caring for him have learned that while his strength lasts he insists upon having his own way. It is only when he asks for help or attention in any way that they venture to intrude their offers. At almost every



GEN'L GRANT LEAVING HIS RESIDENCE FOR AN AFTERNOON WALK.

depot there were little knots of people who waved their hands and handkerchiefs at the flying cars. At sight of the brown walls of the riding school and of the dome of the observatory peeping over the dense foliage at West Point, the General beckoned to the Doctor and pointed across the river, nodding and smiling as though he wanted them to know that he was pleased at the sight of the place where, as a lad, he was schooled in the art of war. As long as he could see the buildings, even by bending down and looking out of the furthermost window, he riveted his gaze on the beautiful promontory.

The journey of 155 miles had been made in 195 minutes. There was a stop of four minutes while the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company's locomotive took the place of the Vanderbilt engine.

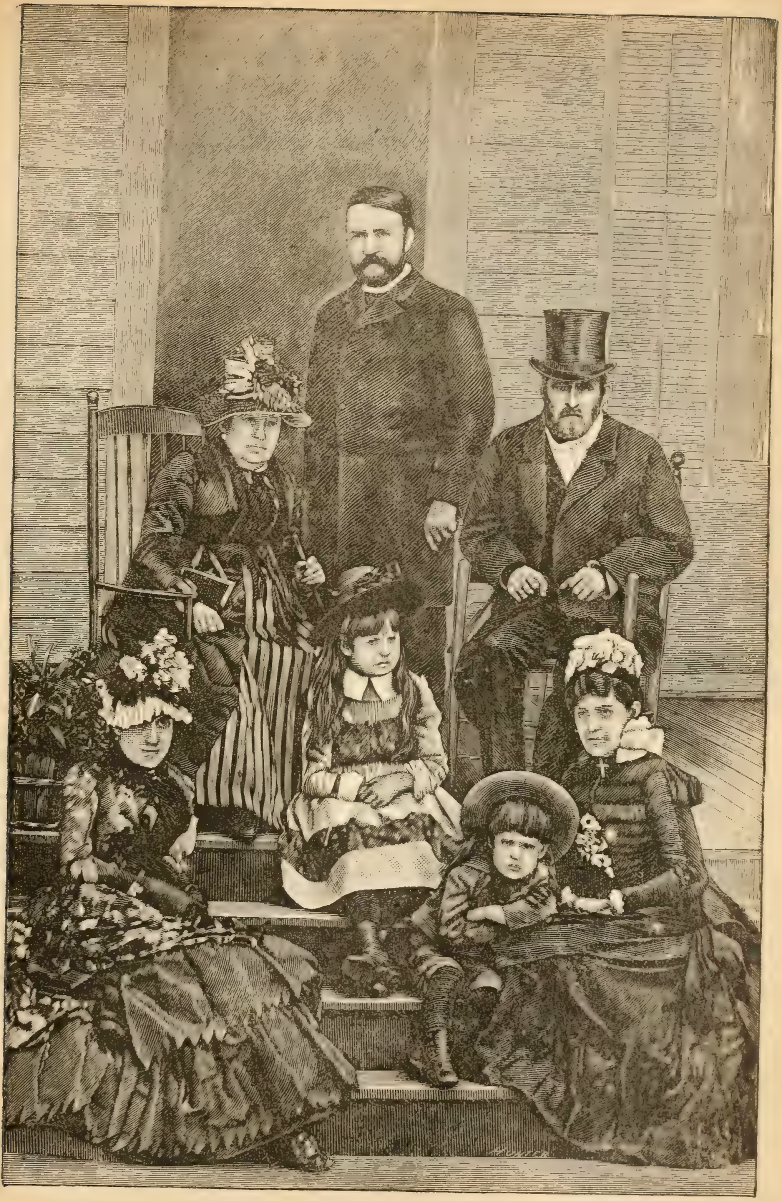
The run up the mountain would not have been disagreeable to a tourist, but it was evident that it wearied the General more than all the rest of his riding.

When the summit was reached and the train stopped Harrison and the nurse were busy, and did not notice that the General had stepped from the car to the platform and was walking up the covered plank walk toward the cottage, his heavy stick thumping the boards at every step. He glanced for an instant at the little cot with its white pillow and sheet resting on the grass by the side of the path, and left there with the expectation that he could not reach the cottage except as the occupant of that cot.

General Grant's second day on the mountain top passed without developing any new phase in the disease from which he suffered. The invalid enjoyed the change, and he spent almost the whole day on the broad verandah that surrounds the Drexel cottage. Most of the time he sat in a big, square cane-bottomed chair, with some of the members of the family around him. While alone he several times started up and slowly paced the verandah.

During an interview Dr. Newman, the spiritual adviser and friend of General Grant, made the following remarks:—

"Dr. Douglas is a fine fellow, and a careful, thoroughly scientific man, but he has taken an unaccountable dislike to newspaper men and they reciprocate the feeling with interest. Consequently he snubs them frequently, and they lampoon him unmercifully. He said the other day, that he believed that 'penny-a-liners' knew more about the General's condition than he did, or, at least, they thought so. But I have always felt differently. I felt sorry for the poor fellows who stood out in the cold, the snow and the sleet all night long in front of the General's house last spring, and frequently when Douglas has refused to say a word I have stopped to give them a thorough idea of the situation. My own views are shared by the General. He is most sensibly affected by the thousand marks of



GENERAL GRANT SOON AFTER HIS ARRIVAL AT MT. McGREGOR.

love and esteem that have been showered upon him from every quarter of the land, and while he is too big a man, too sensible to have his head turned, he appreciates the motives and likes to have proper inquiries answered."

"It must be a great solace to the old soldier in his suffering to feel that he is so beloved by the entire nation."

"It is. It is the sympathy of the children that affects him most, though. He gets hundreds of letters from little ones all over the land, expressing hope that the General may recover.

"He loves children, and the thought that thousands and thousands of them all over the land lisp prayers for his recovery cheers him up as if by magic at times."

"The General has faith in the efficacy of these prayers?" asked the reporter.

"The General knows that he is afflicted with an incurable complaint, and at times he is despondent, but he is a true Christian, and has a Christian's profound belief in prayer. He has religious services morning and evening, and takes great delight in them. I call the General's a most beautiful Christian character."

Dr. Shrady, on the 25th of June, telegraphed to the *Medical Record* for its Saturday issue the following official bulletin of General Grant's condition:

> "The progress of the disease from which General Grant is suffering is, barring accidental complications, slow. Comparing the condition of the patient with what it was a month ago, the changes which have taken place can be appreciated. Taking this period of time into consideration, it can be said that the swelling under the angle of the lower jaw, on the right side, has increased and has become harder and more deeply fixed. It has shown a tendency to progress in a direction downward and forward upon the right side of the neck, the infiltration extending into the neighboring glandular structures. The lancinating pains in those parts, although fortunately not frequent nor severe, have a significance which cannot be ignored. The ulceration on the right side of the base of the tongue has become deeper and more irregular, although its superficial area has not perceptibly increased. This is the seat of the pain occasioned in swallowing and when certain examinations in the throat are made. The destructive process on the right side of the uvula is apparently quiescent, although a new portion of the margin of the palatal curtain is showing a tendency to break down. The voice has been reduced to a whisper, due partly to inflammatory involvement of the vocal cords and partly to nervous atony of the latter. There is some impairment of general strength and some loss in weight, although the appetite is unchanged and the usual amount of nourishment is taken. The removal to Mt. McGregor has so far proved beneficial. It has enabled the patient to recover lost ground, and this, in a measure, has counterbalanced the effects of his local malady."

In his moments of utmost distress there was no diminution of General Grant's courage. In his intervals of relief from excruciating pain he welcomed his grandchildren to his side and took pleasure while they played about him.

On June 23 he had so far regained his voice that he spent some time in conversation, but the next day it had again departed, and when the physicians held their consultation they announced that the disease was marked by uninterrupted progress. Emaciation had brought his weight down to 130 pounds, a decrease of ten pounds in two weeks. Anxious to build himself up, he endeavoured to take as much food as possible, and he astonished the doctors by his knowledge of the use of cocaine, by which the mucus was cleared from his throat, and the necessity of employing morphia to allay his pains and induce sleep. Fluctuations were incessant; the 27th was the best day he had so far had upon the mountain; and when Harrison drew him in his chair up the bluff he wrote on his tablets to a newspaper representative who stood by: "For a man who has been accustomed to drive fast horses, this is a considerable come down in point of speed." On the 29th he wrote this courageous note for the benefit of some of the younger members of his family:

> Do as I do. I take it quietly. I give myself not the least concern. If I knew that the end was to be to-morrow I would try and get rest in the meantime. As long as there's no progress there's hope.

### LAST COMMUNICATIONS.

While the scientific dogma that there could be no obstacle to the growth of the cancer was daily becoming better authenticated, it was also beyond question that the removal to Mt. McGregor had lengthened Grant's span of life. He knew it when he handed the subjoined note to Dr. Douglas on June 30:

> The atmosphere here enables me to live in comparative comfort while I am being treated, or while nature is taking its course with my disease. I have no idea that I should have been able to come here now if I remained in the city. It is doubtful, indeed, whether I would have been alive. Now I would be much better able to move back than to come at the time I did.

A medical consultation was held on July 4, and he was informed that exhaustion would doubtless be the final result of his disease. It was the twenty-second anniversary of his victory at Vicksburg, but it was only alluded to when he wrote the date for his wife. The succeeding week was one of ease and quiet. In accordance with his wishes the amount of cocaine used in his throat was diminished, he feeling that it lessened the force of his voice. On the 8th the Mexican editors visiting the United States called on him, and for them he wrote this last expression of his ideas of public policy:

> My great interest in Mexico dates back to the war between the United States and that country. My interest was increased when four European monarchies attempted to set up their institutions on this continent, selecting Mexico, a territory adjoining. It was an outrage on human rights for a foreign nation to attempt to transfer her institutions and her rulers to the territory of a civilized people without their consent. I hope Mexico may soon begin an upward and prosperous departure. She has all the conditions; she has the people; she has

the soil; she has the climate, and she has the minerals. The conquest of Mexico will not be an easy task in the future.

On July 10 General Grant was visited by ex-Confederate General Simon B Buckner, whom he captured at Fort Donelson. The incident was made remarkable by Grant's communication to Buckner, which may be quoted as his final message to his countrymen on their national glory and the value of their institutions.

> I have witnessed since my sickness just what I wished to see ever since the war—harmony and good feeling between the sections. I have always contended that if there had been nobody left but the soldiers we would have had peace in a year. —— and —— are the only two that I know who do not seem to be satisfied on the Southern side. We have some on ours who failed to accomplish as much as they wished, or who did not get warmed up in the fight until it was all over, who have not had quite full satisfaction. The great majority, too, of those who did not go into the war have long since grown tired of the long controversy. We may now well look forward to a perpetual peace at home, and a national strength that will screen us against any foreign complication. I believe, myself, that the war was worth all it cost us, fearful as that was. Since it was over I have visited every state in Europe, and a number in the East. I know, as I did not before, the value of our inheritance.

Monday, July 13, can be set down as the day of the invalid's last rally. His strength had so improved, his spirits were so buoyant, his sallies of humor so frequent, his voice so clear as to surprise the physicians and to deceive others into the belief that actual convalescence had set in. But the former warned the family and the country that science—in this case unerring—told them that this epoch of betterment was only a phase of the disease, and did no more than impede its march. Yet up to the 17th the General was in such good condition that Dr. Douglas was willing to permit him to resume literary labor, but the 18th was characterized by mental depression and physical weakness. Sunday, the 19th, was an auspicious day, and the swelling at the root of the tongue was much decreased. On Monday, June 20, General Grant was carried to the outlook on the mountain verge, and on the 21st the reaction began which has terminated his life.

The early morning hours at the Grant cottage were cool and refreshing on Wednesday, the 22d of July. On the veranda, where the incandescent electric lamps were burning all night, the thermometer marked seventy-two degrees. This was the equable temperature maintained in the sick room while General Grant remained in New York, and to it was added, this morning, the sweet smell from the pine trees that bend over the cottage roof. A gentle breeze, soft and delicious, swept miles and miles down the valley and from the mountains. It stirred the curtains at the window near which sat the sick man, and it fanned his face more gratefully than could the careful hands that were watching near. Between three and four o'clock this morning the gray tint of another day crept up the horizon beyond the green mountains, perhaps the last earthly day of the sick man sitting within the cottage parlor. Once, at nearly four o'clock, Mrs. Grant, attired in a loose gown, of white, came out upon the veranda and seated herself in one of the many deserted willow chairs that were scattered in groups about the piazza. For ten minutes she sat motionless, and gazed away to the east, where the gray tint of another day had grown to a fuller promise. Her face rested against her hand, and she was evidently wrapt in thought. Suddenly there came the sound of coughing from within the cottage. The General was clearing his throat of mucus. Mrs. Grant left the piazza quickly and seated herself by the General's side slowly fanning his face. The coughing was not severe. Colonel Fred. Grant entered the room while the nurse was aiding his father and took a seat at the side and behind the General. It was time to administer food. The nurse touched the shoulder of Dr. Douglas, as he lay asleep on a couch in the same room. He arose fully dressed, as he was all night, and seated himself beside the patient. The food was given from a cup and the mouth and throat were cleared by the doctor. It was after four o'clock and the gray of the east had changed to pale orange tints. When the physician laid aside his appliance General Grant leaned forward in his chair, and signified a desire that a lamp should be brought. The nurse brought a lamp, and held it at the sick man's shoulder, and at the same moment the General turned his face toward the light and upward to bid the nurse bring his pad and pencil. His wish was not at the moment understood, and turning a trifle further the General repeated his wish.

The General's face, as he spoke, appeared strained and drawn, but its color and fulness were not such as would be expected after such suffering and care. The lips moved heavily and the whisper was husky and low, but the nurse understood, and the pad and pencil were brought. Then while the red light of the candle fell on his downcast face he wrote, but only briefly. The slip was handed to Dr. Douglas, who at once turned it over to Colonel Grant, who had arisen and stood beside his mother at the General's side. It was a private family communication, and, when finished, the sick man resumed his half reclining position with his head slightly inclined forward and his elbows on the sides of the chair, while the fingers of either hand were interlocked each with the other beneath his chin.

It was 4.30 o'clock, and peaks of the mountains eastward were darkly outlined against the reddening dawn. The faint glow crept between the pines and birches, through the cottage windows, and tinged the sick man's cheek with the dawn of what was believed by the doctors to be his last day. At five o'clock Dr. Douglas was aroused to send a summons to Dr. Sands. The General moved restlessly, and his eyes, for a few moments, gazed intently away through the trees where a new day was beginning. Then he settled down in his chair and dozed.

The message to Dr. Sands was sent only that the responsibility of the case at the close of the night should be shared by the members of the medical staff, and not with the thought that any aid could be rendered by any person at that time or through the opening day. The General was given stimulants, but he grew weaker hour by hour.

The morning was clear, and the mercury at eleven o'clock registered eighty degrees. All visitors were kept from the cottage, and a Sabbath day quiet prevailed about the spot. Drs. Douglas and Newman were with the family, and the day was one of quiet waiting. The General sat as he did last night, his eyes closed much of the time, but coherent and clear whenever he spoke.

At 1 P.M. Dr. Douglass left the cottage. He says the General sat with his head inclined forward and eyes closed the greater part of the time. The pulse was very weak and fluttering.

With the declining day the physician believed the General would also rapidly decline.

At 2 o'clock the members of the family and Dr. Newman were grouped in the darkened room near General Grant. Observing their evidences of feeling, the General said: "I do not want anybody to be distressed on my account"

The development of weakness of General Grant during the afternoon was not particularly noticeable from hour to hour, but between three o'clock and six o'clock there was a clearly marked increase of weakness. At three o'clock it was possible to measure the pulse beats, but at six o'clock one of the physicians stated that the pulse could not be counted. There were two reasons existent for the inability of the doctors to catch the pulse-beats, they were so frequent and so feeble. During the afternoon the blood-tide had so quickened that it more rapidly wore the system and exhausted the frail basis upon which might be placed a hope that the General would rally.

The closed and silent cottage had all day suggested the enactment of the last scene in General Grant's earthly career.

While the physicians were at dinner, Harrison came to the hotel and called Dr. Douglas, who went at once and alone to the cottage. Soon afterward another messenger summoned Drs. Shrady and Sands, and they repaired to the cottage, closely followed by Rev. Dr. Newman. The exits of the doctors and clergyman from the hotel were, however, so quietly effected, that few knew that they had been summoned to the cottage. Arriving there, they found General Grant again evidently sinking. The General seemed restless. "Would you like to lie down, father?" asked Colonel Fred Grant, who noticed his father's restlessness. The General nodded, and at the same moment essayed to rise unassisted; but the effort was too great, and he sank back into the chair, and the Colonel and nurse aided him to arise, and then supported him to the bed, where he was carefully lowered to a reclining position and partly on his face. Dr. Douglas then rolled the chairs back, and one of the physicians has since remarked, that the General had left his chair for the last time. The belief was that General Grant had at length lain down to die. The family were all gathered around the sick man, and again Dr. Newman, at about the same hour as on the previous night, and at Mrs. Grant's request, knelt beside the General and prayed. Heads were bowed, and tears were on the cheeks of men as well as women.

As the sun went down, a cool breeze sprang up, and laymen thought that the cool night would help General Grant to rally. The doctors, however, were prepared to attend the General's deathbed at a moment's notice. They stood somewhat apart, and the family was near its fast-sinking head, and then, after an hour, death seemed a little less rapidly gaining on the man it had pursued just nine months; for it is just nine months ago that General Grant walked into Dr. Douglas' office to seek his professional aid for the cancer that has done what war could not. Then the doctors and clergymen strolled out upon the piazza, and sat near the parlor window, and Jesse Grant joined them at times; but the other members of the family remained in the sick room, and watched and waited, while the General answered "yes" and "no" to several questions.

At nine o'clock the General's pulse was up to one hundred and sixty-five beats to the minute, and fluttering.

During the evening the extremities of the sick man had been cold, and in the visible symptoms were the signs that nature puts out when death is chilling the powers. The General, as the night was passing, seemed to suffer no pain, though the lines of his face were drawn and the furrows of the brow were knitted as he lay upon the cot, beside which the family were constantly watching.

At eleven o'clock the General was not asleep. The hands and forearms were colder than two hours before. The patient's mind was yet clear and comprehensive of events and utterances about him. Between ten and eleven o'clock Dr. Shrady had accosted the General, and he answered in a husky voice and promptly.

The advent of July 23, marked a change in General Grant's condition which was significant.

The chill at the extremities was increasing, and the use of hot applications to keep warmth in the extremities and vital parts were resorted to. They were of some avail, but artificial warmth was without power to reach the cause or stay the results of dissolution, which began on the 21st, and had been progressing steadily, though gradually.

So weak had General Grant grown at three o'clock that, though he frequently attempted to do so, he was unable any longer to clear the gathering mucus from his throat. It accumulated and remained, and as four o'clock drew and daylight came a point had been reached when expectoration was impossible. There was not left enough of strength, and from four o clock on there was in the throat the significant rattle of mucus that was filling the lungs and clogging the throat. At three o'clock the General asked for water, and after that it is not remembered that he uttered any word. At four o'clock the breathing was quickened, and reached fifty to the minute. One hour later the respirations had reached sixty, and between five and six o'clock, the finger nails had become blue, and the hands further evidenced the progress of numbness at the extremities, and at every breath the mucous clogging in the throat was growing more noticeable.

A few minutes before eight o'clock Drs. Douglas, Shrady and Sands stood on the cottage veranda conversing on the condition of General Grant, and discussing the probabilities of his death and the limit of life left the sick man. Mrs. Sartoris and stenographer Dawson, were conversing a little distance away, when Henry, the nurse, stepped hastily upon the piazza and spoke quietly to the physicians. He told them he thought the General was very near to death. The medical men hastily entered the room where the sick man was lying and approached his side.

Upon scanning the patient's face, Dr. Douglas ordered the family to be summoned to the bedside. Haste was made, and Mrs. Grant, Mr. Jesse Grant and wife, Ulysses S. Grant, Jr., and wife, and Mrs. Colonel Grant were quickly beside the doctors at the sick man's cot. Mrs. Sartoris and Mr. Dawson, had followed the doctors in from the piazza, and the entire family was present.

Colonel Grant seated himself at the head of the bed with his left arm resting upon the pillow above the head of the General, who was breathing rapidly and with slightly gasping respirations. Mrs. Grant, calm, but with intense agitation bravely suppressed, took a seat close by the bedside. She leaned slightly upon the cot, resting upon her right elbow and gazing with tearful eyes into the General's face. She found there, however, no token of recognition, for the sick man was peacefully passing into another life. Mrs. Sartoris came behind her mother and, leaning over her shoulder, so witnessed the close of a life in which she had constituted a strong element of pride. Directly behind Mrs. Grant and Mrs. Sartoris, and at a little distance removed, stood Doctors Douglas, Shrady and Sands, spectators of the closing of a life their efforts and counsel had so prolonged. On the opposite of the bed from his mother, and directly before her, stood Jesse Grant and Ulysses S. Grant, Jr., and near the corner of the cot, on the same side as Jesse, and near to each, was N. E. Dawson, the General's stenographer and confidential secretary. At the foot of the bed, and gazing directly down into the General's face, was Mrs. Colonel Fred. Grant, Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant, Jr., and Mrs. Jesse Grant, while somewhat removed from the family circle Henry, the nurse, and Harrison, the General's body servant, were respectively watching the closing life of their master. The General's little grandchildren, Ulysses S. Grant, Jr., and Nellie, were sleeping the sleep of childhood in the nursery-room above. Otherwise the entire family and household were gathered at the bedside of the dying man.

The doctors noted, on entering the room that the purplish tinge which is one of nature's signals of final dissolution, had settled beneath the finger-nails. The hand that Dr. Douglas lifted was fast growing colder. The pulse had fluttered beyond the point where the physician could distinguish it from the pulse-beats in his own finger-tips. The respiration was very rapid, and was a succession of shallow, panting inhalations, but, happily, the approaching end was becoming clearer, the rattling fulness of the throat and lungs, and as the respirations grew quicker and more rapid at the close, they also became less labored and almost noiseless. This fact was in its results a comfort to the watchers by the bedside, to whom was spared the scene of an agonizing or other than a peaceful death. The wife almost constantly stroked the face, forehead and hands of the dying General, and at times, as the passionate longing to prevent the event so near would rise within her, Mrs. Grant pressed both his hands and leaning forward tenderly kissed the face of the sinking man. Colonel Fred. Grant sat silently but with evident feeling, though his bearing was that of a soldierly son at the deathbed of a hero father. U. S. Grant, Jr., was deeply moved, but Jesse bore the scene steadily, and the ladies while watching with wet cheeks were silent, as befitted the dignity of a life such as was closing before them. The morning had passed five minutes beyond eight o'clock, and there was not one of the strained and waiting watchers but who could mark the nearness of the life-tide to its final ebbing. Dr. Douglas noted the nearness of the supreme moment, and quietly approached the bedside and bent over it, and while he did so, the sorrow of the gray-haired physician seemed allied with that of the family. Dr. Shrady also drew near. It was seven minutes after eight o'clock and the eyes of the General were closing. His breathing grew more hushed as the last functions of the heart and lungs were hastened to the closing of the ex-President's life. A peaceful expression seemed to be deepening in the firm and strong-lined face, and it was reflected as a closing comfort in the sad hearts that beat quickly under the stress of loving suspense. A minute more passed and was closing as the General drew a deeper breath. There was an exhalation like that of one relieved of long and anxious tension. The members of the family were impelled each a step nearer the bed, and each awaited another respiration, but it never came. There was absolute stillness in the room, and a hush of expectaut suspense, and no sound broke the silence save the singing of the birds in the pines outside the cottage, and the measured throbbing on the engine that all night had waited by the little mountain depot down the slope.

"It is all over," quietly spoke Dr. Douglas, and there came then heavily to each witness the realization that General Grant was dead. Then the doctor withdrew, the nurse closed down the eyelids and composed the dead General's head, after which each of the family group pressed to the bedside one after the other and touched their lips upon the quiet face so lately stilled.

After Drs. Douglas and Shrady left the death-bed they conversed feelingly of the latter hours of General Grant's life. The pulse first had indicated failure, and the intellect was last to succumb in its clearness and conscious tenacity, and that after midnight last night, a circumstance at three o'clock indicated cognizance. "Do you want anything, father?" questioned Colonel Fred. at that hour. "Water," whispered the General, huskily. But when offered water and milk, they gurgled in his throat and were ejected, and that one word of response was the last utterance of General Grant.

Dr. Douglas remarked that the peculiarity of General Grant's death was explained by the remarkable vitality that seemed to present an obstacle to the approach of death. It was a gradual passing aways of the vital forces, and a reflex consciousness, the doctors thought, was retained to the last. The General died of sheer exhaustion and a perfectly painless sinking away.

"Yes," interjected Dr. Shrady, "the General dreaded pain, and when he felt he had begun sinking, he asked that he should not be permitted to suffer. The promise was made, and it has been kept. Since he commenced to sink on Tuesday night he was free from pain." Towards the last no food was taken, but when a wet cloth was pressed to his lips he would suck from it the water to moisten his mouth. During the General's last night Dr. Shrady was constantly within call. Dr. Douglas was all night at the cottage, and Dr. Sands slept at the hotel after midnight.

Dr. Shrady sent, under the headline, "at last," to the *Medical Record* the following official bulletin of General Grant's dying hours:

"Since our last bulletin was written the final change has come to General Grant. He passed peacefully away at 8 o'clock Thursday morning. On the morning of the day previous Dr. Douglas summoned Drs. Sands and Shrady to meet him at Mt. McGregor, as General Grant was sinking, and death seemed imminent. On their arrival the patient was found in a very prostrated condition, with frequent and feeble pulse, rapid respiration and inability to swallow. He was suffering no pain, but by his listless manner was apparently conscious that death was near. It was decided to sustain his vital powers to the utmost, and make his approaching end as comfortable as possible. The disposition to cough had ceased, and the respiration, although much accelerated, was not mechanically impeded by accumulated mucous secretions. At the time of the consultation he was in his easy chair, occupied so constantly by him day and night for the past five months. Toward evening, by his own request, he was transferred to his bed, where he rested quietly until his death. As was anticipated by the medical gentlemen in attendance, he continued to sink despite the stimulants locally applied and hypodermically administered. The fear of a painful and agonizing death was, happily for him and his family, not realized. He simply passed away by a gradual and easy cessation of the heart's action. Thus he was spared much of the suffering which would have been inevitable had his general strength allowed the throat disease to progress in its usual way. For so much, at least, there is reason for thankfulness."

# CHAPTER XXII.

## RECOLLECTIONS OF GENERAL GRANT.

How he looked shortly after the war—Plain and unostentatious—Never used a rude word—Always polite and considerate, abstemious and taciturn, modest and a profound thinker; straightforward and frank in all things, a true friend and a magnanimous enemy—What Generals Beale, Sheridan, Horace Porter and Ingalls said of their old commander and friend—Mr. George W. Childs tells of some of Grant's characteristics—Ex-Postmaster General Creswell's reminiscences—General Grant under fire--Grant and Johnson—What he did on his arrival at Washington after taking command of the armies of the United States—Senator Hawley's recollections of Grant's first nomination for President of the United States—Grant in April, 1861—Farmer Grant's neighbors—Grant's kindness towards the Confederate General Pickett—Col. McCaull on Grant's magnanimity—Grant taking risks—Mark Twain on Grant—An official account of General Lee's surrender—Grant in battle.

NOTWITHSTANDING the long array of admirable performances that have marked General Grant's career, there is scarcely any character in history in reference to whose real merit so much doubt has existed. The reasons for this are sufficiently indicated by a reference to the remarkable reticence of the man and his utter abhorrence of the arts of the demagogue in whatever shape. He has studiously avoided sounding the trumpet of his own fame, either in public or private, and has been so generous in awarding praise to others, that the world has heard more of his subordinates than of himself. Then, too, at the very outset of his career in the great Civil War he was denounced as being intemperate as well as incompetent. His splendid campaign against Fort Donelson, resulting in the capture of an entire army and in the infliction of the first staggering blow upon the Confederacy, was so incomprehensible to the people at large, but so persistently misrepresented, that many excellent persons came to believe that Grant had retarded that victory instead of having organized and achieved it by his own judgment and indomitable courage. The bloody battle of Shiloh, followed by Halleck's disgraceful siege at Corinth, convinced the public that Grant must be entirely incompetent; and it was not till after Vicksburg that the real truth began to be suspected. First it was McClernand who had "furnished him with brains;" then it was C. F. Smith who had led his army to victory; then it was Halleck; and finally Sherman and McPherson, to whom all praise was due. It was not until Vicksburg was followed by Chattanooga that the world came to look upon Grant as possessing any merit of his own. It is a safe rule to judge men by the results of a lifetime, but an unsafe one, particularly in reference to military men, to judge from past reputation or isolated actions. In this day of skepticism there are but few people who believe entirely in ability, honor, vigor and manly virtue as the sure means of making life successful. And fewer still who are able to separate from their estimate of successful characters the idea that chance or fate may not have had as much to do with brilliant achievements as real worth and ability.

A well-known author, some years ago, gives the following description of General Grant:

"Grant was a man somewhat under the medium size, though his body was closely and powerfully built. His feet and hands were small and neatly-shaped; his dress plain and exceedingly unostentatious; his eyes large, deep, leonine and very strong, equally capable of blazing with a resolution that nothing could withstand, and of shining with the steady light of benevolence and amiability. His temperament is admirably compounded of the sanguine, nervous and lymphatic. His capacity for labor surpassed comprehension; neither mental nor physical exertion seemed to produce the least wear and tear upon him. He could ride at a dashing gait, hour after hour, with the same ease with which he planned a battle or issued instructions for a campaign. He was never heard to give utterance to a rude word or a vulgar jest; no oatn has ever escaped his lips. No unfeeling or undignified speech, and no thoughtless or ill-natured criticism ever fell from him. It is this quality which made him so successful in the personal questions which arose between him and his subordinates They usually mistook his slowness for dullness or a lack of spirit, and discovered mistake only after committing a fatal error. Grant was as unsuspicious and pure-hearted as a child, and as free from harmful intention; but he was stirred to the very depths of his nature by an act of inhumanity or brutality of any sort, while meanness, ingratitude or uncharitableness excited him to the display of the liveliest indignation. He was not slow in the exhibition of contempt or disgust for whatever was unmanly or unbecoming.

In issuing orders to his subordinates or in asking a service at the hands of a staff-officer, he was always scrupulously polite and respectful in manner.

"Grant's personal habits and tastes were exceedingly simple; he despised the pomp and show of empty parade. He lived plainly himself and could not tolerate ostentation or extravagance in those about him. His mess was never luxuriously, though always well furnished with army rations and such supplies as could be transported readily in the limited number of wagons that he permitted to follow his headquarters. He was very abstemious, and during his entire Western campaign the officers of his staff were forbidden to bring wines or liquors into camp. He was the most modest of men, and nothing annoyed him more than a loud parade of personal opinion or personal vanity. He had a retentive memory and was deeply interested in all matters which concerned the interests of humanity, and particularly his own country. His understanding was of that incisive character that soon probed a question to the bottom, no matter how much the politicians or newspapers labored to confuse it. His memory was stored with personal incidents illustrative of men and manners in all parts of the country, showing that he had been a profound student of human nature throughout life; his appreciation of men and character has never been surpassed. This was well shown in the reorganization of the army after he became Lieutenant-General. It is well known that he did not fail in a single instance where a change was made, in putting the right man in the right place. He warmed towards a bold, outspoken and loyal nature; full of ardor and zeal himself, he naturally admired these qualities in others. Straightforward and frank in all things himself, he respected these qualities wherever they were found. Indeed the most striking peculiarity of his nature, both as a man and a general, was a profound and undeviating truthfulness in all things. Those who have known him best will bear willing testimony to the statement that he never told a falsehood or made a voluntary misrepresentation of fact.

"Grant having been educated as a soldier at West Point, the first military school of America, and having served under both Taylor and Scott, had, at the outbreak of the Rebellion, received all the training, both theoretical and practical, that was requisite to a thorough understanding of the military art. At the very outset of his career he showed plainly that he had not been an idle or unobservant student of his profession. He did not make the usual mistake of supposing that the private soldier was ignorant and thoughtless, and therefore to be considered as a mere machine to be provided with a musket or sabre, and then to be harassed into a reluctant performance of duty; but was profoundly impressed with the idea that the volunteers were intelligent citizens of the republic, whose business had been to become acquainted with public affairs.

"He held from the first that the government, in conducting the war, should have acted upon the hereditary policy of the nation and disbanded the regular army entirely, distributing its officers, non-commissioned officers and privates among the raw and untrained volunteers. By this means one or two commissioned officers and a few non-commissioned officers and privates of the old army could have been put into each new regiment. The Confederates, having no standing army to maintain, pursued exactly this course with their officers educated for the military service, and although they had comparatively few, their army for the first year of the war was under much better discipline than ours.

"Grant knew that no genius, however remarkable, could command the national armies in a war of such magnitude without the assistance of lieutenants who could be trusted to issue their own orders in the emergencies that were sure to arise. He therefore gave more thought to the proper organization and direction of armies upon the vital points of the enemy's territory and lines, and to the selection of men competent to command them, than to issuing the detailed orders of battle. Neither Sherman, nor Sheridan, nor Thomas, nor Canby ever failed him.

"The quick judgment by which he discovered the enemy's plan to evacuate Fort Donelson, and the sudden resolution which he based thereupon, to attack at once, are evidences of something more than aggressive temper or mere brute courage. The tactics of Lookout Mountain, Chattanooga Valley and Missionary Ridge have never been surpassed. The grand tactics displayed during the overland campaign are worthy of the highest commendation, and had the execution of details been as faultless as the conception of the movements, there would have been nothing to regret. Grant's conduct at Belmont, Fort Donelson, Shiloh, Vicksburg and in the Wilderness was all that could have been wished, and shows, beyond chance of dispute, that he possessed, in the highest degree, that 'two-o'clock-in-the-morning courage' which Napoleon declared to be the rarest thing among generals. His unvaried course of success through four years of warfare shows that he was entitled to be ranked in the category of generals who never lost a campaign or a battle, and the easy simplicity with which he did the most extraordinary things pointed strongly to the possession of a remarkable genius for war."

General Edward F. Beale, of Washington, in an interview portrays the character of General Grant in the following well-chosen words:

"I have been a very intimate friend of General Grant for the past fifteen years. My first acquaintance with him was not a personal one, however. It was through the news of his victories at Donelson. We were then in California, where everything was cast in gloom. We had no railroads nor telegraph, and all the previous news we had was that everything was going against us. We felt as if we were sitting on a powder magazine which was apt to explode at any moment. When we heard of Grant's victories we felt that a man had arrived at last who could save his country.

"Later, my acquaintance with General Grant ripened into the warmest friendship. To say that I considered him a great man does not express it. He was the greatest man I know of. He fought and won battles the like of which have never occurred in modern times. Everybody is familiar with his military and other public achievements, but in his private life his personal characteristics shone with equal brilliancy.

"His three most prominent and admirable traits were guilelessness of character, even temperament and great magnanimity. As I said, and as you know, my friendship with General Grant was of the most intimate nature. In all my daily companionship with him, at home or abroad, I never heard General Grant make a remark which could not be repeated with propriety before a room full of ladies. His character was wholly pure and free from guile.

"His even disposition was something wonderful to me, and I have seen him tried almost beyond human endurance. He never cursed and swore at people, and he never lost control of himself. He was always able to do what he considered right.

"When General Grant has been a visitor at my house, children would overwhelm him with requests for his autograph. Often when we would return home late at night from some reception, tired and sleepy, on this table would be a pile of autograph albums a foot or two high. Mrs. Beale would say: 'Come, General, it is time to retire. You are tired and need rest. Don't stop to write in those books to-night, but wait till morning.' 'No,' General Grant would reply; 'I'll do it to-night. These books belong to little children and they will stop for them on their way to school in the morning and I don't want to disappoint them,' and he would write in every one.

"He had a wonderful faculty as a writer. His mind grasped the whole subject, and he wrote without hesitation. I have seen him write for hours without stopping for a word. He made fewer corrections in his writing than any one I ever knew.

"During his military experiences he had learned that it was his duty to do the engineering and planning and to leave the details to his lieutenants. In this way he became accustomed to placing the most implicit confidence in those near him, for he supposed they would do their duty as he would his. So that to confidence in others alone can his terrible misfortunes in New York be attributed."

At a recent dinner of the Gridiron Club at Washington, it was the privilege of the writer of this article to be seated next General Sheridan, who is not only a charming companion but a very entertaining conversationalist upon topics in which he feels an interest. The suffering and dying condition of General Grant naturally became one of the topics of conversation. General Sheridan spoke of General Grant in connection with his physical suffering with a feeling and tenderness that exhibited genuine affection for his old companion-in-arms, and related some facts which cannot fail to be of special interest at this time. The conversation was conducted with all the freedom that marks a casual dinner table talk. In the course of conversation General Sheridan remarked:

"It is sad to think of General Grant dying under such physical torture as is inflicted by his terrible disease, and under such mental anguish as I know he endures in consequence of the unfortunate business failure that overwhelmed him and his family. I could never comprehend why the old man [all old soldiers call General Grant "the old man"] went into business, and particularly why he set himself up in Wall street. From the time he imbibed this business notion I have thought General Grant had lost that abundance of caution that has characterized all his movements. I have listened to him talk about making money in perfect amazement. He imagined that he had a talent for making money, and that his sons also possessed this talent to a remarkable degree. He seemed never to tire of talking about this when we were so situated as to be free from intrusion, and when we could talk with freedom of by-gone days. Now I knew very well that General Grant did not possess any talent or genius for making money. His nature is too generous and confiding for that. His talent in connection with money was in an opposite direction, and caused him to get clear of money in a very short time. He could never keep money before he set up in Wall street, and you know he is a very bright fellow who can keep money after he gets there.

"What most surprised me, however, was that he should talk so much about this newly discovered talent. He talked persistently, and Grant always talked well when he felt free to talk, about accumulating a larger fortune, and as I noticed his earnestness of manner, I sometimes thought that I underrated him in this particular. Still I could not entirely divest myself of the apprehension I felt on his account, and his very persistency and earnestness added to my fears. Why, I never knew Grant to talk about the great abilities which he did possess and which the world has recognized. No one ever heard him talk about his great military talents or boast about his splendid achievements in the field. And yet Grant knew he had extraordinary abilities in that direction, because his successful movements and the brilliant and decisive results that attended them showed him this. Indeed, General Grant had greater talent for conducting campaigns and fighting armies than he was really aware of. Nobody, however, ever heard him talk about what he possessed in this direction, and the simple fact that he descanted to me with so much earnestness and frequency on his supposed money-making talents, started a suspicion in my mind that his previously strong mental forces were breaking up, and that he was rapidly moving away from his previous well-established lines of prudence and safety. No, the 'old man' should have never gone into camp in Wall street, but should have settled down into private life after he returned from his tour of the world and enjoyed that peace and quiet he so much needed after twenty years of constant application and arduous labor in the field and in the executive chamber. This might not have averted disease, but it would have averted financial disaster and the terrible mental distress which I know he is now undergoing, and which is far more poignant than the gnawing of his flesh by cancer.

Later in the evening, the Lieutenant-General spoke of the reluctance with which General Grant left the army to become President of the United States.

You have seen statements," said General Sheridan, "to the effect that the old man laid plans to secure the nomination for the Presidency in 1868. There is no foundation for such statements, and I know whereof I speak. I know what his feelings and desires were at that time touching his future. He wanted, above all things, to remain with the army which he loved and whose idol he was and is still, and had no ambition whatever to become President. He doubted his ability to discharge the duties of President, but above all he had no taste nor inclination for political office. I know this," said the Lieutenant-General, with emphasis, "and I know that he was disposed to refuse the use of his name for a nomination for the Presidency, and he would have refused it had it not been for myself and other general officers of the army, and perhaps of the navy, who persuaded him to sacrifice his own feelings and desires in response to the call that was being made upon him. I came to Washington for the special purpose of discussing this matter with General Grant, having previously learned of his disinclination. It was apparent that there was a popular desire in the Northern States to have Grant for President, Indeed I believe this desire approached unanimity, and had the 'old man' said the word he could have had the nomination from either party, such was the high and universal estimate in which he was held. But Grant was no politician then, as he is no financier in his own affairs now. I felt that it was his duty to listen to the popular voice calling upon him to accept new duties and fresh responsibilities, and become Chief Magistrate. At that particular period there was a great deal of bad feeling in the country growing out of President Johnson's quarrel with Congress, and the frequent disturbances in the Southern States, which were perhaps incidental to the sudden and violent changes made in all the conditions that existed in those States prior to the war, caused a feeling of great uneasiness throughout the country. We who were in the army regarded these storm indications with greater alarm than was generally supposed, and felt that it was of the very highest importance for the interests and welfare of the country, as well as for our own individual interests and comfort, that a man should succeed to the Presidency who possessed the fullest measure of public confidence, and whose presence in the executive office would give assurance of peace and order. I knew General Grant was the one person best calculated to fill these conditions and restore and maintain public confidence and tranquillity. Therefore I and others close to General Grant urged him to listen to the call from the people and become President of the United States. He finally yielded to these importunities, but with reluctance."

One of the most frequent callers at General Grant's residence was General Horace Porter. They were together in the war, and have been on terms of close and uninterrupted intimacy since. Speaking one night in admiration of the heroism with which General Grant had borne his many ills, and of the nature of his sufferings, General Porter said:

"I presume no man in this century has had the mental strain that was put on General Grant from 1861 to 1876. An important command devolved upon him soon after the war began, and he was always weighted with heavy military responsibilities. For four years he endured constant application in a climate to which he was unused and which was highly malarious. After the war he was given no rest. He had to meet and overcome the difficulties attendant upon Johnson's administration and the initial stages of reconstruction, and heaped upon all that were eight exciting and important years of the Presidency. Few men could have stood it.

"The effect of it on him did not appear, however, until his physical sufferings began with his fall a year ago last December. Since then he has suffered terribly; no one knows how much, for he never complains. After that fall, when he injured his hip, pleurisy set in. It was a severe attack. Then he began to suffer from neuralgia, with intense pains in the head. His system had been shocked by the fall. The neuralgia helped to reduce it. As a means of relieving the neuralgia he had several teeth drawn. He refused to take an anæsthetic, and had them drawn at one sitting. That exercise of his wonderful will, in his then debilitated condition, gave the system another shock, from which it could not rally. Then this terrible disease of the tongue appeared. It has been a steady drain upon him, reducing his flesh rapidly and weakening him beyond any former experience. But he has stood it all without a murmur, just as he has taken all the reverses and trials of his life. To see him wasting and sinking in this way is more touching and excites deeper sympathy among his friends than if he made some sign of his sufferings, as ordinary men do, by grumbling and complaint."

General Rufus Ingalls, who was a classmate of General Grant at West Point and has held intimate relations with him most of the time since, gave some recollections of the great soldier. He said that young Grant came to West Point in June, 1839, a boy of seventeen, with a fair, frank, yet rather firm-set face. He was several inches below his full growth, and remained beardless even up to the time of his graduation. His warrant described him as "U. S. Grant," which was not a correct designation, and the mistake led to a good deal of queer discussion of legal points by cadets as to its effects upon his status as a member of the corps, and long after the error was proved to have no important consequence it remained a subject of pleasantry with Grant and his friends at the Point. Being introduced at the Academy under the initials "U. S," the cadets gave him the nickname of Uncle Sam, and this stuck to him till he was commissioned, when it became shortened to Sam, and as "Sam Grant" he was known as long as he remained in the army.

Cadet Grant had but a few intimate associates in the corps, but his friendships were unreserved and lasting, his manner with his intimates very genial, and his cadet friends in those days thought him one of the manliest and best of fellows. He was very conscientious in matters of duty, and noticeably pure in mind and speech. He has often said, in after-life, that he never went down to Benny Haven's but once, when he was beguiled by Rufe Ingalls, a stanch patron of that renowned establishment.

Grant went through the course of instruction with ease, and probably might have graduated higher in the list if there had been anything to call out exertion on his part. The class was a large one, numbering considerably over one hundred at the beginning of the course, but only thirty-nine came out of the ordeal at the end of four years.

After the Mexican war, Grant was stationed on the Pacific coast, and here he would often interest and sometimes astonish his brother officers by his clear, luminous description of the actions in which he had taken part as a subaltern, especially the important battle of Monterey, and his criticism on the conduct of the respective sides occasionally induced the prediction that, in the improbable contingency of a great war, Sam Grant would make his mark. He left the army in 1854, and, so far as his comrades on the Pacific were concerned, wholly faded from view until he began to be heard of as an enterprising division commander in the West in the early part of the civil war.

However much of his success and fame General Grant may owe to his native powers and youthful training, it seems beyond question that his four years at the Military Academy and his experience of actual war and campaigning in Mexico must be credited with a great influence upon his after career as a commander. And, in the same line of reflection, it is worth nothing that since he has been in the public view the qualities that especially marked his character while a cadet have remained constant. In mature. as in youthful life, he has always been unobtrusive, quietly self-reliant, silent with the many, free and ever joyous with intimates, constant in his friendships and in language and conduct as guileless as a child. When directing from his headquarters at City Point the operations of all the armies of the Union his knowledge of every fact of the existing situation was always thorough and complete, and such as to enable him to make clear what might be obscure to an uninformed mind.

Not another man in the country knows as much about General Grant as Mr. George W. Childs, who has been his most intimate friend for many years. Whenever General Grant came to this city he stopped at the residence of Mr. Childs, with but a few exceptions, when he made short stays at the houses of Mr. Drexel or the late Mr. A. E. Borie, Secretary of the Navy during a portion of President Grant's administration.

"When I saw General Grant on the 4th of March," said Mr. Childs, "he realized that his life was drawing to a close, but seemed to regard the approach of death calmly and without the slightest fear. While we were talking of the efforts of his friends to have him placed on the retired list, he testified how kindly he felt toward them, and spoke of the pleasure he felt at the kind remarks of the newspapers advocating his retirement.

"While we were chatting I observed that it was half-past eleven o'clock, and the General said: 'I suppose the Senate is adjourning now.' Just then I received a telegram from Mr. Drexel, stating that General Grant had been placed on the retired list. 'There, General,' said I, 'read that.' A smile of pleasure illuminated his countenance, and for a moment he appeared unable to speak. Mrs. Grant entered the room and I told her the news. With a beaming face she cried out: 'They have brought us back our old commander.' The scene was very affecting. The General could hardly express the delight he felt at the compliment which had been paid to him. He bore not the slightest ill-will toward those who had opposed the bill, for he is the most magnanimous man I ever knew.

"The greatest soldier that ever lived, he is as kind and gentle as a woman. He frequently told me how much it pained him to be accused of butchery. He said he was always overcome by a feeling of sadness before a battle at the thought that many a poor fellow would never return from the field. He is generous to a fault, and has given away a fortune in charities. In this, like in everything else, he was modest. The same modesty that prevented him from asking for an appointment or a promotion caused him to maintain silence concerning his gifts to the needy.

"I remember that when he was on one of his visits to me during his Presidency, a great many people called here to ask favors of him. Not caring to have him worried, I refused admittance to all whom I suspected of being on an errand of that kind. One day a lady, who lived in the same block—in fact, only a few doors from my house—called and asked to see him. 'You may see her, General,' said I, laughing: 'I guess she is not after an appointment.' He came back in a little while and said, 'You were wrong; she was after an appointment.' I looked at him in astonishment, and he explained that the lady wanted him to transfer the sister-in-law of Edwin M. Stanton, Lincoln's Secretary of War, from the Mint, where she was then employed, and where the work was too hard for her, to the Treasury Department. He requested me to see the Assistant United States Treasurer in this city and ask him to give her a position. I did so, and the Assistant Treasurer told me he had no vacancy. 'General Grant's request is law, however,' said he, 'and I can make room for Mrs. Stanton by removing a lady who has no need for a position here.' This was done, and some time afterwards I met a son of Mr. Stanton (the latter was dead at the time), who thanked me for getting his aunt the appointment. 'General Grant appointed her,' said I. 'Oh, no,' said he, 'General Grant himself told me that you had got the appointment for her.' This is characteristic of the General, who is continually doing good and giving others the credit.

"He loves Philadelphia, and has a great many friends here. As an example of his esteem for Philadelphians I will tell you of something that is not known to any one but the General, the interested parties and myself. Mr. A. E. Borie was not the only Philadelphian who was offered a Cabinet position by General Grant. Four other gentlemen in this city were requested to become members of his Cabinet. They declined, and the matter was never made public. They are still living in this city and one of them has held a very high position.

"It was at my recommendation that General Grant took the cottage at Long Branch. It adjoins mine, and there is no fence between the two properties. There the General has spent some of the happiest days of his life. He usually got up about seven o'clock in the morning, ate his breakfast and then took a drive of about ten miles. He went alone in his buggy. On his return he would look over his mail and read the newspapers. He dined at two o'clock generally, although for some years his dinner hour was seven, with a lunch at two.

"After the meal at 2 o'clock he took another drive, and in the evening he sat on the porch and chatted with friends, many of whom visited him. We called on each other every day, and he sometimes strolled over to my cottage and talked with me while he enjoyed his cigar.

"While the General is fond of a fast horse, he never visited the race-course at Long Branch, and never entered a gambling-house. He told me of a laughable incident that occurred to him while taking one of his ten-mile drives. On the road, a short distance ahead of him, he saw a countryman driving a mean-looking horse with a shabby buggy. Determined not to take the dust from such a sorry turnout, he gave his horse the reins and tried to pass. But the countryman also loosened his lines and held his position. After quite an exciting race the General saw he was beaten and pulled up his horse. The countryman turned in his seat and, waving his hand, said, with a laugh, 'I made you take my dust, General,' and drove off The General enjoyed the joke on himself very much, and said he would like to meet that man again, but he never did.

"The last time General Grant appeared in public was at Ocean Grove. Governor Oglesby, of Illinois, was with him and told me that when the cheers of ten thousand people rang out at the sight of the old hero, he turned around and saw the tears coursing slowly down the General's cheeks.

"I thought that it would be very hard for him to stop smoking when his physicians prohibited it. His indomitable will made the matter easy to him, however. 'Did you find it difficult to give up the weed?' I asked him. 'It was hard during the first two days,' he replied, 'but after that I did not mind it. I have no desire to smoke again.'

"It has been said that Hamilton Fish wrote the speech the General made at the opening of the Centennial Exhibition. General Grant wrote that speech in this house, and I have the original manuscript."

Mr. Childs then produced the manuscript, handsomely bound in morocco, with fly leaves of silk. The manuscript was written cleanly, having but few erasures, and was corrected here and there in lead pencil.

During Grant's last illness, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher delivered the following eulogy in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn.

"General Grant is at death's door. It may be weeks, it may be months, it may be hours. I cannot help praying for him. I pray for him as I go along the street. I do not pray that he may be saved—that is as the Lord wills. Going or staying is the same for him or for me, except that the part for him will be glory, for I trust that General Grant in the essential elements of his character is a Christian. There are some remarkable things about him. No man ever heard Grant speak an irreverent word. No man ever heard General Grant, even in the narration of a story, use profane language. Never on the battle-field, never in those exigencies where men are provoked, did any man ever hear General Grant speak a word that was not in moderation and good faith. I believe that the essential elements of his character are based upon religion, and he is altogether a church-going man; he has always believed in it. See what a wonderful career he has had in the latter part of his life. His has been a hard life all the way through. His early life was not a pleasant one—I mean after he left West Point. I need not say anything about that great Civil War, where he was the Atlas upon whose shoulders the nation rested. What toil! If he had not had an iron constitution it would have broken him down. When he came out of it and went to the presidency, for which he had never had any training, and where his mistakes lay in fidelity to friends, he showed a great magnanimity of character. He does not doubt friends easily. If he takes hold of one he sticks to him, and he is in that regard credulous. And so his credulity was abused. The mistakes of his administration lay at the door of the good qualities of the man. I have been with him a good deal and I have never heard him say a bad word about any human being. I have never heard him utter a sentiment that might not become a judge sitting coolly and calmly on the bench. He came out from his public relations and entered into business, another storm came upon him. It struck him just where it was hardest to bear. It made him, as it were, the derision of men for the time. And, as he was in the war and in the Presidential chair, he opened not his mouth in detraction, not even in answer, but stood and bore whatever was laid upon him. In all his financial troubles, never a murmuring word! And then came disease, fateful disease, slowly undermining—going steadily down, down, and not a murmur! Sublime instance of fortitude and patience! I cannot help praying for him in my thoughts. My thoughts rise up round about the throne in his behalf."

Mr. Beecher's pathetic words brought tears to the eyes of most of his hearers, and it was plain to see that he had not a listener who did not sympathize with the grand old soldier in his suffering, and who did not heartily echo the great preacher's sentiments.

Mr. J. A. J. Creswell, who was in General Grant's Cabinet as Postmaster-General for over five years, said:

"I had more admiration for General Grant than for any man I ever saw, and it grieves me to the soul that he should be ending his days in suffering. I knew Lincoln and I knew Stanton, and these two, with Grant, made the distinguished trio—Grant, the great soldier; Stanton, the executive officer, and Lincoln, the great arbiter. Grant's qualities of true manliness were more pronounced than those of any man I ever knew. In all my close relations with him while I was a member of his Cabinet I never heard him say a harsh or petty thing; never heard him speak impulsively or use a profane word. His relations with his family were most delightful and charming. There never was a kinder or more indulgent father, and I never saw a more devoted couple than General and Mrs. Grant. Of course everybody knows how he loved his daughter. The meeting between them the other day was very touching, and the emotion shown by the old warrior exhibited the depth of his affection.

"General Grant's great characteristic, however," continued Mr. Creswell, "was his sublime and unflinching courage. It was of that kind that no impression could be made upon it by opposition. He discharged his duties always without selfishness, never stopping to consider how an action would affect him personally. All he wanted to know was, What is just? What is right? I remember an instance of this kind. At the time we had a postal treaty with Japan which gave us almost entire control of Japanese postal service. When their relations grew more intimate with us and with other nations they desired to have charge of their own service, and took steps in that direction. After the Japanese Minister had talked with me about a treaty to that effect I went to Grant and laid the matter before him. I found that he had but one idea—to do what was right and just toward Japan. I pointed out to him that if he should sign such a treaty we would be surrendering our control of the Japanese service and would be subjected to severe criticism, especially on the Pacific coast. 'But isn't it right?' was his reply; 'can there be any doubt about it?' I told him I only wanted to advise him of the consequences. He was satisfied that the treaty was just, and he signed it. I remember the time when he refused to sign the bill—which appeared to be a deflection from the course we had determined upon—for the resumption of specie payment. There was an immense pressure brought to bear on Grant to sign it. Republicans of prominence urged it, thinking it would prove a satisfactory halfway measure. I think Grant's personal inclination was to sign it. Secretary Fish and myself were the only ones in the Cabinet who opposed its approval. At the Cabinet meeting, when it was considered, Grant drew from his desk a paper and read it. It was a message to Congress returning the bill with his signature. I said, 'I regret very much that you should feel it your duty to pursue such a course.' 'That isn't my view of the matter,' he replied. 'I wanted to do what was best and wanted to test myself, so I wrote all I could in behalf of the bill, but it doesn't satisfy me,' and he refused to sign it. If he had signed it, it would have caused us unlimited trouble.

"Grant never lost his head. When we came so near being engaged in a war with Spain, on account of the 'Virginius' affair, there was a good deal of excitement at the Cabinet meeting, and a war with Spain was imminent. Grant knew what war meant and by his coolness and sound judgment prevented it. He was assisted in this by the Spanish representative in this country, who was a naval officer. He, too, knew what fighting meant, and these two really prevented a war. In circumstances where most men would be apt to lose their head—on the field of battle, for instance—Grant's mind seemed all the stronger and clearer. Rawlins told me once that in the confusion of the battle-field Grant's orders were more explicit and clearer than when everything was quiet. He seemed never to get confused. I asked Grant once if, when giving orders for an engagement, he was not appalled by the great loss of life which would ensue. He replied, 'No, it was war, but I realized what it meant. I never gave such orders until I was satisfied that it was the best course to pursue, and then I was willing to shoulder the responsibility.' He added that many men failed as commanders simply because of an unwillingness to assume this responsibility. He spoke of two men who were fearless in this respect—Sherman and Sheridan. The latter in particular, he thought, was possessed with ample courage to do what seemed best and be responsible for the outcome. It wasn't rashness and heedlessness, but fearlessness in assuming responsibility for results."

"How was General Grant as a writer?" asked the interviewer.

"He wrote with great facility," replied Mr. Creswell. "His style, like his character, was the embodiment of directness. He used few metaphors and little ornamentation, and never two words where one would do, preferring Saxon words to Latin or French. He never hesitated for a word and always went right to the point. He wrote all his own papers, notwithstanding the report to the contrary, and all his messages were framed and written by him."

"How was he as a talker?" asked the reporter.

"Those who thought Grant couldn't talk made a mistake," was the reply. "When he became intimate with one he would talk as much as any companion should. I have heard him do nearly all the talking for an hour or two. He was a good talker, but slow, sometimes hesitating for a word, something he never did in writing. He either had implicit confidence in a man or he had none. He was quick to form an estimate of a man, and if his suspicions were once aroused his firm jaw would shut like a trap, and he would remain cold and silent and by his appearance would chill a speaker, no matter how earnest he might be. He was always modest and unassuming, never presented himself as a hero on any occasion, and never introduced military subjects in conversation. He had a very quick eye, and it was surprising to me how he could take in the whole topography at a glance. I remember once, while he was visiting me at my farm, I took him a long drive around the country. I took a by-road, intending to strike the main road, but missed my way. Finally I laughingly confessed it. 'Where did you want to go to?' he asked. 'I wanted to strike a road which would take me to the village, which lies in that direction.' He stood up in the buggy, and looking over the surrounding country, said:—'If you will let down the fence here, drive over this field and then through that gate up yonder I think you'll strike the road. You want to get on that ridge.' 'Why do you think so?' I asked. 'Well, you say the village is in that direction (pointing); up there I see quite a settlement. The people who live there will have a way to reach the village, and they couldn't find a better way than along that ridge.' I did as he advised and found the road just where he said I would. I expressed surprise at his accuracy and he said:

—'It has been part of my business to find roads. A good soldier should be able by seeing a portion of the country to form a good judgment of what the rest is.'"

Mr. S. H. M. Byers's recollections of Grant, as he appeared on and about the battle-field, are full of interest. He said:

"While I was standing by the pontoon bridge, near Port Gibson, watching the boys cross the bayou, I heard cheering, and, looking round, saw an officer on horseback in a major-general's uniform. He dismounted and came over to the very spot where I was standing. I did not know his face, but something told me it was Grant, at that time the hero of the western army. This was the first time I saw Grant. I think I still possess some of the feeling that overcame me at that moment, as I stood so near to one who held our lives in his hands. I heard him speak: 'Men, push right along; close up fast and hurry over.' Two or three men mounted on mules attempted to wedge past the soldiers on the bridge. Grant noticed it and quietly said, 'Lieutenant, send those men to the rear.' There was no nonsense, no sentiment. He was there for the one single purpose of getting that command across the river in the shortest time possible. On a horse near by, and among the still mounted staff, sat the general's son, a bright-looking lad of about 14 years. Fastened to his little waist by the broad yellow belt was his father's sword—that sword on whose clear steel was soon to be engraved Vicksburg, Spottsylvania, the Wilderness and Richmond. I next saw Grant on May 18, 1863, and this time at the battle of Champion Hills, in rear of Vicksburg. He had crossed the Mississippi River at Grand Gulf, and swung off east and north, had fought the battles of Port Gibson, Raymond and Jackson, and had overtaken Pemberton's army hastening to the walls of Vicksburg. It was a very hot day and we had marched hard, slept little and rested none. Among the magnolias on Champion Hills, the enemy, 40,000 to 50,000 strong, turned on us. Sherman's corps was already engaged far on the right as we approached the field in that overpowering Mississippi sun. Our brigade was soon in line on the edge of a meadow, or open field sloping toward the woods where the enemy were concealed and steadily firing upon us. We were in the most trying position of soldiers, for regulars even, being fired on without permission to return the shots. We were standing two files deep, bearing as patiently as we could, not a heavy but steady fire from infantry, while an occasional cannon-ball tore up the turf in front or behind us. A good many men were falling, and the wounded were being borne to the rear of the brigade, close to an old well, whose wooden curb seemed to offer the only protection from bullets on the exposed line. 'Colonel, move your men a little by the left flank,' said a quiet, though commanding voice. On looking round, I saw immediately behind us Grant, the commander-in chief, mounted on a beautiful bay mare, and followed by perhaps half a dozen of his staff. For some reason he dismounted, and most of his officers were sent off bearing orders to other quarters of the field. It was Grant under fire. The rattling musketry increased on our front, and grew louder, too, on the left flank. Grant had led his horse to the left, and thus kept near the company to which I belonged. He now stood leaning complacently against his favorite steed. His was the only horse near the line, and must, naturally, have attracted some of the enemy's fire. What if he should be killed, I thought to myself, and the army be left without its commander? In front of us was an enemy; behind us, and about us, and liable to overcome and crush us, were his reinforcements. For days we had been away from our base of supplies, and marching inside the enemy's lines. What if Grant should be killed and we be defeated here—in such a place and at such a time? I am sure everyone who recognized him wished him away; but there he stood—clear, calm and immovable. I was close enough to see his features. Earnest they were, but sign of inward movement there was none. It was the same cool, calculating face I had seen before at the bridge, the same careful, half-cynical face I afterward saw busied with affairs of state. Whatever there may have been in his feelings, there was no effort to conceal, there was no pretense, no trick; whatever that face was, it was natural. Men have often asked if Grant was personally brave in battle. Bravery, like many other human qualities, is comparative. That Grant was fearless in battle would be hard to say. If he possessed true bravery, he also possessed fear. Brave men are not fearless men. He was eminently and above all things a cool man, and that, I take it, was, in the exciting times in which he lived, the first great key to his success. He was called a born soldier, but was, in fact, nothing of the kind. He was simply a man of correct methods and a fixed will."

President Johnson sent for General Grant on the morning of August 12, 1867, and told him that his relations with Secretary Stanton were such that neither personal nor official intercourse could continue between them, and had, in fact, practically ceased for some time; that this rupture embarrassed the President in the discharge of his official duties and was hurtful to the public interest, by reason of the important functions devolving upon the War Department in consequence of ten States being under military government; that he did not wish to stimulate public agitation by exercising what he regarded as an undoubted right under the constitution. to remove the Secretary from office, but would content himself by a suspension under the provisions of the tenure of office act, trusting to the good sense and patriotism of the Senate, when it met, to relieve the Government and himself from an intolerable situation, if Mr. Stanton should not meanwhile resign his office voluntarily. The President told General Grant that he wished him to assume the office and duties of Secretary of War, pending the suspension and prospective removal of Mr. Stanton, with the double object of assuring the public that nothing sinister was intended by the change, as had been charged by a partisan press, and of conserving legitimate military interests by putting at the head of the War Department the immediate commander of the army.

General Grant argued against suspending Mr. Stanton while Congress was not in session, deeming the time unfortunately chosen, if the public tranquillity was to be regarded, and offered his services in bringing about a *modus vivendi* until a separation between the head of the administration and his unwelcome Cabinet Minister could be effected in some less disturbing manner than that proposed. But Mr. Johnson was in a flame toward the Secretary and would hear of nothing less than his suspension, and held that he was measurably compromising his own dignity and the integrity of his office in resorting to anything short of a summary dismissal. Becoming satisfied that the President could not be induced to change his purpose, General Grant reluctantly consented to accept the *ad interim* appointment, stipulating that he should be permitted to go to the Secretary and break the news to him. Mr. Johnson agreed to this at once, for the sole idea of the moment was to get Mr. Stanton out of the War Department, and he cared naught about the incidental details.

General Grant went to the War Department with his appointment of Secretary of War *ad interim*, vice Stanton thereby suspended, and explained the imperative circumstances under which he had accepted it. Mr. Stanton acquiesced in the propriety of his action and, after executing a formal protest, left him in possession of the office and the records.

When the Senate refused to assent to the removal of Secretary Stanton, General Grant surrendered his temporary charge to the latter, which act led to a controversy with President Johnson so bitter on the latter's part that, like the two Adamses, he refused to show General Grant subsequently the courtesies usual from a retiring President to his successor.

When General Grant was raised to the grade of Lieutenant-General and appointed to the command of all the armies of the United States he was called to Washington to confer with the President as to the mode in which the war should be conducted. Despite a general confidence in the final success of the national cause, there were contingencies and anxieties that President Lincoln felt should be known to and shared by the military leader in whom the hopes of the country were now placed. Secretary Seward had convincing reasons for knowing that the danger of foreign intervention had not passed away, and that any serious check to the federal arms might bring it upon us so suddenly and effectively as to completely turn the tide of events. Secretary Chase was holding gloomy views concerning the financial future, owing to the enormous and steadily growing cost of the federal armaments. Secretary Stanton, who never permitted himself to think of but one end, had begun to doubt whether the means to that end would hold out in sufficient measure and duration. President Lincoln embodied in his own person the disquieting knowledge and the fears of all his heads of departments. General Grant, away off in the West, holding little official communication with Washington, and personally a stranger to the members of the administration, had comparatively little knowledge of the general situation, and was of that mental habit that concentrates a man's thoughts upon the thing of the moment.

He went out to General Meade's headquarters, and as the result of a prolonged conference with that commander, in which he gained some new views of a new situation, he resolved not to displace Meade, either by assuming the immediate command himself or by procuring the assignment of another to the command. It was characteristic of Grant that, having made up his mind on this important matter, his decision was full and final. In spite of assurances from friends at Washington, in the West and in Meade's own army, that the removal of that officer was little short of a necessity, he never entertained the thought of displacing him from first to last, and so little did he interfere with the internal administration of the Army of the Potomac that he did not propose Sheridan for the command of the cavalry until he learned that Meade wished a change, and although he repeatedly made known to Meade his wish to displace Warren from the command of the Fifth Corps, he yielded to the tenacity with which Meade clung to that officer, until Sheridan took the matter into his own hands in an emergency.

Before opening the campaign, he startled the authorities at Washington by asking that General McClellan might be restored to active duty, and became so urgent about it, taking such a high view of McClellan's military abilities, that the President and Mr. Seward supported him, and even Secretary Chase stood neutral. But the passionate and fiery invective of Secretary Stanton prevailed over all, and the Lieutenant-General was firmly informed that General McClellan was an impossibility in any military situation. The Secretary of War was not so unyielding as to General Buell, but that stubborn soldier refused all overtures unless the injustice done him by the War Department should be formally as well as substantially expiated, and in this pursuit of a shadow lost his last chance of crowning a military career full of merit, but also full of misfortune.

The earlier results of General Grant's Eastern campaign were well calculated to cause him to share the anxieties of those in power at Washington, but when, on the very first day, Lee doubled up the division of Ricketts and threatened, for the time being, to lead a considerable part of the Army of the Potomac to Richmond in a manner unexpected, he was the one calm man of thousands—so stolidly calm as to mingle a touch of exasperation with surprise in the minds of bystanders. And yet his calmness was not of the unreasonable kind, for he believed in the leadership and discipline of the troops, and deemed them equal to the repelling of the fierce assault and the reformation of the broken line of battle, and his cool calculation was in due course exemplified. Even on that memorable day when, for the first time, the spirit seemed beaten out of the Army of the Potomac by repeated and murderous assaults upon Petersburg, he calmly remarked to the agonized Meade that having now proved the impossibility of carrying the works, it was useless to make further attempts.

Three things are essential to the proper understanding of this remark:—First, that the day before the arrival and assault the

Federal scouts had reported that Lee's army had not come up, and that there were less than ten thousand men in the works; second, that the first assault had satisfied Meade that Lee was there in force, and that further attempt to storm the work was useless; third, that in consequence of the failure of the assaults it took ten months longer to effect the intended result at a time when General Grant was being almost daily reminded from Washington that nothing was so important as to bring the war to a close at once. In fact, so urgent was the necessity for discounting time that the exchange of prisoners was stopped, in hopes to bring the Confederacy to an end by dearth of men to fill the insurgent ranks.

One more instance of Grant's quiet courage. When the powder boat was exploded at City Point, filling the air about him with smoke and exploding shells, he rose from his seat, looked about to see what he could of the cause of the noise and destruction, and, a few minutes afterward, in company with Ingalls, his quartermaster-general and bosom friend, he was down on the blazing wharf, directing and helping in the extinguishment of the flames before they reached the great piles of ammunition, covered by tarpaulins, toward which the fire was rolling.

Senator Hawley was asked for some reminiscence of the Republican National Convention of 1868, and General Grant's first nomination for the Presidency. He gave the following:

"At the Republican National Convention of 1868 all who were present will remember the absolute unanimity and enthusiasm with which General Grant received his first formal nomination for the Presidency. It was with difficulty that the Convention could be restrained and confined to the regular orderly procedure, for the vast multitude seemed determined to anticipate the proceedings, and nominate the General with one great shout; but those who desired a more impressive and effective proceeding restrained all irregularities, and in due course of things the name of every State and Territory was called, and the leader of each delegation formally gave its full vote for Ulysses S. Grant, each successive announcement being received with a roll of applause, and at the summing up of the whole, the Convention broke into a tremendous and overwhelming demonstration that died away and rose again for many minutes. It was but recording the unanimous wish of the party; it was a result which no man contrived and which no man could have prevented. As president of the Convention, it became my duty to lead the committee that was instructed to proceed to Washington and formally notify the General.

"Arriving in Washington, the committee requested me to call upon the General and ask him for his wishes concerning the more formal proceedings. The late Senator Ferry, of Connecticut, accompanied me. General Grant received us with his usual quiet and simple cordiality, and we sat with him for possibly an hour in his library. The arrangements for the next day were easily made, but the General seemed inclined to talk and, of course, we were only too glad to listen. Some of his expressions I remember with exactness. Others I can give correctly in substance.

"He said: 'If this were simply a matter of personal preference and satisfaction, I would not wish to be President. I have now arrived at the extreme limit of the ambition of a soldier. I was at the head of the army of the United

States during the great decisive war. I remain the head of that army, with the country united and at peace, as I believe it is to be for many years—I hope forever. The people speak kindly of me, even our fellow-citizens of the South, many of them. If I remain where I am, as time passes and the animosities of the war die away, I do not see why I should not be at peace with all men. The pay of the position abundantly provides for myself and my family. What more could a man wish? To go into the Presidency opens altogether a new field to me, in which there is to be a new strife to which I am not trained It may be that I should fail in giving satisfaction to the country. Then I should go out at the end of my political service, having reduced the number of my friends and lost my position as a soldier. That is a very disagreeable possibility. But there is nothing to be said. There is no choice left for me. There is nothing else to do.' This he repeated several times. 'I have no choice whatever but submission.'

"He spoke with a serious respect for the great place and a sense of its responsibilities. It is impossible that the gratitude of the people and the unanimity with which he was sought should have been otherwise than agreeable to any man. But at that moment he seemed to be dwelling upon the pleasant things which he surrendered in accepting the nomination, and yet to go forward with the simple obedience of a thorough soldier.

"When the committee called upon General Grant the next day I held in my hand the manuscript of the few remarks in which I made the formal announcement. The General replied without notes and without hesitation. The accurate stenographic report shows that he replied with as much aptness as though he had taken a day to prepare.

"The most precious autograph in my collection is the letter of acceptance which was addressed to me as the president of the Convention, and in which occurs the famous expression, 'Let us have peace.' It is all in his own hand and contains only one correction."

Among the many writings of the dead General during his long illness, the following remarkable document has been kept religiously secret by Dr. Douglas until July 28th, when he gave it to the press. explaining that General Grant wrote it in his presence on Thursday, July 2:

"I ask you not to show this to any one, unless the physicians you consult with, until the end. Particularly, I want it kept from my family. If known to one man, the papers will get it. It would only distress them almost beyond endurance to know it, and by reflex would distress me. I have not changed my mind, materially, since I wrote you before in the same strain; now, however, I know that I gain strength some days, but when I do go back, it is beyond where I started to improve. I think the chances are very decidedly in favor of you being able to keep me alive until the change of weather toward Winter. Of course, there are contingencies that might arise at any time that would carry me off very suddenly. The most probable of these is choking. Under the circumstances life is not worth the living. I am very thankful (glad was written for thankful, but scratched out, and thankful substituted) to have been spared this long, because it has enabled me to practically complete the work in which I take so much interest. I cannot stir up strength enough to review it, and make additions and subtractions that would suggest themselves to me, and are not likely to suggest themselves to any one else.

"Under the above circumstances, I will be the happiest, the most pain I can avoid.

"If there is to be any extraordinary cure, such as some people believe there is to be, it will develop itself. I would say, therefore, to you and your colleagues, to make me as comfortable as you can. If it is within God's providence that I should go now, I am ready to obey His call without a murmur I should prefer going now to enduring my present suffering for a single day without hope of recovery. As I have stated, I am thankful for the providential extension of my time to enable me to continue my work. I am further thankful, and in a greater degree thankful, because it has enabled me to see for myself the happy harmony which has so suddenly sprung up between those engaged but a few short years ago in deadly conflict. It has been an inestimable blessing to one to hear the kind expressions toward me, in person, from all parts of our country, from people of all nationalities, of all religions, and of no religion, of Confederates and of National troops alike, of soldiers' organizations, of mechanical, scientific, religious and other societies, embracing almost every citizen in the land. They have brought joy to my heart, if they have not effected a cure. So, to you and your colleagues, I acknowledge my indebtedness for having brought me through the valley of the shadow of death, to enable one to witness these things.

[Signed] "U. S. Grant.

"Mt. McGregor, N. Y., July 2d, 1885."

As an interesting recollection of General Grant, Major Charles McCann, of Confederate General Pickett's staff, who is authority for the statement, related the following:

"Immediately after the surrender at Appomattox information reached Major-General George E. Pickett, of Virginia, that Governor Holden, of North Carolina was about to make a requisition for him as a fugitive from justice, to answer charges of the murder of eight North Carolinians by execution in the neighborhood of Newberne, in that State. These North Carolinians were Confederate deserters, captured in the Federal service, who had been tried by court-martial and summarily shot for desertion.

"General Pickett, fearing the power of Holden and knowing his influence with President Johnson and Secretary Stanton, took the train for Washington in order to lay the matter before General Grant, as commander-in-chief of the United States Army. Pickett was very naturally nervous and suspicious as to the result of his visit, not knowing what course General Grant would pursue in the matter. He immediately called, however, on Adjutant-General Rawlings—Grant being absent at the time—and stated his case. Rawlings advised him to call early the next morning. It was a long and anxious night for Pickett.

"The next morning he took his place promptly among the crowd of visitors at army headquarters to await the arrival of General Grant. At length a commotion on the stairway indicated the approach of some one in authority. It was Grant—army hat and cigar. Pickett was on the landing of the stairway, and as Grant was about to pass he halted, and, recognizing Pickett, said, extending his hand: 'How are you, Pickett?' They shook hands cordially and vigorously. It was the first time they had met since 1845, on Vancouver's Island, and Pickett, when afterward relating his experience, said that he immediately felt much easier.

"When it came to Pickett's time to go in Grant asked, 'Rawlings, what is it Pickett wants?' Rawlings at once briefly related the case, when Grant promptly and with marked emphasis said: 'Rawlings, give him full protection.' Then, turning to Pickett, he said: 'Come around and see me; I am busy now and can't talk much.' Pickett thanked the General and returned to his family at Richmond, feeling a much happier man than when he started. Nothing more was heard of Holden's demand for Pickett."

Colonel John A. McCaull, the opera manager, was in command of the Confederate troops which raided Chambersburg and burned the house of Colonel A. K. McClure. At a dinner which took place at Philadelphia in April, 1885, these two gentlemen sat side by side, and each rose to testify in tender but glowing words to the nobility, simplicity and magnanimity of General Grant's character. Colonel McCaull said:

"When the war was ended I had the honor to be the humble secretary of the Virginia Commission which called upon General Grant to ask about the terms of readmission of the Commonwealth. I shall never forget the simple manner in which he said: 'Gentlemen, Virginia, that noble State, was one of the last to leave the Union. I hope sincerely that she will be the first to be readmitted.' At that time the politics of the State were unsettled, and it was a question whether she would come back as a Republican or as a Conservative—what you call Democratic—State. The reconstruction committee was anxious that she should be a certain Republican State before she was admitted, and her admission was postponed. The next day General Grant, hearing of the action of the committee, went down to his room in the Capitol and sent for General Butler and Mr. Blaine, both leading members of the committee, and said: 'Gentlemen, the readmission of Virginia to the Union is not a question of politics. It is more than that. Virginia is a grand State. She asks to be allowed to come back in the Union. Her readmission affects our common country, and in the name of our common country, in the name of patriotism, I ask you to admit Virginia.'"

Colonel McCaull added:

"I never was so impressed in my life with the simplicity, sincerity and patriotism of any one as with the earnest manner in which General Grant made this patriotic request."

Colonel McClure followed with an account of the meeting of Grant and Lee. He said:

"The day before the surrender at Appomattox General Grant received a letter from General Lee, asking for a meeting. Of course he knew it could mean only one thing—an offer of surrender. He sat down and wrote an answer agreeing to the meeting. The next day General Lee and his staff met General Grant in their full uniforms. He was in plain undress suit, without sword or other arms. Every one who knows General Grant knows that no one understood better what military etiquette was. He knew that according to etiquette General Lee could not properly tender him his sword then, and there is no doubt in my mind, and none in the minds of those who know General Grant best, that he went in undress uniform deliberately and intentionally, and that by so doing he meant to let his deed, rather than his words, express the intention. Nothing could exceed this in delicacy and magnanimity. In the history of the world no conqueror was ever so magnanimous to the conquered."

A San Francisco *Chronicle* writer says:

"Military reputations are curious things. Soldiers know that Lee was a mere desk general, without plan or dash. Before the war old General Scott, who loved him, used to say that, with the exception of himself, Bob Lee was the only man in this country who could handle fifty thousand men. He took this reputation in the Southern army, and he was idolized. He was a courteous, dignified man. His soldiers trusted him implicitly, and he had the inner lines, so that it was reckoned he had won a victory every time he escaped annihilation.

"President Davis was deferential to him, and the corps commanders regarded him as omniscient and invincible. But, in point of fact, there is not one of his battles which military students will hereafter be required to study.

So with Stonewall Jackson. In the Southern army he was enterprising, audacious, swift in action; but a man might easily make a reputation when he has only commanders like Banks and Fremont to encounter. If Stonewall Jackson had lived long enough to meet such men as Sherman and Sheridan, his fame might not have stood as high as it does.

"When our war broke out, the eyes of soldiers were fixed upon McClellan, Rosecrans, Stone, McDowell and Buell. These were to be the coming men. They all proved failures. Grant cut no figure in Mexico. Sherman was said to be a crank. Sheridan was unknown. It required circumstances to develop them. Grant showed, from the first, the intuitive capacity of the born soldier.

"After the fall of Fort Donelson, a brother-in-arms took the liberty of drawing his attention to the awful risk he had run by deviating from the rules of war. The General replied: 'Yes, I know all that; but I knew the men on the other side, and I took the chances. You do not suppose I would have acted so if Lee had been in command of the fort?' So when he resolved on his march round Vicksburg by way of the river, he knew that he was acting contrary to the rules of war; but he took the risks, and for fear of interference from Washington, he would not let General Halleck know what he was doing till he was past recall. Sure enough, as soon as telegrams could reach him, Halleck countermanded the movement; but it was too late, and in due course Vicksburg fell."

Captain Frank Smith, a soldier of Lee's army, copied the terms of surrender between General U. S. Grant and R. E. Lee from the original document. They are as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,
APPOMATTOX C. H., Va., April 9, 1865.

"*Gen'l. R. E. Lee, Comd'g C. S. A.*

"GENERAL: In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 9th inst., I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of No. Va. on the following terms, to-wit: Roll of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate, the officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged, and each company or regimental commander to sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery and public property are to be stacked and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side arms of the officers nor the private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by the United States authority as long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they may reside. Very respectfully,

"U. S. GRANT,
"Lieutenant-General.

(Official.)
"O. LATROBE, A. A. G.
"JOHN STEPHENSON, A. D. C.
"JOHN W. KERR, A. A. G."

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY NO. VA.,
April 10, 1865.

"Special Order No.—

"The following special order is published for the information of all parties concerned:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE U. S.,
IN THE FIELD, 10th April, 1865.

"Special Order No.—

"All officers and men of the Confederate service paroled at Appomattox C. H., Va., who to reach their homes are compelled to pass through the lines of the Union armies will be allowed to do so, and to pass free on all Government and military railroads.

"By com'd of Lieut.-Gen'l Grant.

"E. S. Park, Lieut.-Col. & A. A. G.

"By com'd of Gen'l R. E. Lee.

"C. S. Venable, A. A. G.

(Official.)
"O. Latrobe, A. A. G.
"John Stephenson, A. A. G.
"Jno. W. Kerr, A. A. G.

"Copied from the original at Appomattox Court-House, for Frank M. Smith, of Company E, Fifth Texas Volunteers, A. N. Va., by Lieut. Baker."

General Adam Badeau, who has been one of the most constant attendants at General Grant's residence during his illness, says:

"At the close of the war the man who had led the victorious armies was not forty-three years of age. He had not changed in any essential qualities from the captain in Mexico or the merchant in Galena. The characteristics of the man were exactly those he manifested as a soldier—directness and steadiness of purpose, clearness and certainty of judgment, self-reliance and immutable determination.

"I asked him once how he could be so calm in terrible emergencies after giving an order for a corps to go into battle or directing some intricate manœuvre. He replied that he had done his best, and could do no better. He had done what he could, and he gave himself no anxiety about the judgment or the decision.

"On the night of the battle of the Wilderness, when the right of his army had been broken and turned, after he had given his orders for new dispositions, he went to his tent and slept calmly till morning. * * Not that he was indifferent to human life or human suffering. I have been with him when he left a hurdle-race, unwilling to see men risk their necks needlessly, and he came away from one of Blondin's exhibitions at Niagara angry and nervous at the sight of one poor wretch in gaudy clothes crossing the whirlpool on a wire. But he could subordinate such sensations when necessity required it."

In another place Badeau writes of Grant:

"His relation with the troops was peculiar. He never made speeches to the soldiers, and, of course, never led them himself into battle, after he assumed his high command. But in every battle they saw him certainly once or twice far to the front as exposed as they, for there always seemed to come a time in each engagement when he was unwilling to use the eyes or ears of another, but must observe for himself in order to determine. The soldiers saw all this. They knew, too, that when he rode around in camp it meant action, and the sight of his blue overcoat, exactly like their own, it was a signal to prepare for battle.

"After the battle of the wilderness he rode at night along the road where Hancock's veterans lay, and when the men discovered it was Grant, and that his face was turned toward Richmond, they knew in a moment they were not to retire acrose the Rapidan as so often before, and they rose in the darkness and cheered until the enemy thought it was a night attack and came out and opened fire. When the works were carried at Petersburg, their enthusiasm was, of course, unbounded, and whenever they caught a glimpse of him in the Appomattox campaign the cheers were vociferous. After the surrender of Lee they began without orders to salute him with cannon, and he directed the firing to cease, less it should wound the feelings of the prisoners, who, he said, were once again our countrymen. This sentiment he retained. Soon after the close of the war I was present when a committee of Congress, headed by Charles Sumner, waited on him to propose that a picture should be painted of the surrender of Lee to be placed in the rotunda of the Capitol. But he told them he should never consent so far as he was concerned, to any picture being placed in the Capitol to commemorate a victory in which our own countrymen were the losers."

Mr. Thomas Donaldson, a friend of General Grant, thus describes his characteristics, appearance, manners and his virtues:

"General Grant was about five feet seven inches in height. His shoulders were broad and his body, after his 50th year, rather inclined to be rotund. His weight in 1868 was about 150 pounds; in 1877, 185 pounds; in 1883, 185 pounds; in December, 1884, 152 pounds. His head was round, full and large, with ears well formed and prominent. His hair, originally brown, began to age, along with his whiskers, in 1875, and became nearly gray after his pecuniary misfortunes of 1884. His beard for twenty five years was reddish brown and worn short and full, with moustache. His eyes were blue, his nose rather large and Grecian in shape. His lower jaw was square and massive.

"His face had a kindly expression and bore strongly marked lines about the corners of the eyes and mouth. His manner of speech was slow and with a slight hesitancy. He was modest by nature and cultivation as well. He frequently expressed his contempt for ostentation and avoided loud men as companions. His face had the same mark upon it as there was upon President Lincoln's—a large mole on the right side and near the corner of the mouth.

"His voice was thin and peculiar to himself, never loud, but clear. Still, at the end of a sentence or speech he sometimes ran his words closely together. A first glance at his face gave but small indication of what or who he was, but it always forced a second look. There was nothing in his personal appearance to show a man above the average of our intelligent class. Sympathy and affection were deep-set in him. As brave as a lion, in all the war facing death constantly, not a loose word escaped him. His blue-gray eyes put on a more far-away look and his jaws set the firmer

"When he shook hands with you—after 1869—he drew gently back. A ruffian amongst the visitors at the White House one day in 1869 grasped his hand as if to shake it and attempted to break his arm by wrenching it. His hands were small, seldom gloved, and his feet small and neatly booted. In his dress he was plain and simple. His clothes were generally dark. His coat was a frock or cutaway.

"March 4, 1869, when first inaugurated President, General Grant made his first appearance in a tall silk hat. He always wore one after that.

"His watch-chain was a single strand of gold. In the army he wore a blue blouse and no sword, a plain slouch hat, dark trousers and top-boots. Even his horse equipments did not indicate his rank. When he went to Europe in 1878 he was compelled to buy a new uniform, as his old one was worn out. He bought but three while general of the army.

"At table he ate but little, and that of the plainest food, and in the latter years of his life used no wine. As an escort for ladies, the assurance of one of the brightest and most lovely women who has graced Washington social life—that 'General Grant was the most acceptable of all the escorts she had ever had at dinner'—is warrant enough for the statement that he was a gentleman in social life and at the table.

"He was fond of children and they of him—because of positive evidences of benevolence of both head and heart. He stood fatigue readily, and could go without food or sleep for a long time. On horseback he sat easily and rode with grace, as West Point men usually do. He had a keen memory for those who abused him, either by speech or in the press, and never forgot them. He hated and liked with manly vigor. He had one old-time virtue, fast becoming obsolete, developed in the highest—he liked his friends and would stand by them.

"His memory for men and events was clear and strong. A nephew of a member of Mr. Lincoln's cabinet, a private in a Maine battery in the Army of the Potomac, came in his private's jacket to visit his uncle, with Mr. Lincoln and other members of his Cabinet on a steamer at City Point, Va. He dined with them all, including General Grant. Four years afterward General Grant met him in the street in Washington and said,—'Why, Mr. Fessenden, how are you?'

"In 1869 the reduction of the regular army to a peace establishment rendered six hundred officers superfluous. But when Congress proceeded to muster them out, General Grant said,—'Stop, if you remove them I will appoint every one of them to the best civic positions within my province.' Congress took the alarm and retired them with one year's pay each.

"He had an affectionate regard for the soldiers who had served with him; Sherman was his loving friend, to whom he used to say, 'When this affair (any ceremony at which they were present) is over come around and let's have a talk.' Sheridan he pronounced 'the best soldier of the century.' Jealousy was not an element of General Grant's make-up,

"He liked horses, but preferred to drive them himself. In 1877, when he arrived at Liverpool, a four-in-hand met him. He got in, remarking to Consul Packard, 'Ah, I would rather be behind a pair, in a buggy, with you for a guest.' He had in early days of his public life a reputation for marked reticence. He was called the 'Silent Man.' He was not a reticent man in private life. His conversational powers developed rapidly and he was a splendid talker. The few speeches he made in public, beginning after 1869, were models in brevity, force, and compact expression. Directness is evident in all that he ever did. His reserve was natural, and an indication of the gentleness with which he commanded and controlled. In acting upon any important event in civil life, or in the war, he never by sign or word indicated that there was the least chance for a failure in what he was undertaking.

"The best picture of him up to 1866 is the photograph taken by F. Gutekunst, of Philadelphia, in that year, in full uniform and wearing crape as mourning for Mr. Lincoln. One taken by Tabor, of San Francisco, in 1879, also does him justice, but the majority of the photographs of him indicate a much larger and broader man than he was. In early life his path was over rugged ways, but his adversities were lessons to him, and his failures eventually became elements in his success and made him the product and result of more than 300 years of Anglo-Saxon life on this continent.

"The greatest man of this century in the Anglo-Saxon race—whom history will place along with the higher and favored few, was in his every-day life a common-place, simple, loveable man. He reached the summit of earthly glory, and in doing it practiced the methods and ways of a gentleman.

## The following are notable extracts from Grant's lettters, speeches and conversations:

"Yours of this date, proposing an armistice and the appointment of commissioners to settle on the terms of capitulation, is just received. No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately on your works. I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant."
—*To General Buckner, commanding Fort Donelson, February* 16, 1862.

"GENERAL: Your note of this date, just received, proposes an armistice of several hours for the purpose of arranging terms of capitulation through commissioners to be appointed, etc. The effusion of blood you propose stopping by this course can be ended at any time you may choose by an unconditional surrender of the city and garrison. Men who have shown so much endurance and courage as those now in Vicksburg will also challenge the respect of an adversary, and, I can assure you, will be treated with all the respect due to them as prisoners of war. I do not favor the proposition of appointing commissioners to arrange terms of capitulation, because I have no other terms than those indicated above."–*To General Pemberton. commanding at Vicksburg*, 1863.

"No theory of my own will ever stand in the way of my executing, in good faith, any order I may receive from those in authority over me."—*Letter to Secretary Chase, July*, 1864.

"I feel no inclination to retaliate for the offenses of irresponsible persons; but if it is the policy of any general entrusted with the command of troops to show no quarter, or to punish with death prisoners taken in battle, I will accept the issue."—*Letter to Confederate General Buckner*, 1863.

"The stability of this government and the unity of this nation depend solely on the cordial support and the earnest loyalty of the people."—*Address to Loyal Citizens of Memphis, August*, 1863.

"I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."—*In the Wilderness, May* 11, 1864.

"Victory has crowned your valor and secured the purpose of your patriotic hearts, and with the gratitude of your countrymen and the highest honors a great and free nation can accord, you will soon be permitted to return to your homes and families conscious of having discharged the highest duty of American citizens. To achieve these glorious triumphs, and to secure to yourselves, your fellow-countrymen and posterity the blessings of free institutions, tens of thousands of your gallant comrades have fallen and sealed the priceless legacy with their lives. The graves of these a grateful nation bedews with tears, honors their memories and will ever cherish and support their stricken families."—*Address to the Armies, June* 2, 1865.

"It has been my fortune to see the armies of both the West and East fight battles, and from what I have seen, I know there is no difference in their fighting qualities. All that it was possible for men to do in battle they have done. * * All have a proud record, and all sections can well congratulate themselves and each other for having done their full share in restoring the supremacy of law over every foot of territory belonging to the United States. Let them hope for perpetual peace and harmony with that enemy whose manhood, however mistaken the cause, drew forth such herculean deeds of valor."—*Report on the Operations of the Armies*, 1865.

"This is a Republic where the will of the people is the law of the land. I beg that their voice may be heard."—*Letter to President Johnson*, 1865.

"Peace and universal prosperity, its sequence, with economy of administration, will lighten the burden of taxation, while it certainly reduces the national debt. Let us have peace."—*Letter Accepting Nomination*, 1868.

"I shall on all subjects have a policy to recommend, none to enforce against the will of the people. Laws are to govern all alike—those opposed to as well as those in favor of them. I know no method to secure the repeal of bad or obnoxious laws so effectual as their strict execution."—*Inaugural Address*, 1869.

"To protect the national honor, every dollar of the government indebtedness should be paid in gold, unless otherwise especially stipulated in the contract. Let it be understood that no repudiation of one farthing of our public debt will be trusted in public places."—*Inaugural Address*, 1869.

"We are a Republic whereof one man is as good as another before the law. Under such a form of government it is of the greatest importance that all should be possessed of education and intelligence enough to cast a vote with a right understanding of its meaning."—*Annual Message*, 1871.

"Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the more perfect security of free thought, free speech and free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color or religion. Encourage free schools and resolve that not one dollar of money appropriated to their support, no matter how raised, shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian school."—*Address at Reunion of Army of the Tennessee*, 1875.

"The compulsory support of the free schools and the disfranchisement of all who cannot read and write the English language, after a fixed probation, would meet my hearty approval."—*Annual Message*, 1876.

"I am not a believer in any artificial method of making paper money equal to coin when the coin is not owned or held ready to redeem the promise to pay, for paper money is nothing more than promises to pay."—*Veto Message of Currency Bill.*

"Nothing would afford me greater happiness than to know, as I believe will be the case, that at some future day the nations of the earth will agree upon some sort of congress, which shall take cognizance of international questions of difficulty, and whose decisions will be as binding as the decision of our Supreme Court are binding on us."—*To the International Arbitration Union, Birmingham.*

"I recognize the fact that whatever there is of greatness in the United States, or indeed in any other country, is due to the labor performed. The laborer is the author of all greatness and wealth. Without labor there would be no government, or no leading class, or nothing to preserve. With us, labor is regarded as highly respectable."—*To the Iron-Founders' Society, Birmingham*, 1877.

"If our country could be saved or ruined by the efforts of any one man, we should not have a country and we should not now be celebrating our Fourth of July."—*Speech at Hamburg*, 1878.

"The humblest soldier who carried a musket is entitled to as much credit for the results of the war as those who were in command."—*Speech at Hamburg*, 1878.

"With a people as honest and proud as the Americans, and with so much common sense, it is always a mistake to do a thing not entirely right for the sake of expediency.

"When I was in the army I had a physique that could stand anything. Whether I slept on the ground or in a tent, whether I slept one hour or ten in the twenty-four, whether I had one meal or three or none, made no difference. I could lie down and sleep in the rain without caring. But I was many years younger, and I could not hope to do that now.

"The only eyes a general can trust are his own.

"Although a soldier by education and profession, I have never felt any sort of fondness for war, and I have never advocated it except as a means of peace." —*Speech in London*, 1877.

"A general who will never take a chance in a battle will never fight one.

"I do not believe in luck in war any more than in luck in business.

"I would deal with nations as equitable law requires individuals to treat with each other.

"The president of the Chamber of Commerce in his remarks has alluded to the personal friendship existing between the two nations. I will not say the two peoples, because we are one people, but we are two nations having a common destiny, and that destiny will be brilliant in proportion to the friendship and co-operation of the brethren on the two sides of the water."—*Speech at Newcastle.*

"The truth is, I am more of a farmer than a soldier. I take little or no interest in military affairs, and, although I entered the army thirty-five years ago, and have been in two wars, in Mexico as a young lieutenant, and later, I never went into the army without regret and never retired without pleasure.

"There had to be an end of slavery. Then we were fighting an enemy with whom we could not make a peace. We had to destroy him. No convention, no treaty, was possible, only destruction.

"Too long denial of guaranteed right is sure to lead to revolution, bloody revolution, where suffering must fall upon the innocent as well as the guilty." —*Letter to Governor Chamberlain,* 1876.

"I am not one of those who cry out against the Republic and charge it with being ungrateful. I am sure that, as regards the American people as a nation and as individuals, I have every reason under the sun, if any person really has, to be satisfied with their treatment of me."—*Speech in New York,* 1880.

"I have witnessed since my sickness just what I have wished to see ever since the war—harmony and good feeling between the sections. I have always contended that if there had been nobody left but the soldiers we should have had peace in a year. —— and —— are the only two that I know of who do not seem to be satisfied on the Southern side. We have some on ours who failed to accomplish as much as they wished, or who did not get warmed up to the fight until it was all over, who have not had quite full satisfaction. The great majority, too, of those who did not go into the war have long since grown tired of the long controversy. We may now well look forward to a perpetual peace at home and a national strength that will screen us against any foreign complication. I believe myself that the war was worth all it cost us, fearful as that was."—*Written to General Buckner.*

# CHAPTER XXIII.

## THE NATION MOURNS THE DEATH OF GENERAL GRANT.

Great Sorrow in all Parts of the Globe—Proclamations of President Cleveland and the Governors of the States—General Fitz-John Porter's Kind Words—Outward Signs of Woe—Flags at Half-Mast and Black Emblems in the Streets—Citizens, Soldiers and Officials pay Universal Tribute—The Southern Press.

Shortly after 8 o'clock on the morning of the 23d day of July the President was informed of the death of General Grant. He immediately directed that the flag on the White House should be placed at half-mast. The lowering of the flag was the first intimation that the citizens of Washington had of the death of the distinguished man, although they had been anticipating it throughout the night. A few minutes after the White House flag was placed at half-mast, the flags on all the public buildings and many private ones were placed in a like position. The bells of the city were tolled, and citizens who heard them readily recognized their meaning. Business men immediately began draping their houses with mourning, and residences in a similar manner showed esteem for the deceased.

President Cleveland sent the following dispatch to Mrs. Grant, at Mt. McGregor:

"Accept this expression of my heartfelt sympathy in this hour of your great affliction. The people of the Nation mourn with you, and would reach, if they could, with kindly comfort, the depths of the sorrow which is yours alone, and which only the pity of God can heal."

Upon the receipt of the news of the death of General Grant, the following telegram was sent to Colonel Fred. Grant by General S. S. Burdett, Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic:

"Expressing the profound grief of the Grand Army of the Republic upon the death of the greatest of our comrades, on behalf of its 300,000 members, I tender to your honored mother, and to all the afflicted family, their heartfelt sympathy. I pray you have me advised so soon as arrangements for the last sad rites are determined upon."

The Chairman of the Citizens' Meeting to-night was requested to convey to Mrs. Grant the expression of sympathy felt by the citizens of Columbus, Ohio. The following was telegraphed by Ex-Senator Thurman:

"The City Council of the City of Columbus, Ohio, and the posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, in this city assembled in public meeting, direct me to convey to you and your family an expression of their profound sympathy in your bereavement and their deep sense of the loss sustained by the country in the death of General Grant. "A. G. THURMAN, Chairman."

The following dispatch was received from Ex-President Hayes:

"Fremont, Ohio, July 23.—Please assure Mrs. Grant and the sorrowing family that they have the deepest sympathy of Mrs. Hayes and myself.

"R. B. HAYES."

The following are among the telegrams received by the family:

"Augusta, Me., July 23.—Mrs. U. S. Grant: Please accept my profoundest sympathy in your great bereavement. The entire Nation mourns the loss of its first soldier and its first citizen. "JAMES G. BLAINE."

"Philadelphia, Pa., July 23.—Mrs. General Grant: I have heard with great sorrow of General Grant's death. I offer full measure of sympathy.

"SAMUEL J. RANDALL, Berwyn, Pa."

"Fort Reno, I. T. July 23.—Colonel F. D. Grant: Will you please express to Mrs. Grant my grief at the loss of my dearest friend and comrade, and my sincere sympathy and condolence with her in this hour of her great distress.

"P. H. SHERIDAN, Lieutenant-General."

"Washington, July 23.—To Colonel F. D. Grant. The painful news to me of your father's death has just been received. The sympathy of myself and family goes out from the depth of our hearts to your mother and all of you in your great bereavement. The country is filled with sympathy and grief at this news, but the greatness of its loss must grow upon it as the future unfolds the coming years. "JOHN A. LOGAN."

The following proclamation was issued by President Cleveland after a special Cabinet meeting:

"The President of the United States has just received the sad tidings of the death of that illustrious citizen and ex-President of the United States, General Ulysses S. Grant, at Mt. McGregor, in the State of New York, to which place he had lately been removed in the endeavor to prolong his life.

"In making this announcement to the people of the United States, the President is impressed with the magnitude of the public loss of a great military leader, who was, in the hour of victory, magnanimous; amid disaster serene and self-sustained; who, in every station, whether as a soldier or as a Chief Magistrate, twice called to power by his fellow-countrymen, trod unswervingly the pathway of duty, undeterred by doubts, single-minded and straightforward.

"The entire country has witnessed with deep emotion his prolonged and patient struggle with painful disease, and has watched by his couch of suffering with tearful sympathy.

"The destined end has come at last, and his spirit has returned to the Creator who sent it forth. The great heart of the nation, that followed him when living with love and pride, bows now in sorrow above him dead, tenderly mindful of his virtues, his great patriotic services and of the loss occasioned by his death.

"In testimony of respect to the memory of General Grant, it is ordered that the Executive Mansion and the several departments at Washington be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days, and that all public business shall on the day of the funeral be suspended; and the Secretaries of War and the Navy shall cause orders to be issued for appropriate military and naval honors to be rendered on that day.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington, this twenty-third day of July, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five, and the independence of the United States the one hundred and tenth. "GROVER CLEVELAND.

"By the President.

"T. F. BAYARD, Secretary of State."

Adjutant General Drum, by command of Lieutenant-General Sheridan, issued the following order:

"In compliance with the instructions of the President, on the day of the funeral at each military post the troops and cadets will be paraded, and the order read to them, after which all labors for the day will cease.

"The National flag will be displayed at half-staff.

"At dawn of day thirteen guns will be fired, and afterward, at intervals of thirty minutes, between the rising and setting of the sun, a single gun, and at the close of the day a National salute of thirty-eight guns. The officers of the army will wear crape on the left arm and on their swords, and the colors of the battalion of engineers, of the several regiments, and of the United States. Corps of cadets will be put in mourning for the period of six months."

Governor Hill, of New York, issued the following proclamation:

"STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER.

"Ulysses S. Grant, twice President of the United States, the defender of the Union, the victorious leader of our soldiers, and General on the retired list of the army, is dead.

"To the last he was the true soldier, strong in spirit, patient in suffering, brave in death. His warfare is ended.

"After the close of his official life, and following that notable journey around the world, when tributes of esteem from all nations were paid him, he chose his home among the citizens of our State. He died upon our soil, in the county of Saratoga, overlooking scenes made glorious by Revolutionary memories.

"It is fitting that the State which he chose as his home should especially honor his memory.

"The words of grief and the tokens of sorrow by which we mark his death shall honor, too, the offices which he held, and proclaim that praise which shall ever be accorded to those who serve the Republic. Therefore it is hereby directed that flags on the public buildings of the State be placed at half-mast until his burial, and on that day, yet to be appointed, all ordinary business in the Executive Chamber and the departments of the State government will be suspended.

"The people of the State are called upon to display until his funeral emblems of mourning, and it is requested that at that hour they cease from their business and pay respect to the distinguished dead.

"Given under my hand and the privy seal of the State of New York, at the Capitol, in the city of Albany, the 23d day of July, 1885.

"By the Governor, "DAVID B. HILL."

Governor Pattison, of Pennsylvania, issued the following proclamation:

"In the name of and by the authority of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Robert E. Pattison, Governor of the said Commonwealth:

"Proclamation: The people of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania have learned with profound regret of the death of the illustrious American soldier and ex-President, Ulysses S. Grant. Emerging from the quiet walks of a citizen's life, at a critical period in the history of his country, he rapidly attained the highest renown in her military service, and on the return of peace was twice called to occupy her chief chair of state. Brilliant and successful in war, magnanimous and conservative in statesmanship, distinguished at home and abroad for his personal virtues in private life, he filled the measure of a useful, honorable and patriotic career, and he bequeathed to his fellow-citizens and posterity a name that will forever be revered. Now, therefore, in view of the sad event which has filled the nation with deep sorrow, and as a fitting mark of respect to the memory of the eminent man who, in the providence of God, after a painful and patient struggle with disease and death, has closed his mortal life, I do direct that the flags on the public buildings of the State be held at half-mast until sundown on the day of his burial, and that on that day the ordinary business of the several departments of the State government be suspended. And I recommend to the people of the Commonwealth that, during the obsequies on that day, they do generally observe the great solemnity of those hours by suspension of business, the tolling of bells and such other marks of respect for the distinguished dead as to them may be deemed appropriate.

"Given under my hand and the seal of the State at Harrisburg, this twenty-fifth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five and of the Commonwealth one hundred and tenth.

"ROBERT E. PATTISON, Governor."

Governor Hoadly, of Ohio, issued a proclamation recommending the proper observance of August 8th. Speaking of General Grant, he says:

"By his labors and those of the brave men he led, the Union was restored, and six millions of freedmen celebrate the blessings of liberty secured for themselves and their posterity. Tenacious in conflict, he was magnanimous in victory, and the beneficent results of his generous dealings with his foes, and their grateful response, comforted him in the face of death."

Governor Gray, of Indiana, was absent from Indianapolis at the time of General Grant's death. Immediately upon his arrival he issued a proclamation announcing the General's death and recommending a general suspension of business on the day of the funeral.

General Fitz-John Porter took occasion to speak about the death of General Grant:

"We were boys together at West Point," he said, "and officers together in Mexico. Although in after-years he decided against me in a matter that concerns what is dearer to me than life, I never regarded General Grant as my enemy. On the contrary, I always esteemed him highly for his great purity of character. His conduct toward me shows that he was worthy of esteem. He was the victim, for awhile, of misinformation, but repented deeply for his hasty and incorrect judgment of my case. The very change proved his manliness, his nobility and his absolute purity of heart. It also proved his sterling integrity and determination to do what was right and just. He had committed himself as President of the United States and as General of the Army, but when he examined into the facts, without hesitation he reversed his judgment and made every effort a man could to undo an unintentional injustice. I regarded Grant as my friend and feel deeply his loss. I look upon his death as a calamity to the country, and his record as one for the study of the youths of the Republic."

Washington, July 24, 1885.

Mrs. U. S. Grant:—Her Majesty, the Queen, commands me to convey to yourself and family her sincere condolence on the death of General Grant.

BRITISH MINISTER.

The sympathy of Queen Victoria, the widow and mother, tendered to Mrs. Grant, also a widow and a mother, affected her even to tears. Next came the following missive from the Prince and

Princess of Wales, in whose hearts the flood-tide of humanity ever bounds with warm and generous impulses:

London, July 24, 1885.

Mrs. U. S. Grant:—Accept our deepest sympathy in the loss of your distinguished husband. We shall always look back with gratification at having had the advantage of knowing him personally.

PRINCE and PRINCESS OF WALES.

This was quickly followed by the subjoined despatch from ex-President Arthur:

Montreal, July 24, 1885.

Mrs. Grant:—I am greatly grieved to get the sad news of the General's death. Pray accept my most sincere sympathy. CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

Among other telegrams received on the 25th day of July were the following:

Atlanta, Ga., July 25, 1885.

Colonel F. D. Grant:—I sympathize deeply with your family. General Grant was a brave and successful soldier and a generous adversary.

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

Mrs. Grant:—Delaware tenders the warmest sympathy of her citizens in this great hour of private and public grief. CHARLES C. STOCKLEY.

Mrs. Grant:—I offer my expression of deep sympathy to the widow of the great leader of the Union armies. COMTE DE PARIS.

Metherington, July 24, 1885.

Mrs. Grant:—Allow me to offer sincere sympathy on your great loss.

LORD RIPON.

London, July 25, 1885.

Mrs. Grant:—Heartfelt sympathy for sad affliction befallen you.

MRS. MACKAY.

Tokio, Japan, July 24, 1885.

Mme. General Grant:—I learned with much sorrow of the death of your husband. I tender you my sincere condolence and deep sympathy

PRINCE TOWHITO.

New York, July 25, 1885.

Mrs. Grant:—In the name of the Imperial Government and my own, pray accept the expression of the deepest sympathy. BRAZILIAN MINISTER.

Tokio, July 25, 1885.

Mrs. U. S. Grant:—By command, I present to you the condolence and sympathy of their Majesties the Emperor and Empress, in the sad death of the illustrious and honored friend of their Majesties. ITO HIROBUME,

Japanese Imperial Household Minister.

Hot Springs, Ark., July 25, 1885.

My own grief is overwhelming for the loss of my truest friend, beloved classmate and noble comrade. RUFUS INGALLS.

Executive Chamber, Augusta, Me, July 25, 1885.

Our people extend to Mrs. Grant and family their profoundest sympathy. In accordance with the order of Executive Council of the State of Maine, I shall attend the funeral ceremonies, accompanied by a committee from that body.

FREDERICK ROBIE, Governor.

President Diaz, of Mexico, sent a telegram expressing his sorrow at the loss of so distinguished a soldier and statesman.

Ignacio Mariscal, the Mexican Premier, sent the following:

"By instructions of President Diaz I send you the most sincere condolence of the Mexican Government for the loss of our great friend, the illustrious General Grant, and personally I tender my own and my family's heartfelt sympathy in your bereavement."

Mrs. Frelinghuysen, widow of the late Secretary of State, telegraphed:

"Pray receive my loving sympathy. We feel deeply for you all. I so highly appreciated the General's kindness to me in my sorrow, even when he was such a sufferer."

Confederate soldiers of Helena, Ark., sent a message of sympathy.

The following telegram was sent from Sandy Hook to Colonel Fred. D. Grant by Secretary Endicott:

"Your telegram received containing the sad tidings of your father's death. The sympathies of the Nation and the world are with you, but nowhere will they be so near personal as in the army, which he commanded and the great department of the Government with which he is so closely identified. Be assured of my sincere sympathy with you and your family in this great affliction."

Governor Oglesby, of Illinois, was on the steamer "Colonel Patterson," with the Grand Army of the Republic excursion from Quincy to Nauvoo, when he learned at Keokuk of the death of General Grant. The Governor made the soldier boys a brilliant speech, devoted entirely to a tribute to the old commander. He left the excursion and went to Springfield to inaugurate means for a fitting tribute in behalf of Illinois for the dead hero.

The news of General Grant's death spread with marvelous rapidity, in New York City, and ten minutes after the telegraph had announced it to the newspaper offices it was known from the Battery to Harlem. Flags were soon flying at half-mast all over the city, and no one needed to be told the meaning of the gloomy signal. Gradually signs of mourning spread through the streets. Long streamers of black crape stretched from cornices to sidewalk. Business flagged. Though the current of trade did not cease, it was checked, and men found time to talk of the Nation's loss. Few men, as they mingled in the turmoil of city life, did not feel touched by a sense of personal sorrow. There were many silent tokens of the universal grief. The half-masted flags and the mourning drapery, the edging of black, which grew as by magic on every street, the tolling of bells and the gathering here and there of official bodies to take appropriate action were only a few of these manifestations. Every face among thousands seemed to wear an expression of sorrow, and crowds gathered before the bulletins which contained the barren but moving statement that General Grant was dead. Likenesses of the dead hero in windows invariably gathered knots of people, and the features were studied with a new and regretful interest. Even some of the street-car lines decorated their platforms with sable-bordered flags. At Coney Island the various bands performed special programmes, and even in the scores of lesser halls in this city, where people flock for music, the airs were subdued. The gayest excursion boats on the bay and river carried their flags at half-mast, and it is a fact that the merriment upon them was subdued. The first building in the city to show signs of mourning was the Western Union. The National, State and municipal flags soon after drooped above the City Hall, and thence the line of mourning emblems ran quickly up Broadway. By noon emblems of mourning were displayed on thousands of small stores. The *Times*, *Tribune*, *World* and *Sun* buildings were draped with especial effectiveness. Portraits of the General framed in black and badges of white crape with his features stamped upon them, and medals bearing his face with the date and hour of his death, found ready sale upon the streets. Every church in Trinity parish tolled its bells, and the sad chimes soon rang from Murray Hill to the outskirts of Brooklyn and Jersey City. Every fire-engine-house and police-station was draped with black, as were the departments of the municipal government. Mayor Grace found it impossible to get a full meeting of the Aldermen, but, in anticipation of their action, he sent an official telegram of condolence to Mrs. Grant and offered a burial-place in any of the parks in the city. Such of the exchanges as had not already adopted resolutions did so, and this form of expression spread to countless organizations,—commercial, civic, military and social throughout the country.

The *New York Herald* said:

"The announcement nine months ago that General Grant had fallen, shot by an assassin's bullet, would have stirred the nation from core to circumference, and excitement utterly unprecedented —unknown to modern life—would have taken possession of the city and dominated the situation. During this greater part of a busy and active year the nation had sat by the bedside of the sufferer; had watched him during the sleepless hours of the night, when pain and anguish made him sigh for the final outcome; had followed with great interest the efforts of his doctors and the service of his friends; had hobbled with him on his crutch to the window, that he might reciprocate the courteous recognition of his comrades; had labored with him over the pages of his memoirs, and had read with unaffected interest, the affectionate messages written on the historic pad to his family and his friends; had attended him in that long and tedious trip to the mountain, where he sought a possible relief, and in the long weeks had sunk from hopefulness to hopelessness, and at last had attended him to the very verge and confine of life's fitful fever. Therefore the end was not only expected, but was anticipated, so that its effect was largely discounted.

"When Garfield was assassinated doubt and uncertainty came with the news; and although horror and disgust and apprehension were apparent on every hand, there was no cessation of work, no factory closed its doors, no exchange adjourned for the day. Hope told a flattering tale, and for weeks, and for months, while the illustrious sufferer lay and dozed upon his couch of pain, attended by unfeigned sympathy and affectionate interest, everything went on in its accustomed channel as in the olden time. This might have been anticipated in the present instance. There was no surprise of any sort for those who have been looking nearly a year for the tidings of General Grant's death. There was no startling sensation to be sprung upon an unprepared people by ambitious panderers, or by dealers in highly-spiced intelligence. Quietly, gravely, solemnly, decorously as one's own family circle might sit in an adjoining room waiting for the death-throe whose painful conclusion the doctor alone would care to see, has the nation waited for dissolution so certain,—as certain as fate itself.

"At last it came!

"It came not with the force and vigor of a thunderbolt, not with a quick flash of incisive lightning, not with the blast and fury of a tornado, but in the calm announcement that the Christian hero, the successful general, the two-term President, the world's guest, the nation's favorite son, had finally succumbed, and in the noiseless seclusion of his bed-chamber, surrounded by his wife and children, had with intelligence yielded up his spirit to its Maker in calm confidence that a past so pregnant with good, so fraught with blessing, was a harbinger indeed of a happy future, a second term beyond the skies, directed, fashioned and guided by the omnipotent hand of the Creator himself.

"The sad news of his demise spread like wild-fire, and before many hours had elapsed the whole nation mourned the death of General Grant."

The *New York Tribune* said: "The foremost man of the Nation has closed a career second to no other in the history of the Republic. The victorious leader of the Nation in the greatest war of modern times, he was also a leader of the people in civil life. All men have faults, and he was not exempt. But a thankful people would gladly forget them and remember only the great deeds and the noble traits of character which remain for the admiration of mankind. He has gone where reticence will no longer be misunderstood. The faults of others which he shouldered through life fall from him at the grave. He lives in the memory of millions who owe to him their Nation's safety, a great soldier, a faithful public servant, a devoted defender of public faith, a sincere patriot, a noble man."

The *New York Times* said: "The name of General Grant will be remembered by Americans as that of the saviour of their country in a crisis more appalling than any it has passed through since the United States became a nation. His fame as a soldier will survive as long as the history of our Nation is read. The last of the two greatest Americans of their generation is gone."

The *New York Sun* said: "Thus another great and memorable figure in the later history of the Republic—the most memorable, perhaps, excepting Mr. Lincoln, among all those who performed their parts in the immortal contest for the preservation of the Union—passes away from among living men and takes his place on the records of history. What encouragement for patriotism, for fidelity, for weariless defense of the great interests of mankind! And above and beyond all, we see the Democratic Republic greater than all persons, surviving every danger, victorious over every foe, preserving the treasure of liberty and law, and maintaining alive and undimmed the hope and promise of humanity."

The *New York World* said: "Let us speak of our great chieftain and think of him only as a soldier whose fame has not a spot to mar its brilliancy. If his civil career seems to invite criticism, let us bury it out of sight and honor him as the great captain of the age; as the devoted leader who led the armies of the Union to triumph, striking the fetters from the slave, showing the magnanimity of the hero in the hour of victory as he showed the courage of the hero in the day of battle, and restoring to us the American Republic stronger, more honored and more glorious than it was when handed down to us by our Revolutionary sires."

The news of the death of General Grant reached Galena, the old home of the dead hero, at 7.20 A. M., July 23d, *via* the Western Union Telegraph at Dubuque. The first bell to make the general announcement to the public was that of the First Presbyterian Church, and was tolled by Dr. G. Newhall, whose patriotic wife climbed through the church window and was the first one to toll the bell announcing the death of President Garfield four years ago. The first flag at half-mast was run up by W. H. Blewett on the staff of the De Soto House, which General Grant made his headquarters the last time he visited Galena, two years ago. Soon after the solemn tones of the first church bell fell upon the ears of our people, the sad refrain was caught up by other church and fire bells of the city, and flags at half-mast and other emblems of mourning were displayed on public buildings, business houses and private residences. Scarcely a building in the city was without sombre drapery of some kind, in token of respect for the distinguished dead. The feeling in Galena was one of unbounded sorrow over the calamity which had befallen the country. General Grant was greatly beloved in Galena, and this sentiment was not confined by any means to his personal friends, but extended to all classes of our people. The news of his death, therefore, although not entirely unexpected, was a great shock to the citizens of Galena, the former home of the old commander, and brought tears to hundreds of eyes and unalloyed sorrow to every heart. A public meeting of the citizens was held at the Council chamber in the evening, at which memorial addresses were delivered by Mayor R. Barrett, General W. R. Rowley, Grant's military secretary during the Rebellion, Senator R. H. McClellan, Judge Wm. Spensley and others. Resolutions expressive of the sorrow experienced by the people of Galena, over the death of General Grant, and sympathy for the wife and family of the old commander, were unanimously adopted and were ordered to be properly engrossed.

The people of the city of New Orleans and the entire State of Louisiana had great respect and regard for General Grant, and the news of his death was received with general regret. Flags were placed at half-mast, the City Hall was closed, and Governor McEnery issued a proclamation ordering the State-House at Baton Rouge draped in mourning. The public sentiment was voiced by the editorials in the different papers.

The *Times-Democrat* said: "As the mortal remains of Ulysses S. Grant lie in their casket, and solemn guns are booming the last salute for the dead commander, we of the South forget the stern general who hurled his terrible masses upon the ranks of our fathers and brethren; whose storms of shot and shell mowed down our friends like wheat before the gleaner; remembering only the manly soldier who, in the hour of triumph, displayed the knightly chivalry that robs defeat of its bitterest pang; vanquished by his arms, in his chivalric kindness we were doubly vanquished at Appomattox. Every soldier heart in this wide land will pray God this morning that the generous measures he meted to his foe in time of victory may be remembered and meted again to Ulysses S. Grant in this his hour of defeat and judgment."

The *Evening States* said: "General Grant is dead. Wherever the telegraph has carried this not unexpected announcement there is profound regret. Twenty years have passed since the best of his reputation was earned. That has given time to make a juster estimate of the great soldier than was possible just after Appomattox. Much history has been written since then. All sides have been heard. Much documentary evidence has been sifted, and Grant's unquestioned successes are now generally conceded to have been greatly due to true military genius. Our people have had twenty years of time and abundant opportunity to closely study Grant's record, and the almost universal verdict is that, outside of politics, he was fortunate enough to achieve deserved greatness."

The *Picayune* said: "While the North remembers that General Grant received the sword of Lee, the South will not forget with what generous and soldierly courtesy he returned it. We cheerfully recognize his high place in history, and cannot think otherwise than regretfully of the misfortunes that saddened the last days of his life. The hero of a great war, twice elected President of the United States, the honored guest of kings and nations, the possessor of an ample fortune, the husband of a devoted wife, the father of loving and happy children—what had he to expect but peace and prosperity for his declining years? Alas! the answer has been written; we will not repeat it. Brethren of the North and South, let us join mournful hands together around that newly-opened grave, remembering that while all earthly goods are evanescent, honor, truth and love are eternally secure."

The *Evening Item* says: "Than his, a more checkered career was never pursued by any human being. Its lights have flashed and its obscuring shadows have fallen as Rembrandt effects upon the great historic picture in which he formed the central figure! And now he takes his place among the honored dead who yet speak—the teachers who instruct the coming generations by an example which cannot die."

Ex-Congressman John S. Wise, of Virginia, speaking about General Grant's death, said:

"I believe that our people in the South will mourn Grant's death more sincerely than any man of their own present or past. Grant completely won Virginia by his course at Appomattox. He was plain, unassuming, unostentatious, and used to go about after the surrender talking to the soldiers in blue and gray alike, wherever he met them. He was always approachable. On a sleeping-car, from Philadelphia, one night, several years ago, I sat beside General Grant, and fell into conversation with him, by mistake for the car conductor. He didn't mind it the least, though it confused me not a little when I discovered my mistake. Grant's entire course towards the South won him the admiration and, in a large degree, the affection of our people, who will deeply regret his death."

Ex-Senator Wm. Pitt Kellogg, of Louisiana, at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, said of General Grant:

"His highest quality was that of being just. He was, it is true, often surrounded by men whose representations and opinions swayed his judgment, owing to his confiding and trusting nature; but when he came to know all the circumstances of a case, to investigate and penetrate it in all its bearings, he invariably formed a just judgment, from which he could not be moved. It was one of Grant's high qualities that he would stand by a friend and stand by what he believed to be right to the end."

Ex-Governor S. B. Packard, of Louisiana, late Consul at Liverpool, said:

"I was well acquainted with General Grant and had unbounded admiration for him. He was a loyal-souled friend. I held the position of Marshal of Louisiana for seven years under him. It was due to his counsel as much as any man's that I consented to run for Governor of Louisiana, accepting a nomination about the same time that Hayes was nominated for the Presidency. I never saw General Grant afterwards. He hesitated to recognize me at the outset, from perfectly honorable and high-minded motives. He was much aggrieved because the Republican party did not approve his Southern policy and so enable him to carry it into effect. But he recognized that this lack of support would make it a dangerous experiment to the peace of the country for him to assert his policy by force, which might have been necessary. General Grant will stand in history as one of the very few great men of the century."

The announcement of General Grant's death was received in Canton, Miss., with sincere sorrow. All conceded that a great man had passed away. His memory will be revered in the South because he quit fighting them when the war was over.

The Georgia Legislature passed resolutions of regret at the death of General Grant, and adjourned for the day out of respect to his memory.

Mayor Garland, of Springfield, Ill., sent the following dispatch, July 23d, after a conference with the citizens:

To Mrs. U. S. Grant, Mt. McGregor, N. Y.—In behalf of the citizens of

Springfield, the capital of the State of Ilinois, I tender to you a resting place for General Grant in this city, where your illustrious husband began his career as a soldier in the late war. JAMES M. GARLAND, Mayor.

As Governor Oglesby was absent from the city, this was thought to be the best thing to do.

The following are among the thousands of telegrams received from all parts of the world by members of the Grant family:

Washington, July 23.

To Colonel Fred Grant.—The Board of Commissioners of the United States Soldiers' Home are unanimous in their desire that the remains of General Grant may be buried within the grounds of that institution. The commissioners have selected, subject to the approval of the family, an appropriate and commanding eminence overlooking the city and surrounding country as an appropriate place of sepulchre. Letter by mail. E. MACFEELY.

In the absence and by authority of Lieutenant-General Sheridan, President of the Board.

Mayor Grace, of New York City, by direction of the Aldermen, sent the following dispatch:

Mrs. U. S. Grant, Mt. McGregor, N. Y.—In advance of official action, I am instructed to tender to yourself and family the deep sympathy of the Common Council and of the municipal authorities of the City of New York in your bereavement. I am also authorized, by informal action of the authorities, which will be made official to-morrow, to tender to you a last resting-place for the remains of General Grant in any one of the parks in this city which you may select. I am also authorized to offer the government room at the City Hall for the purpose of allowing the body to lie in state. MAYOR GRACE.

The first intimation that citizens of Brooklyn received of the sad event was about a quarter past eight o'clock, when the bells on the churches and city hall began to toll mournful and measured cadence. "Grant is dead," passed from lip to lip on the streets, on the avenues, on the boats, on the cars, everywhere, in fact, where there were lips to repeat the mournful intelligence.

Simultaneously with the tolling of the bells the flags on all the public buildings were hoisted to half-mast, and within an hour afterwards there was not a flagstaff in the city that had not its flag floating from it. The spontaneity with which this was done was only equalled by the zeal of the people in displaying mourning on their residences. Indeed, the day had not half gone before all the public and a vast number of the private buildings were draped in mourning, In the evening the draping had so far progressed that the sable emblems of mourning met the eye at every turn and instinctively carried all beholders back to the day when all the houses were draped as a tribute to the memory of President Garfield.

R. E Lee Camp of Confederate Veterans, at Richmond, Va., unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That R. E. Lee Camp of Confederate Veterans, with profound sorrow and sincere regret, receive the announcement of the death of Ulysses S. Grant;

*Resolved*, That the people of Virginia will ever cherish and revere the memory of Ulysses S. Grant as an American soldier and citizen;

*Resolved*, That the people of the South, and especially the people of Virginia, will always hold in grateful memory his uniform and unvarying kindness of purpose towards this people, and the constancy with which he maintained the inviolability of the parole which he had granted to General Robert E. Lee and his soldiers at the termination of the late civil strife.

Stonewall Jackson Camp of Confederate Veterans also adopted resolutions, as follows:

*Resolved*, That, as a body of Confederate Veterans, we mourn with the nation the loss of one of the greatest military leaders of this generation, which has been sustained by the death of General U. S. Grant;

*Resolved*, That we felt the blows he so well directed during the war between the States, on the side of his honor and duty, and we appreciate the kind terms granted by him when our flag was folded at Appomattox, thus learning that a great man, firm in war, could be gentle and generous in peace to his fallen friends.

The meeting of ex-Confederate and Federal soldiers of Galveston, Texas, on the 24th of July, was largely attended, the gray outnumbering the blue. Colonel Robert G. Street, of the Fifty-first Alabama Regiment, was active in calling the meeting. Judge Gustave Cooke, late Colonel of Terry's Texas rangers, was chosen Chairman. Among other prominent ex-Confederates present were Adjutant-General Franklin, Major Lloyd, Captain R. L. Fulton, Mayor of Galveston, Colonel Shannon, and General John M. Claiborne. After several eulogistic addresses, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the death of General Grant is cause for common sorrow to all who love this, our common country; to all who honor the great soldier, most just and magnanimous in the hour of his greatest victory; to all who admire the simple and homely virtues that give strength and nobility to manhood. That his misfortunes and long and painful illness, while awakening the most widespread sympathy, have given the world the noble spectacle of the quiet heroism that resides in the breast of a brave man, conscious of the rectitude of his own purposes in life, shining the more brightly amid the mingled gloom of pecuniary disaster and the sensible approach of the victor, death. To the praise of those who honor him, we add our tribute to the soldier and man, to those who personally knew and loved him we tender our most respectful sympathy.

San Francisco, Cal., July 23.

The tolling of fire-bells at six this morning announced to the inhabitants of San Francisco the death of General Grant. Meetings were held this afternoon by the Chamber of Commerce, Board of Trade, Grand Army of the Republic and other associations. All of them appointed committees to confer with the Mayor and Board of Supervisors how to most appropriately show their gratitude for Grant's great services to the country and their respect for his memory. Governor Stoneman proclaimed the day of the funeral a legal holiday and recommended that all business be suspended.

Des Moines, Iowa, July 23.

The news of the death of General Grant, although expected, cast a gloom upon the city, and was received with universal sorrow. Flags on the government, State, county and city buildings are at half-mast, and business houses are generally draped with the emblems of mourning.

In a proclamation issued at noon, Governor Rusk, of Wisconsin, after eulogizing the life of General Grant, ordered:

"That the flag upon the Capitol be displayed at half-staff each day until sundown the day of the funeral; that the Quartermaster-General cause a gun to be fired every half-hour, beginning at sunrise and end at sunset on the 24th inst., and on the day of the funeral every half-hour, beginning at sunrise and ending when the burial procession moves; that the State offices be closed on this day and on the day of the funeral, for all public business; that the Capitol be draped in mourning, and that the usual badge of mourning be worn by the Wisconsin National Guards."

The following telegram was sent by Governor Rusk to Mrs. Grant:

"In the hour of your great affliction, permit me, in behalf of the people of Wisconsin, who gratefully remember the invaluable services rendered the Nation by your distinguished husband, to assure you of their sincere and heartfelt sympathy."

Choice of a burial-place:

"In regard to the place of burial, it is stated that about the 1st of July the General handed Colonel Fred Grant a slip of paper on which was written substantially this: 'There are three places from which I wish a choice of burial-place to be made: West Point—I would prefer this above others but for the fact that my wife could not be placed beside me there. Galena, or some place in Illinois—because from that State I received my first general's commission. New York—because the people of that city befriended me in my need.'"

Receipt of the news of General Grant's death in Chicago:

"Up flagstaff after flagstaff the colors crept, to be kissed and gently shaken by the faint breezes of yesterday morn. Banner after banner floated o'er the city—but a drooping banner, o'er a drooping city. No flag was pulled to the peak; at half-mast it sadly fluttered. On distant Mt. McGregor—a mount of anguish for one great soul no longer—Grant lay dead! Chicago mourned, for in this latter day the greatest surviving son of her beloved commonwealth was taken from her, yet leaving the immeasurable heritage of a hero's name. Like the news of a disaster or the news of a victory, the ill-tidings swept from house to house. By the breakfast table they found many a citizen. They left him and his silent and thoughtful. It was an hour of review of a patriot's career. The stripling who watched the tear well into his father's eye when the news came home will never forget the hour, for he will never be convinced that the man for whom his sire was not ashamed to weep had not been a man full worthy of such tribute. The man that wept for Grant wept, too, for Lincoln. In the sight of two generations of lads did those tears fall. Such tears vitalize impressions, and are histories writ in granite for the young.

"The city had been prepared for the unwelcome news by the significant despatches of Wednesday evening. It seemed at last as though the ordeal were over and the end come. Devotedly had tens, yea, hundreds of thousands, watched the record of his repining months, some wishing him recovery, some, perhaps with just as tender a love and humanity, wishing for his sake that release and the final victory over torment and disease might come in death. But all were friends. In a government of the people and by the people the servant that fights and governs for the people will never know the ingratitude of his peers in life or suffer the oblivion of their forgetfulness after death.

Yesterday Chicago received the news of General Grant's demise, and at once prepared to do that noble memory honor. Upon the day of his burial Chicago, fitly clad, will march with reverent step and mourning mien in the solemn funeral train of the Nation's weeping sisterhood of cities.

"With the stars and stripes at half-mast Chicago turned to other proper modes of exhibiting her understanding of the day and her common sorrow in the country's loss. From window to window, here and there along a business front, interwoven streamers of black and white were extended. This work is but begun; the city will be draped before the dawn of the conqueror's burial-day. With artful hand, but with all suitable decorum, more than one great shop-window will be found this morning transformed—a fit, though sombre transformation that every house-holder in his degree will do well to accomplish.

"The people mourn to-day—the people, all the people. The merchant may be of but moderate means who keeps a store on West Van Buren, Madison, and Randolph Streets, for instance, but he is not too poor, nor is his citizenship so humble, that he does not associate the dead Grant with the living Union, and place in token thereof some bit of mourning about his window and his door. A piece of crape here, a streamer of black muslin there; a flag with colors tempered by the black drapings o'er its folds, and before many hours Chicago is a city of sorrow in aspect as truly she is a city of sorrow in heart. There can be little ostentation in the symbolism of grief; therefore let no man, however penniless and obscure, suppress all exhibition of his honest mourning because his flag is not silken and his crape but seedy. Ulysses S. Grant was a plain man and his origin humble. He fought for the humble as well as the great:

'What cause withholds you now to mourn for him?'

"Official and municipal recognition, more or less, of the death of General Grant, was made yesterday, and will doubtless be continued by organization after organization until the merest youth, the proudest citizen, and the loneliest veteran will, with quaver of voice, say 'aye' when the voices of his fellows are raised to indorse one universal tribute to the patriot, soldier and statesman of the people. The trains that bear their daily burdens to and from the city will wear their mourning, as will many a vessel of the lakes. Along the princely avenues and in alleys where the story of his life is but slowly gleaned from the daily press, men, women, and children will talk of Grant and forthwith teach him, too. Across many a page of various lore there will come faint tracings of the 'turned rule,' and the reader's eye, accustomed to the mourning newspaper sheet, will seem to see those lines of black around pages where the name of Grant will ne'er be found. But men, nevertheless, will put him there; and, as they read of stout hearts and sound heads; of brains to devise and will to execute; of soldiers magnanimous in peace, but in onslaught resistless, they will see the name of another hero glow upon the page—that other hero, greater than all his kind, the Nation's hero, Grant."

## Action of the City Councils of Chicago in reference to the death of General Grant:

"The City Council held a special meeting yesterday afternoon to take action on the death of General Grant. Mayor Harrison presided. After the call for the meeting had been read, the Mayor said that for several hours the atmosphere had been heavy and the clouds lowering. We had known for hours that thunder might at any moment be heard and the lightning flash. Yet if a flash came we would be startled as if it were entirely unexpected. For weeks America's hero had been on a bed of sickness, and yet we are startled by the lightning which flashed forth the news of his end. When the bells tolled in the morning there was a feeling of pain, of awe—aye, a shock that came to all, every man, woman and child in the nation.

"The Mayor therefore felt it his duty to take such action as might be proper. General Grant occupied a position unique in this country. His was a figure standing out boldly as none other stood during this century, and as no other would stand out for centuries to come. Called from the lowly walks of life, he went out to battle for his country, and it was under his leadership that the war of the rebellion happily terminated for the Union. Called to the Presidency, he served his country there eight years. When he laid down his official robes he was welcomed in every land in the broad circle of the globe, and treated with honors vouchsafed only to emperors. And now, when he has been called from life, he is honored more as the representative of that sentiment given at Appomattox, that the American people are one in heart and sympathy, than as the successful General and ex-President. During the months of pain all mankind had stood at his bedside, and the world's sympathy had been with him.

"There was no man or woman who had not forgotten in these hours all the asperities of politics. Whether Southerner who fought for a lost cause or Northerner who fought to preserve the Union, all mourn with the same depth of grief his demise. His example in the last few months had done more than all else to bury in one eternal doom the strife and bitterness of the past. It was right that the city should take action. The nation mourned, and the nation would be anxious to tread in silence at his funeral.

"The Mayor then suggested that some ceremony be adopted, to be held the day of the funeral, such as was witnessed when President Garfield was laid to rest.

"Alderman Ryan offered the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, This Council has heard with profound and solemn regret of the death of U. S. Grant, late commander of the American armies and President of these United States, therefore,

"*Resolved*, That, as the death of General Grant is a calamity affecting the entire nation, and is so regarded by the people of Chicago, the Mayor is hereby authorized to take such steps in behalf of the city on this occasion as may seem fitting and appropriate.

"Alderman Shorey followed, feeling sure that the Council would respond as one man to the sentiments of the Mayor. For a quarter of a century General Grant, by his grand achievements, had attracted the attention and regard of the world. He was an honor to his country and to the human race. He had added one more name to the select few who were inscribed upon the nation's roll of immortals. America had, indeed, acted her part well during the last one hundred years, but he thought that it would be the unanimous voice that among our distinguished men there was none, and would be none in the future, whose name would be held in greater reverence than the hero whose demise we were now called upon to mourn. Illinois had reason to be proud as well as sad. When impartial history was written the name of Grant would be associated with the immortal name of Lincoln. These two names added lustre of which any State or nation might well be proud. During the most mature years of his life General Grant lived amid the fiercest contention, civic as well as military. As the Mayor had said, now that death has come, there were none who cared to renew the asperities which attended those contentions. There was not one who would not gladly, though sadly, bring laurel to put on the grave of the dead hero.

Mayor Harrison sent the following telegram of sympathy to Mrs. Grant:

Chicago, July 23.

Mrs. Grant, Mt. McGregor, N. Y.—Madam: In the name of the city of Chicago and on behalf of its municipal government and people, I tender to you and to your children profound and most heartfelt sympathy.

Yesterday General Grant, the honored citizen of Illinois, was your loving husband and long-tried friend; to-day his name and memory are cherished by the American people. CARTER H. HARRISON, Mayor.

The news of Grant's death was received with sorrow at the Board of Trade of Chicago. President Blake called the members of the Board to order on the floor, and said:

"Gentlemen of the Board: I address you as men, business men, practical men, strong men, and yet as men who feel that there are times when grief is not unmanly, when it is not unmanly to sorrow. 'Leaves have their time to fall and flowers to wither at the north wind's wrath, and stars to set, but thou hast all seasons for thine own, O Death.'

"Death must come to all alike; rank or station or position cannot avert it; love cannot protect it; wealth cannot purchase immunity; it is God's tenderest way to speak to those left behind. He speaks to individuals and to families, to communities and to States, to nations and to the world. He comes in the person of his messenger, and He calls to a world to-day, 'Be still and know that I am God.' Sympathy for that silent sufferer has gone up to him in his chamber of agony, and now that he has passed away we can only bring our united offerings of tribute to his greatness, to his memory."

Mr. Blake then offered the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, God, in His all-wise though inscrutable providence, has removed by death our rightly honored and worthily distinguished soldier-citizen, General and ex-President U. S. Grant, the Board of Trade of Chicago does hereby

*Resolve*, That it is with the deepest regret and keenest sorrow we learn of this Nation's bereavement and loss in the death of him who has filled so large a place in our history.

*Resolved*, That with pride we remember the nation's recognition of his worth in calling him from the humblest walks of life, up to elevation after elevation, till it placed him in the proudest position on earth, which he filled, as he did every other, with modest ability, and we recall with great pleasure the glowing tribute paid to his greatness and glory by the kingdoms of the entire world, as they honored themselves in honoring him as their guest.

*Resolved*, That in the death of General Grant there has passed away a noble, unflinching soldier, who achieved a glorious record for himself, while he rendered invaluable service to his country in time of her great peril, and with the rest of the stricken Nation and mourning world we join in offering our tribute to his memory, and we extend to his afflicted family our tenderest sympathy in this their time of grief and sorrow.

On hearing the university bell at Evanston Ill., toll for the death of General Grant, Miss Frances E. Willard, President of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the United States, composed the following poem, entitled, "Grant is Dead:"

Toll bells from every steeple,
Tell the sorrow of the people,
Moan sullen guns and sigh
For the greatest who could die.
*Grant is dead.*

Never so firm were set those moveless lips as now,
Never so dauntless shone that massive brow.
The "Silent Man" has passed into the silent tomb.

Ring out our grief, sweet bell,
The people's sorrow tell
For the greatest who could die.
*Grant is dead.*

"Let us have peace,"
Great heart that peace has come to thee.
Thy sword for freedom wrought,
And now thy sword is free,
While a rescued Nation stands
Mourning its fallen Chief.
The Southern with the Northern lands
Akin in honest grief,
The hands of black and white
Shall clasp above thy grave,
Children of the Republic all,
No master and no slave.
Almost "all summer on this line"
Thou steadily didst fight it out,
But death, the silent,
Matched at last our silent Chief,
And put to rout his brave defense.
Moan sullen guns and sigh
For the bravest who could die.
*Grant is dead.*

The huge world holds to-day
No fame so great, so wide,
As his whose steady eyes grew dim
On Mount McGregor's side
Only an hour ago, and yet the whole great world has learne
*That Grant has died.*

Oh heart of Christ! what joy
Brings earth's new brotherhood!
All lands as one,
Buckner, Grant's bed beside,
The priest and Protestant in converse kind;
Prayers from all hearts, and Grant
Praying we "all might meet in better worlds,"
Toll bells from every steeple,
Tell the sorrow of the people.
So true in life, so calm and strong,
Bravest of all, in death, suffering so long,
And without one complaint!
Moan sullen guns and sigh
For the greatest who could die.
Salute the Nation's head,
*Our Grant is dead.*

# CHAPTER XXIV.

## TRIBUTES OF THE PRESS.

THE press of the country had warm words of grief and respect for General Grant.

The *Constitution*, of Atlanta, Ga., said:

"With the clearing of the early mists, yesterday morning, which hovered over Mt. McGregor, passed away the soul of General Grant, the most distinguished of living Americans—the general commanding the victorious armies of his country, and twice President of the Republic. Washington, alone of all men in our history, has equalled him in honors. General Grant was a great commander. The operations of war, in which he was the leading figure of the Union armies, were colossal. Its expenses to his government were over $4,000,000 per day. In the siege of Richmond he lost 70,000 men, and in a single charge saw 3,000 men struck down.

"As a statesman he was honest, but without the larger wisdom of humanity or statecraft. Sincere, but credulous; sphinx-like to the world, but easy to his courtiers; stubborn where he should have listened anxiously, and facile where he should have been stubborn. In business he was weaker than in politics. In both it must be said that his personal record was clean, and that he came stainless, as to his own character, from contact with thieves and plotters. It is as a great soldier, brave, simple, generous and victorious, that he will be best remembered. It is as a soldier, even though his sword struck down her cause, that the South loves to remember him. As the conqueror of Lee, refusing to take the sword of that great leader, whose heart broke when he surrendered his arms; as the thoughtful victor feeding the starving enemies from his own wagons; as the high-minded man of honor, demanding the integrity of his parole at the hands of a vindictive Secretary of War; as a dauntless man, standing alone, but determined, between the helpless South and the angry North, he held, as he deserved, in all his trials, the deepest and fullest sympathy of our people. He died as he had lived—brave, silent, uncomplaining. He fought against death with manful strength, and when he was overpowered, bowed his head without a word. When his life went out, a great name passed into history, and a great heart was stilled forever."

The *Advertiser*, of Montgomery, Alabama, expressed its sympathy in the following article:

"A splendid sun has set, its light is out, and its dark places have followed its bright ones below the trees and hills. It went down lingeringly, as if in pain with parting from the scenes it lighted with more of majesty in its gathering gloom than its noon had ever known. Those on whose downfall the temple of his fame was builded will sow no thorns on his grave.

"Whatever were his faults, his errors and his failures, but yesterday he stood in the eyes of all the world the foremost figure of the Western Continent. His career was finished long years before he died, and when, nine months ago, the wings of Death's angel blew a breath against his cheek to warn of his coming doom, he was already an old man, around whose darkened life had gathered the sympathy and pity of all men. Looking at the life and character of General Grant from the broadest national standpoint, it is true to say that no man since Washington has better illustrated the genius of American institutions or the temper of Americans as a people. The close of his military career was in a generous treatment of his fallen foe that sent a thrill of grateful recognition through the heart of the South. His conduct toward General Lee and the Southern army at Appomattox, and his firm stand in defense of their rights as prisoners, and his own honor as a soldier, will always be a model for the action of other victorious leaders, and is a green leaf that hides many a shadow on his subsequent career. But amid it all, no personal prostitution of his place for money has ever been traced to his door. He never shirked a responsibility, never deserted a friend; was an honest soldier, and made no war on women."

The *Courier*, of Charleston, S. C., said:

"Happy he was, in one sense, in the time of his death. Had his life ended but a few years ago, the mourning for the great leader would have been more or less sectional in its manifestation. Dying as he now dies, the grief is as widespread as the Union, and the sorrow is as national as his fame. Only a little while ago General Grant belonged to the victorious North. In his last days he was the foremost citizen of these United States, of North and South alike.

"It was as General of the armies of the United States that General Grant was held in most joyous and honorable remembrance by the North. And by the act of North and South alike he died as General of the armies of the United States. By this act the whole distance between 1865 and 1885 was bridged over. The North had no thought save of the man of Appomattox, and the South had no thought save of him who told the worn and ragged Confederate soldiers of Lee's armies that they must take their horses home with them, as they would need them for the spring sowing, and who threw his soldierly honor into the scale when Andrew Johnson was hesitating whether he should, by arresting General R. E. Lee, violate the terms of the Confederate surrender and the sanctity of the parole. There is so much in General Grant's career that is pleasant to remember, why should any one seek further his frailties to disclose? Long ago, in a message to the people of the United States, he used words which seemed a mockery. There was then a peace which was worse than war; but peace has come throughout the land—peace in the North and peace in the South. The country is one again in heart and thought and hope. The great soldier, who laid in blood the foundations of this second and more enduring Union, is now at rest."

The following editorials are from the Chicago *Inter-Ocean:*

"The most remarkable career in American annals has ended. In the broad aspect of human affairs, in the measure of a public fame almost universal with the races of men, history affords no parallel to the life and experience of Ulysses S. Grant, and presents no more momentous lesson in the character of true greatness. Through the profound sorrow of the nation, that will touch millions of hearts as a personal grief, through the reverent sympathies of sister nations that will to-day drape about them the outward signs of mourning, there will be seen the clear radiance of this long, varied and extraordinary career, tempering the affliction of mortal loss with the consolation of perpetual renown. It is only in the shadow of death that we can fairly estimate the magnitude and force of influence of such a life upon the world, for only then are deeds viewed independently of the man; only then are the jealousies that make human nature envious of justice put aside; only then are the honors and triumphs which rivalry diminished freely acknowledged and fully accorded.

"Character rises above personality when material environments are withdrawn, and in proportion as that personality was distinguished above the ordinary in life will character be allowed eminence in the sublime esteem of men. In this regard of General Grant, whose demise is hardly death, the world sees a personal purity that mistakes could never affect, a moral excellence that never suffered blemish and a spiritual force that lifted him from the obscurity of stern poverty and narrow circumstance to the brilliant sphere of unshared admiration, a cynosure of the world.

"The lesson of Grant's life is an inspiration, not a reproach. From the tanyard to the Presidency it bears no blot that is not the smirch of partisan malice; from private toil to public state it shows no flaw that does not betray the talons of envious detraction. Grant was not only great by achievement, but he was equally great within himself, since the world affords no better example of perfect self-mastery, a power to receive without assurance the highest honors of his country, and to accept without ostentation the homage of the world.

"At various times within the fateful quarter of a century rounded into an epoch by his death, Grant held within his grasp, subject to the operation of his single will, the destinies of this country, of which he was peculiarly representative. A lesser man would have made greater profit from the opportunities. A man less strong within himself might have turned the victorious patriots into a legion of personal adherents; for Grant came from the murky night of battle the peace-bearing demi-god of the Western world, and adulation swelled to adoration as he marched his armies home.

"Cromwell righted the wrongs of England to carve for himself a protectorate of imperial tyranny; Grant was most the patriot when most in power. The man was ever greater than the temptation, and there is no purer lustre in the immortal crown of brilliant deeds that will grace the image of his fame than the rare quality that sustained the balance of his character, reverence of universal justice.

"That Grant was misunderstood in much of his life is true, and that he suffered not a little through misconception is likely. Conscious of the fact that his course was one of unfaltering integrity, aware of the folly of trying to correct the speech of deliberate deprecation and malicious slander, and believing firmly in the ultimate triumph of truth, he maintained a silence that was never broken through twenty-five perplexing years with an offer of self-defense or personal justification. The people have been his advocates. The people have guarded with jealous zeal the sacred trust reposed in them. And from the people he inspired to the last the sweet breath of a devotion that had in it all the tenderness of affection, all the fondness of love.

"Throughout the land to-day tears flow from eyes that have looked hardily and fearlessly into the deadly flame of fire belched from batteries and ranks of hostile foes, with memories floating before them of who it was cheered on the victorious charge; and these veterans of the Northern armies will feel more pain at heart in loss of the Old Commander than stirred them when shot and shell swept from their sides some close, near tie of blood. These surviving soldiers will express what the entire Nation must feel—a profound grief—not merely for a great man gone, but for the death of one who embraced in his life the elements that make greatness dear to the common people, greatness with humanity, greatness with humility, greatness with manhood.

"It was a greatness of that quality which maintained the respect of those who suffered to give it distinctness. In the heart of the South, that knew the smart of his chastening, Grant has died no more than in the reverence of the North. His character lives in the esteem of the Nation—a character that sprung into strength and fullness from the obstructions of lowly life, bearing with it an ever-abiding sympathy with lowly condition. The man who was great enough to stand admired in the presence of kings and potentates, receiving the homage of nations that knew him alone in his glory, was also great enough to hold and cherish the love of the common people, from whom he came. Great as a soldier, great as a statesman, great in heart, great in mind and great in character, Grant lived a noble career possible alone with an American."

"The hand trembles that writes 'General Grant is dead.' When Lincoln fell the hearts of loyal men stood still, then turned in their extremity to the man of Appomattox. The North and South stand together at the grave of Grant and own a kindred sorrow for the man who, more than any other, represented the dignity, the force and the magnanimity of the Union cause.

"It is because the career of Grant so well illustrates the possibilities of American life; it is because he entered upon that career without fortune or influence, and with circumstances against him; it is because he had neither impressive presence nor smooth tongue nor taking ways; it is because he fought his way in silence to be the foremost man of the age that Americans have grown, independent of prejudices and opinions, to have a commonalty of interest in him.

"The traditions of Appomatox quicken the heart-beats of Unionists and Confederates. To speak of Grant in the last twenty years has been to speak of the greatest military success of the century crowned by a soldierly magnanimity that wrung admiration from the fiercest of foes.

"This was the turning of the tide, the mingling of the waves of popular sentiment, that have come in at the flood in the weeks of anxiety which now give place to a common sorrow.

"There was never any make-believe about Grant. There is no make-believe about the sorrow felt by 60,000,000 of people. He has been constantly before the people for twenty-five years. Children have grown up with his name on their lips, his character in mind. Men have grown gray in a kindly watch over the incidents of his every-day life. The Nation has grown strong of heart and more considerate while holding him at arm's length always in view.

"In this twenty-five years of conspicuous prominence General Grant was studied as never was man before him. Enemies and admirers, beginning at opposite extremes of motive, came out in steady line at a common point of agreement. He was a new type. He was the man of the people, who answered 'here' and no more when the people called for something or some one willing and ready to close with the exigencies of great crises. He volunteered without protestations, accomplished without bluster and contemplated results without boasting.

"These exceptional qualities invited study. The study invited analysis and comparison, and now the people of his own country, of the civilized world, are ready with their verdict. The standard may have been fixed when the loyal people of the country were in the red glow of a supreme enthusiasm, but the Southerners of this day will not alter a figure. Grant lived to the last fully up to the line where he was placed by a people that idolized him. And the tender, simple and profound sorrow of this hour is that of a Nation that has learned the full value of his work, and has arrived at a just appreciation of the character of the man, the soldier, the statesman, U. S. Grant."

"One of the most remarkable characteristics of General Grant was his utter abhorrence of cruelty and of war for its own sake, or for the mere gratification of ambition.

"The historical figures whom he most detested were Robespierre and Napoleon. It was not that he had studied the French revolution with any degree of closeness, and saw in the horrors of the reign of terror and the wars of the first empire the perversion and finally the subversion of what was originally the grandest uprising in history; but his whole soul recoiled at the guillotine and at the miseries of wholesale carnage. The city of Paris ran blood, and for what? to appease the thirst of a monster; the continent was wrapped in the flames of war, and for what? to gratify one man's lust of power and fame. Such was the view General Grant took of those two men and their careers, and he did not hesitate while in Paris, on his tour of the world, to testify to his detestation of them. He sought no public opportunity for so doing, only refusing to visit the tomb of Napoleon, and in other quiet but significant ways registering his opinions.

"This appreciation of the sacredness of human life was all the more remarkable from the fact that when it came to military operations General Grant never showed the slightest hesitancy on that score. Whatever the situation seemed to him to demand he did without being checked by the probable loss of life involved. In practical operations he accepted the logic of war in all its sequences. As in mechanics all forces, whether human, brute or inanimate, are merely so many horse-power, so in actual war General Grant seemed to class indistinguishably men and armament as so much ammunition.

"When history comes to pass upon the nineteenth century, all contemporary prejudices cold and forgotten, it will undoubtedly credit it with two great soldiers, warriors worthy of immortality for their military genius, Napoleon and Grant. England might insist upon a place for Wellington, but he is not to be named with either of the other two. He did, indeed, conquer the conqueror, but that was only because the Napoleonic wars had depleted France and united against it all Europe, and thus the Corsican's candle burnt at both ends, and the Grand Duke chanced to hold the snuffers just in time to snip the wick as the flame was in its last flicker. Napoleon's fame as a warrior was without modern companionship until the exigencies of our war for the Union developed the latent faculties of the soldier who has so recently gone to his rest.

"But these supreme names stand more in contrast than in comparison. They are, indeed, on the same pedestal, but they face in opposite directions, marking ideas of war which are in the sharpest conceivable contrast.

"Napoleon belongs to the same era as Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Omar, Charlemagne, William the Conqueror and all that class of military leaders who differed from bandit chiefs in the magnitude rather than the character of their operations. A native of an island which never felt the breath of progress, the home of the vendetta, Napoleon belonged to the old *regime*, when war for its own sake and for conquest was waged as a matter of course by the strong against the weak. To all that immemorial era of unjustifiable carnage he could at least say, 'part of which I am.'' It is certainly to be hoped that his fame marks the end of that age.

"After the lapse of half a century, during which no really important war was waged, nor any genius displayed, the mighty conflict opened in this country which had as its underlying issue continental and perpetual peace. If the Union had been broken up, America, like Europe, would have been divided into nations jealous of each other and often at war with each other. The suppression of the rebellion was the most important peace measure conceivable. It was the maintenance of civil institutions as a substitute for standing armies and the arbitrament of gunpowder. General Grant was promoted to the leadership solely for his military genius, but it was according to the especial fitness of things that the hero of a war which meant above all else peace should have been in his character and tastes pre-eminently pacific. He knew the science of war, but it was with the object in view, rather than the means necessarily employed, that he was *en rapport*, and in this, it may be added, he was specially fitted to learn the Union army, made up as it was of soldiers who fought for principle and not from any love of fighting. Whatever relapses into the barbarism of old-fashioned war the world may yet suffer, the example set by the United States and its supreme military hero will not be forgotten; nor can it cease to be a wholesome influence among the nations, protesting perpetually against any and all wars not absolutely demanded by the public good."

The *Toronto Globe* said: "He has filled a large space in the history of his country, and as the dust of current controversy settles down and the mist of contemporary prejudice clears away, he will, we believe, be universally recognized as one of her chief worthies, one who had a great work to do, and who, upon the whole, did it in a manful, honest and honorable fashion."

The *New York Graphic* said: "The qualities which made Ulysses S. Grant a conspicuous and striking figure in the history of the United States never shone with greater lustre than during the lingering months when the hand of death was pressing painfully upon him. Crippled in fortune and disabled by accident, the tidings came to him that his days were numbered by reason of an insidious and enfeebling disease. Where most men would have given way to despair, his spirit nerved and strengthened both intellect and body to sustained effort, and he lived to finish his book and feel assured that those dependent upon him would not be unprovided for. This struggle proved, more than any battle he ever fought, the sterling mettle that was in the man. Peace to his ashes! In his entire career, filled with splendid services and distinctions as it has been, there is nothing more noble or inspiring than the uncomplaining gentleness and calmness with which he bore the painful probation leading to his death."

The *New York Telegram* said: "Wholly free from ostentation, and even from apparent consciousness of his exalted dignity as Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the United States in presence of the enemy, unflinching as steel in the performance of his military duty, though the grief of a people rested upon his shoulders, and as clear sighted as the eagle in his perception of this duty, General Grant was as thoughtless of his own material advantage as was the supreme commander through the other great convulsion in our American history. Outside of his military duty the famous General was tender-hearted as a woman—too confiding, perhaps, in human virtue, which was sometimes absent where he looked to find it. Day by day, during many months, touched with emotion by the sufferings of the old hero, borne so patiently, men's minds have recalled, especially among his whilom Southern foes, affecting instances of his personal kindness to the vanquished, to non-combatants, to children and to common soldiers of his own armies."

The *Brooklyn Union* said: "The career of General Grant has been marked by more vivid contrasts than that of perhaps any other American. His creditable service in the Mexican War was followed by a period of such dense obscurity that there seemed no more chance of a future for him than for any other plain worker in a tannery. The outbreak of the rebellion brought him his opportunity, and within a brief space he had not only been hailed as the saviour of the nation, but also recognized as one of the greatest generals of history. The Presidency for eight years came to him without a struggle, and later his trip around the world as the honored guest of all its chief rulers placed him at the pinnacle of fame. From this dizzy height he was within a short period dragged down to the humiliation of poverty through a business failure which was rendered especially hard to bear by the discovery that he had been innocently employed as a stool pigeon by a conscienceless swindler whom he believed to be a faithful friend."

The *Brooklyn Eagle* said: "General Grant is dead, and one more figure of heroic mould stands in the pantheon of American liberty. The patient, purified and dauntless spirit that vanished from the sight of man this morning will henceforth live imperishably in the memory of the Republic. Like gold from the furnace of the refiner, the character of our greatest soldier emerges from the crucible of disease cleansed from every infirmity and fitted to circulate as sterling coin in the moral exchanges of the world. To describe the event as a public calamity, or invite the American people to bow down in sorrow, would be to use the language of thoghtless conventionalism. In the presence of a career dazzling with splendid achievements, brought to a close under every circumstance that could elevate the heart, allay the animosities and sweeten the sympathies of mankind, there issmall room for lamentation, When the promise of youth is nipped in the bud, when genius is smitten to the dust in the press. and middle of lofty adventures, when the pillar of a people's hopes falls in the very hour when its sustaining strength can least be spared, grief may well appear. But no promise of dawning life has perished unfulfilled in the case of Ulysses S. Grant; what he was born to do has been fully accomplished, and every hope that rested upon his sword in days gone by is now an invincible guardian of the land."

The *Philadelphia Times* said: "In all the more than century of American greatness no man has more impressed his individuality upon the country and the world than has General Grant. Washington was wiser than Grant; Jefferson was vastly abler and more philosophical: Jackson was more despotic and yet more the man of sentiment; Lincoln was more sagacious, more patient and more tolerant, and Garfield was more scholarly and broader in statesmanship; but no one man of our history so distinctively emphasized his individuality in war and in peace, in the field and in statesmanship, as did General Grant. He had none of the ornate characteristics of Clay; none of the ostentation of Scott; none of the impetuous qualities of Sherman. What he was, he was of himself and by himself, a self-creation whose history puzzles the reckoning of the world and makes romance pale before it. The thoughtless would scan the surface of his record from the multiplied ill-fortune of early life to the highest stepping in the round of fame, and call it accident; but accidents build no such structures of imperishable renown."

The *Philadelphia Press* said: "The nation's loss is not measured by the vacant place. For nearly a decade Grant had been only a private citizen; he wielded no sceptre of authority; he exercised no sway in the public councils; but he was none the less one of the great reserve forces of the republic. He was everywhere felt, not merely by what he had done, but by what he was. Gladstone has laid down the reins of government; Bismarck has practically completed his colossal work; but all men know that England bereft of the one or Germany deprived of the other would lose an element of moral power. So Grant belonged to the order of kingly men, and his impress on mankind will be emphasized, as all nations look to America to-day and feel that a pillar of strength has fallen. Great men, said Burke, are the guide-posts and landmarks of the state; and Grant was the guide-post of a victorious war and a landmark of a magnanimous peace. The American people themselves will judge him now, after the calm evening and the serene repose of retirement, more justly than in the stress and storm of struggle."

The *Boston Transcript* said: "His generous and confiding nature was such that even his mistakes, public and private, added to the universal respect now accorded to his character. His habit of stoutly clinging to friends who abused the opportunities they obtained through his exalted position is seen to have been a rooted element of his nature which found its truest illustration in the fidelity and singleness of purpose he brought to the service of his country in the crisis of its fate. This grim, imperturbable man, of Cromwellian will and Scotch ancestry, was a soldier in every fibre of his being. He was born for the camp and the battle-field. If the cannon's roar did not serve to clear his intellect, as was said of one of Napoleon's famous marshals, it hardened his determination never to acknowledge defeat. When others believed important battles lost he had just begun the serious work committed to his hand. He was slandered in the heat of the conflict by being stigmatized as merely a dogged fighter—a reckless sacrificer of human life—when no one welcomed the close of hostilities that stopped the further effusion of blood with greater joy and gratitude than did General Grant."

The *New Haven Palladium* said: "General Grant was great in every way. He was not only a great soldier, but a great man. The qualities of mind with which nature endowed him, linked with a moral heroism equal to any emergency—and never more strikingly illustrated than during the past few months of terrible suffering—made him easily a leader of men and a master of affairs. As a soldier, patriot, statesman, citizen, he stands as the peer, if not the superior, of any man of his day and generation. Self-controlled, self-centred, modest, brave, he was God's best gift to the Republic in her hour of direst need. His record as a soldier, as President, as a private citizen, taken as a whole, is as clear and clean as that of any American who ever held the same exalted position. As a man he was faithful in friendship, untarnished in honor, kind in feeling and generous and noble in impulse. It has been said of him that he never violated a confidence or betrayed a cause committed to his keeping. Whatever mistakes he may have made lay at the door of his good qualities."

The *Albany Express* said: "It is a blessed and comforting reflection to know that North and South, his political friends and foes, everywhere in the land, have been drawing closer and closer in friendliness for the beloved of the nation. He has conquered calumny. He has restored our faith in human nature, by proving that the hearts of his enemies could be won; enemies no longer, but brothers in this common bond of love and grief which fills our hearts to-day."

The *Portland Press*, of Maine, said: "As the name of Washington instinctively recalls the heroic struggle which made us a nation, so the name of Grant will ever recall, not the many and important events of his civil administrations, fraught with deep moment to the nation though they were, but the battles and sieges of that great struggle ending at Appomattox, which preserved the Union, abolished slavery and made America in truth, as well as name, the land of the free. Coupled with admiration for his military genius will be admiration for his patriotism and his unselfish devotion to his country. Napoleon unsheathed the sword to gratify the longings of ambition. Personal aggrandizement, the lust of power, were the mainsprings of the Corsican's brilliant campaigns. The world admires his military genius, but it detests the motives that kept it in action. But General Grant consecrated his genius to the service of the nation, and from the day that he unsheathed his sword until he returned it to its scabbard it was for his country that he planned and fought and endured. Rarely, indeed, has the world beheld a commander endowed with genius so brilliant as his; but far more rarely has it held one so gifted and yet so free from moral blemish. He was one of the very few captains of ancient or modern times of whom it can be truthfully said that he fought simply to maintain the supremacy of law and break down injustice."

The *Detroit Post*, of Michigan, said: "Only his greatness is immortal, and will still live to influence the destiny and character of the nation he served and loved. Whatever of animosities or differences may have marked his career will now all be put away, and his memory will become the common heritage and pride of the whole American people, who will remember him everywhere only as 'one of the simple great ones gone,' whose virtues have helped greatly to make us what we are and shall be, and who will forever shine in history for the admiration and emulation of mankind."

The *Providence Journal* of Rhode Island said: "The lingering illness of General Grant has been a sad tragedy. Lincoln's end was more tragic; Garfield's taking off was more startling, and had in it much of the same deep pathos. Both Garfield and Grant excited the tenderest sympathy and pity by the heroic struggle which each made against an inevitable fate. But there has been something peculiarly sad in General Grant's fight with death; the disease itself was so dreadful, the pain so agonizing, the struggle so hopeless from the beginning, the treachery that enveloped the sufferer in utter financial ruin was so cruel and heartless. The mind can imagine few more pitiful pictures than this of a great man silently and patiently bearing bodily pain and mental agony, and warding off death till he could tell his story to the world and leave to his children something of that which thieves had robbed him of."

The *Philadelphia Herald* said: "Perhaps the most interesting and most remarkable feature of General Grant's character was its simplicity; the complete absence from it of affectation. He never posed. He never studied effects. He had a plain, straightforward way of saying and doing things. No great soldier whom this country or any other country has produced was like him in this respect. None of our Presidents, with the exception of Jackson and Lincoln, were so simple and unpretentious.

"It would be impossible, after going over General Grant's life, to find any act of his marked by grandiloquence or vanity or pride of station. His personal demeanor was modest and retiring. No matter how great or dramatic the situation might be in the eyes of the world and of history, it could not move him to make an undue assertion of himself. Some people used to call this mere stolidity, but the glimpses which we have all had of his home-life during the past few months show that this was a mistake, that he was a man of sensitive feelings, and that what we once supposed was indifference was simply his wonderful self-command."

The *Syracuse Star* said: "The American quality which the great commander displayed in an exalted degree was steadfastness. At Shiloh by that quality he held his army against the massive charges of Johnston, by that he wore away the resisting power of the walls of Vicksburg, and by that he sustained the desperate assaults of Lee in the last campaign before Richmond while he closed an iron grasp about the struggling rebel chief. The wonderful resoluteness of this man entered into most of his sayings which have become renowned, such as 'I shall fight it out on this line if it takes all summer;' 'I propose to move immediately upon your works,' and it is an inseparable element in the popular conception of his character. Having conceived a plan and fixed his purpose upon an object, he proceeded with an energy that crumbled all in its way. He represents to the American mind its cool, persistent heroism, as Wellington reflects to the English mind a like virtue of its possessing."

The *Rutland Herald* said: "There is one striking lesson in his life which may be seen plainly now, and that is the supreme value of personal integrity. This man was given all the honors and power to be had under our government; he stood as the representative of the army of one-half of the country which conquered the other half in a desperate struggle; he acted as President in a trying time, offended powerful men right and left, was attacked in politics for a dozen years with a bitterness unequaled by anything in recent American history, and he was very unfortunately involved in a great financial failure at last; but yet no man ever said that U. S. Grant was not honest, Because of this—of this uprightness within the four fleshy walls of the man, so firm and strong as to command universal recognition—a feeling has been shown toward him in his sickness which was very significant and inexpressibly touching. All enmity has disappeared before it in sober fact, and even bitter rebels have joined heartily in the common expression. It is very rarely that men win such esteem from their fellows, and perhaps never in the world has one lived to see it manifested as General Grant saw it."

The *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* said: "No man, or at least few men, ever lived who will stand higher in history than the dead soldier, General Grant. For him to-day a great nation mourns. This is not assumed either. It is real. In life he had antagonisms. He had faults. The perfect man has never lived. He was often judged unfairly. This is the fate of men who are thrown into an active political life. General Grant is not an exception. Washington suffered more in this respect than he, Lincoln quite as much, and these are the three great names that can be properly and equally linked together in the cause of liberty and civilization, and the difference is so slight, if, indeed, there is any difference, that it would be hard to tell which was the greatest. Washington passed into history as the Father of his Country. Lincoln and Grant have passed into history as the saviours of the country that Washington led into existence, and now these three are united."

The *Boston Globe*, Massachusetts, said: "It was the belief in olden time that none could see the sacred cup sought by the knights of Arthur's Round Table save he who had been chastened till perfect purity pervaded his being. In these days we look not for any stainless man, yet should we search the wide world through we could not find one whom all men would say had passed through the fiery furnace of greatness with less harm, had trodden the rough road of adversity with more grandeur, than this man who has just died. From the day when he entered Vicksburg, past the day when he refused Lee's sword, past the day when he laid off the robes of state, past the day when the treachery of trusted wretches made him a dependent on the charity of others, down to the day which ended the long fight with death, he endured praise and blame, he passed through shame and glory, with a manliness that made him the first of men."

The *Newark Advertiser* said: "Not in this generation will the American Republic be called to lament the departure of a citizen so distinguished and so beloved. Some high official may die and plunge into perfunctory mourning the land over which he has held authority. But never again in the lifetme of mature men, now standing with throbbing hearts by the grave of Grant, can the country be so deeply stirred by the departure of an American so eminent and so firmly fixed in the affectionate respect of his fellow-men. The death of Grant marks an epoch in the history of the United States. A noble and altogether unique figure in our national life has disappeared from the haunts of living men. He on whom his fellow-countrymen depended with an unshaken confidence in the darkest hours of the Republic is no more. But so long as patriotism dwells among men, so long as manly courage and fixity in lofty purpose are respected, so long as valor and mighty service are held in honor, Grant's name and fame are secure. His mortal part may be dissolved, but the nation on whose history he shed so much lustre, and into whose stability he built his life and labors, remains his enduring monument."

The *Richmond Dispatch*, of Virginia, said: "There was nothing small about General Grant, no Punic faith, no perfidious element, no jealousy. His chivalrous spirit would not permit him to ask Lee or his officers for their swords or Lee's men for their horses. 'Go in peace,' was the substance of his treatment of the heroes who surrendered at Appomattox Court-House. His fidelity to his not assumed, but presumed or supposed, obligations—his loyalty to truth and justice—caused him to forbid that General Lee should be arrested or annoyed by the federal authorities. Even Mosby, whom the Northern people styled a bushwhacker and guerrilla, was protected in all his rights by Grant, and afterwards by him appointed to federal office. When investigation convinced him that he and the army officers had wronged Fitz-John Porter, he at once recanted his former belief and addressed himself to the task of righting the wrong, never for a moment hesitating because General Logan and nearly all the rest of the Republican Senators were arrayed against him."

The *Richmond Whig*, of Virginia, said: "It is with sincere sorrow that we announce the death of General U. S. Grant, which occurred at Mount McGregor, N. Y., on the morning of July 23, at eight minutes past eight.

"General Grant has been a sufferer from an incurable disease for several months past. During his illness no word of complaint has escaped his lips; resignedly he has borne his great sufferings, and peacefully he passed away, surrounded by his family.

"As a tribute of respect to the great soldier, patriot and statesman, we place the columns of the *Whig* in mourning."

The *Norfolk Landmark*, of Virginia, said: "The people of this Republic, without regard to section or latitude, will lament the death of General Grant, some account of which is elsewhere published. His end was peculiarly sad and pathetic. His recent past was shadowed by misfortune, but we are heartily glad that his disappointments were somewhat assuaged by his restoration to the service of which he was once the most conspicuous ornament. General Grant was a successful commander, and whatever may be thought of his relative rank among military celebrities of the world, he will always have just credit for certain great qualities which he possessed in a remarkable degree. He was brave, clear-headed, tenacious and capable of that self-reliance which is so necessary to success in war, and he was not lacking in the magnanimous temper which goes with courage."

The *Wheeling Register*, of West Virginia, said: "The hero and patriot, General Grant, after a long and brave struggle, has fought his last battle and gone to reap his reward. The same indomitable spirit that ever moved him in the many conflicts of the days gone by remained with him and supported him till the last. The world has been looking on in breathless silence, and when all was over wires flashed the sad, but not unexpected, news from ocean to ocean. The nation mourns the old commander, and in all parts of the country fitting tributes are offered up to his memory. Sectional strife that once engendered hatred is forgotten, and as the brave, battle-scarred veterans, who once fought as enemies, inherit the old hero's last work, dedicated 'To the Soldiers of the American Armies,'' so will they claim General Grant as all their own. Though they may hold him as a sacred inheritance, yet he is not all theirs. The greatness and nobleness of his character and the splendor of his achievements reach out even beyond his own land and become the heritage of the entire human race. The American people, regardless of party or section, will ever cherish him as a hero, as a patriot, as a man, and the world will deservingly do him reverence as one of her greatest and noblest."

The *Indianapolis Journal*, of Indiana, said: "'There were heroes before Agamemnon;' so there will be heroes after Grant, but in his day and generation he had no equal. Stern in war, demanding everything that was necessary to preserve the honor and dignity of his country, yet his magnanimity to the conquered surpassed even his valor in the field. His sole aim was the honor, the glory and the perpetuity of his country. General Grant is dead. A united country, North, South, East and West, mourns at the grave of its grandest, greatest and yet most merciful soldier."

The *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* said: "Grant is dead! The last battle has been fought; he had to surrender; but how glorious has been the struggle!

how sublime the submission! In Grant's life there was everything to appeal to the ambition and the emulation of the living; in Grant's way of meeting death there was everything to stimulate the fortitude, the admiration, the imitation of his fellow-men who, like him, wait for the summons that humanity must obey."

The news of the death of General Grant created a profound impression in London. The flags at the American Exchange and at the American Consulate were placed at half-mast the moment the news reached the city. Large portraits of the dead hero, draped in mourning, were placed over the balconies and doors of both buildings. The whole front of the American Exchange was also heavily draped.

Mr. Gladstone and Mr. John Bright were both much affected on receiving a copy of the despatch announcing the death of General Grant.

United States Minister Phelps, on being handed a copy of the despatch announcing General Grant's death, expressed the greatest concern at the sad event. He instantly ordered the building of the American Legation to be draped in mourning and the flag placed at half-mast.

A correspondent visited Mr. Gladstone's residence and was received by Mrs. Gladstone. On making known his errand Mrs. Gladstone expressed deep sorrow at the death of the eminent American, and immediately conducted him to Mr. Gladstone's presence. The great man was writing at a desk in his library.

Mr. Gladstone said:—"I will willingly pay my humble tribute. Let me write rather than speak it." He then wrote as follows:

"Mr. Gladstone has heard with regret the sad news of General Grant's death. He ventures to assure the bereaved family of the sympathy he feels with them in their affliction at the loss of one who had rendered his country such signal services as a general and a statesman."

Mr. John Bright, in an interview at the Reform Club, said:

"I desire to express my sympathy with the family of General Grant in the sorrow through which they are passing."

The London *Daily News* said: "There have been few braver men than Grant. England will sincerely regret his death. It is as a soldier that he will be remembered. It is on his military services that his fame will rest. After Lincoln's death Grant was decidedly the most popular man in the United States. His quarrel with Johnson did not diminish this. He was essentially a man of action, not of speech. His name will ever be associated with the great and righteous struggle of which Lincoln was the brain and heart and Grant the arm and weapon."

The London *Daily Telegraph* devoted two columns to a review of Grant's military career. Editorially it said: "Yesterday the greatest and most successful soldier that the United States has produced breathed his last. In no portion of the United States have the financial disasters marking the close of General Grant's career been regarded with more sympathy and regret than in England. Beyond all others, he was best fitted to cope with the tremendous crisis which made him, and when the grave closed over all that is mortal of Ulysses

Simpson Grant, it was felt that he left behind him no man cast in a simpler, sincerer or more heroic mould."

The *Post* said: "The American republic has lost one of its most illustrious citizens. General Grant will be best remembered as the able soldier who prevented the final severance of the great republic. It is thus that he will be known to posterity. Though not a Napoleon or a Wellington, he handled large armies and led them to victory."

The *Standard* said: "Although the death of General Grant was long expected, the event is not the less deplored. We can only share with his mourning countrymen in a sense of the loss of one whose career was so notable, so honorable to himself and so useful to his native land. If that were possible, he even rose in popularity when the nation saw the way he faced poverty and ruin. Simple and modest, he was never cast down by reverses nor elated by prosperity. Never a great strategist, he knew only one course, namely, to fight. To-day, from Cape Cod to the Alaskan isles, the land will once more resound with the fading memories of the war."

The news of General Grant's death caused universal regret throughout the State of Kentucky. Men of prominence who were soldiers, and men who have never seen the smoke of battle, united in re-echoing the sentiment expressed by that gallant Southern soldier, General Basil Duke, who said:

"All bitterness of feeling toward General Grant, which has been formerly entertained, arising either out of the antagonisms of the war or the deeper animosities of the reconstruction period, have long since passed away in this region, at least, and he has had in the troubles which beset the latter years of his life and in his last illness no profounder sympathy from any source than from the ex-Confederate soldiery. They recognize in two acts of his life a spirit for which they must be cordially grateful. They remember that immediately after the close of the war, when its resentments were yet fierce, and few public men in the North dared speak kindly of the Southern people, even if they felt so, and when it was the fashion to make treason odious, in the famous expression of Andy Johnson, General Grant, after an extended trip through the Southern States, reported that the Southern people would be true to their pledges of peace, and that they ought to be trusted. The other instance is better known and even more kindly remembered, when he forced Stanton to recede from his purpose of arresting General Lee and revoking the paroles of the Confederates. We had learned before, his pluck and tenacity in the field. We realized after those exhibitions of his character that he had the courage to oppose his own people and political associates when he deemed them in the wrong, and the highest order of generosity and patriotism. The Southern people will always forgive what may have been General Grant's political errors and faults, out of consideration for the high and manly qualities and intuitive wisdom he displayed in every real emergency. Many men are shrewder politicians than he, who are not really as great statesmen. We lament his death and honor his memory."

The daily papers all eulogized the dead General, and the several posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, at their meetings, passed resolutions of sorrow.

The *Columbia Register* said: "The death of General Grant will be honestly felt as a national affliction all over the wide Union, without reference to section or party. Every man had his faults, and General Grant had his. Now that he has gone, we will remember him at the South as the gallant old soldier who was generous to a fallen foe. As to his civil life, let it be swallowed up in the life and services of the great chieftain who led the Northern armies through seas of blood to final victory. Let us all remember General Grant from the standpoint from which most admired him, that of a true soldier and generous foe. Without any experience whatever as a civilian, he was necessarily misled. Now that he is gone, the South will recall only the fact that he issued rations at once to the beaten Confederates, and, as far as possible, generously administered to their comfort. We at the South shall all ever believe that if General Grant had followed his own natural instincts, it would have been reserved for no other man to bridge the bloody chasm. He, of all Americans, could have most effectually done it, and those who thwarted this good purpose, which we know the old General at one time had at heart, have deprived an illustrious name of that splendid deed which would have so nobly rounded off the fame of Ulysses S. Grant."

In speaking of the affliction the nation has suffered in the death of General Grant, *Harper's Weekly* of August 1, 1885, said:

"After a long and painful illness, borne with characteristic patience and gentleness, General Grant is dead. It is an event to be associated in our history with the death of Washington, of Adams and Jefferson, and of Lincoln; for Grant, like them, was one of the greatest of Americans at a great epoch. In the same sense that the sword of Washington secured our independence did the sword of Grant maintain the Union, and of the war for the Union Lincoln and Grant will be always the two conspicuous and representative figures. Grant's distinction, also, is of that unalloyed quality which is characteristic both of Washington and Lincoln. It is a greatness unmixed with personal ambition, the greatness of an honest patriot, not of a selfish soldier like Marlborough, nor of an unprincipled conqueror like Napoleon. No great national cause in which not only the welfare of a country but the fate of human liberty was involved was ever more fortunate in its civic and its military chiefs than the cause of American union in Lincoln and Grant.

"In the fierce height and frenzy of the war the same equable temperament, the unshaken judgment, the cool comprehension, which have led to the denial of military genius to Washington, withheld it also from Grant. But no view of the military situation was larger or juster than Grant's, and no famous career was more signally successful. He apprehended clearly the nature of the armed contest, and knew when the Confederacy had become, in a military sense, "a shell," as he described it. Always calm and self-possessed, of an alert and decisive mind, upon the field he was firm without fury, swift without eagerness, and confident without folly. Like Washington, he was prudent, and like Lincoln, magnanimous. Had Lincoln died before the war ended, the heart of the people would have sunk. Had Grant fallen upon the field, the event of the war would have seemed doubtful. He was an unconditional victor, yet so manly, so simple, so single-hearted, that his adversaries in battle cherished no ill-will, and no words of sympathy, respect and admiration are sincerer than those which they have spoken since his illness and anticipated death. Between Grant and the chief soldiers to whom he was opposed there was the mutual respect of men who recognize an honest conviction and delight in heroic constancy, and nothing in history is finer than the generous feeling between them of these later days.

"The death of Mr. Lincoln and the end of the war left Grant by far the most eminent American and the inevitable President. He had little knowledge of politics or politicians, and he had cast but one vote before he was elected to the Chief Magistracy. The argument that it is a trust requiring a certain civic training and political knowledge was overruled by the fact of his universal popularity as the hero of the war, by his strong and incorruptible character, and by the purity of his patriotism. It was, moreover, most fortunate, after the chaos of Andrew Johnson's administration, which had inflamed feeling and arrested the normal process of settlement, that the man who especially represented the cause of the Union, not as a political partisan, but solely as a magnanimous patriot, should be called to the highest office. His election showed the practical unity of the Union sentiment, and its significance was fully apprehended. His presence in the White House itself kept the peace, and undoubtedly saved the country serious trouble. General Grant's want of political training and unfamiliarity with public affairs, and his necessary dependence upon those whom he supposed to be political experts, prevented his dealing vigorously with the mischievous tendencies which are always developed in the successful party after a civil convulsion. But panoplied in the same honest and simple patriotism which had made his military career illustrious, he was personally untouched by suspicion, and after a tour of the world in which every country paid him homage, and an unwise effort of some political friends to call him again into public life, he withdrew to an honored retirement. But by the greatness of his services he was necessarily the most eminent American citizen, and in his private, as in his public life, he was still the centre of constant interest and observation. And in these last days of suffering, gradually declining to the inevitable end, the spectacle of his tranquil and manly fortitude was one that will be long cherished, while the last great service of the true patriot will never be forgotten. That service lay in the hearty and unreserved friendliness of his tone of speech and feeling toward those who had fought against the Union. His last magnanimous words breathe the spirit which can alone compose lingering differences and complete a moral reunion. This highest of patriotic ends also he has served with his latest strength. The country which truly mourns him may well receive the spirit of those words as a benediction and an exhortation. In the best and truest sense the victorious General in a civil war, the official leader and pride of a historic political party, he died at peace with all men, and universally honored as a manly, simple, true-hearted patriot. Twice he filled the highest office in the country; but it is by the inestimable service which brought him into the Presidency, rather than by his Presidency itself, that he will be remembered. He was silent, tenacious, enduring, and as with every man to whom it is given to render the highest service to his country, the clouds of differing judgment of incidents and details will gradually yield to the pure and steady sunlight of permanent fame and national gratitude."

General John A. Logan, United States Senator from Illinois, wrote as follows:

"The nation mourns Ulysses S. Grant, and none more sincerely than his old associates in arms. Emerging from obscurity, he rapidly developed into one of the greatest men of the times. As a military genius and strategist, in my judgment, he has had no equal since the days of Julius Cæsar. As a patriot and lover of his country, none surpassed him. As a man of sound judgment in reference to matters pertaining to national affairs, he was the equal of any one. He was a most confiding man: was strictly honest and truthful, and believed implicitily in the honesty and truthfulness of every one until the contrary was made to appear. If to have such confidence be a fault, it was a grievous one in him, it being the cause of all the serious trouble I ever knew him to have. As a husband and father, he was kindness itself. Grant was a great man, and he was a good man."

Hon. Joseph E. Brown, United States Senator from Georgia, contributes the following, which expresses the feelings of the South:—

"The people of Georgia unite with the people of the whole Union in deploring the death of that patriotic gentleman and magnificent soldier U. S. Grant. The magnanimity of his character and the brillancy of his achievements have stamped him as one of the greatest soldiers of any age. His name is a household word in every civilized nation, and his fame is the common heritage of the whole American people, North, South, East and West. Posterity will never cease to do honor to his memory, and the patriotic hearts of unborn millions will swell with pride at the mention of his great deeds."

Hon. Henry L. Dawes, United States Senator from Massachusetts, speaks thus of the dead General :—

"I thought I was prepared to hear of the death of General Grant with composure; but I am mistaken. Now that it has come, I am overwhelmed with the sense of irreparable loss, and with the retrospect of twenty-five years of marvel and miracle to which I turn. I first saw him, a newly-made brigadier, spending an evening just after the battle of Belmont, with his friend, E. B. Washburne, in St. Louis. I next saw him when, covered with renown, he came to Washington, in the worn garb of a fighting soldier, to receive, from the hand of Abraham Lincoln, the commission of Lieutenant-General. I last saw him when he had already entered upon that struggle to which alone he was unequal; and, after the final issue had become too painfully evident, the conviction that, in the modest, unpretentious, and plain brigadier of few words, I had met a man of rare endowments, took fast hold of me. In the outset, how the whole outline of incomparable greatness has been filled and rounded out to completeness, need not be told, now that the great life has ended, and his work is finished. The world stands uncovered in the presence of this matchless character. Military greatness the judgment of mankind has already accorded to him; but greatness in all else that became a man was equally his due. In the cabinet, as well as on the field, in all that is noble, as well as in all that is heroic, he was truly great. In dark days and in prosperous. in the hour of peril, and in that of victory, he was greatest among all the men with whom he lived. In all that is truthful, in all that is generous, in all that is tender and lovable, he was equally great. A hero in all that pertains to a remarkable life, he was a greater hero when death came. Those who did not come near enough to him to know all he was, cannot mourn him as those will who did; but his countrymen and the world will reverence his memory, and pay tribute to his worth and his greatness so long as the nation he saved shall endure."

Hon. Hamilton Fish, LL.D., Secretary of State during the eight years that General Grant occupied the Presidential chair, wrote as follows of his intimate friend:

"My acquaintance with General Grant began in 1865, in Philadelphia, on his first visit to the North, after the close of the war. Thereafter I saw him frequently. His son (Col. Fred. D. Grant) was a cadet at West Point, and the General and his family often went there to see him. My country residence is on the Hudson River, immediately opposite West Point, and, on the occasion of one of his visits, I invited him to make my house his home on such occasions, and thereafter he and his family were frequently my guests. Thus acquaintance grew into intimacy, and ripened into friendship.

"You ask, What were his most prominent traits of character? Well, with a man so full of strong distinctive traits, it is hard to say which may be most prominent; but I have been much impressed by his steady firmness and his generous magnanimity. His whole military career manifested his firmness both of purpose and of action. His answer to the War Department, 'I will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer,' was but the spontaneous utterance of his general fixedness of purpose.

"He was generous and forgiving in the extreme; not that he could not hate well when he had cause for hating, but he never did hate without having or thinking that he had sufficient cause, and was ever ready for an explanation and reconciliation. With few exceptions his dislikes were not long cherished. He was too busy and too generous to nurse them.

"His unselfish generosity at the fall of Richmond and the surrender of Appomattox, stand out among the most noted instances of magnanimity on the part of a conqueror. He sought no triumphal entry into the Confederate capital, which had been the objective point of years of manœuvering and of fighting; he fed the army which he had defeated, and gave to Lee and his army terms of capitulation and surrender that commanded the admiration of the civilized world, and to this day receive the grateful acknowledgment of those who were their recipients.

"After Sherman had accepted terms of surrender from Johnston, which the Government had so far disapproved as to send Grant to supersede him, instead of taking to himself the credit of Johnston's surrender, on terms satisfactory to the Government and to the people, he telegraphed, 'Johnston has surrendered to Sherman,' leaving the full credit to Sherman of what he himself had accomplished.

"On his tour through the South after the war, to investigate, for the Government, the condition of the people, he showed a broad, generous spirit. His report was denounced by some politicians in Washington as a 'white-washing report'; but, had it been acted upon, there would have been no 'solid South,' and the restoration of good feeling would have taken place soon after the war had closed.

"His feeling toward the South was, throughout his civil administration, in accord with that which he had exhibited in dictating the terms of surrender to Lee—full of generosity and of confidence. That confidence arose from the respect which a brave soldier has for the bravery and sincerity of those whom he has fought, and was undoubtedly increased by his visit through the South shortly after the war had closed.

"He was anxious to give appointments to Southern men; but, in several instances, gentlemen from the South, who had been engaged in the Rebellion, and to whom he was willing to offer appointments, refused to accept them.

"The President, in the disposal of offices over the wide extent of the United States, must depend upon the representations of others for his information as to the character and capacity of the larger number of those who are to fill the public offices on his appointment. These representations are not always candid, and even when honestly given, are not always correct. Unfortunately—perhaps owing to the quarrel between Andrew Johnson and the Congress, or from whatever cause, and notwithstanding the very friendly and favorable report of the feeling and the behavior of the Southern people made by Grant to Congress, after his tour through their states—the Southern men of note and of prominence held themselves aloof, and not only would not volunteer advice, but often withheld information when asked.

"The result was inevitable. At the close of the war, the condition of the South, now opened to a new class of labor, seemed to afford a wide field for industry and enterprise, and tempted a large class of men from the North, whose business had been broken up by the war, to seek their fortunes, and to cast their lot with the South.

"The South had had little experience in 'immigrant' population. It was jealous and suspicious of the new comers; perhaps, under the circumstances, not unnaturally so, but very unfortunately so. Of those who went among them, very many were men of character, enterprise and simple purpose, migrating with none other than a sincere desire of becoming part and parcel of the community among whom they went. Others there were—adventurers of the 'Dugald Dalgetty' stripe—ready to take whatever chance might throw in their way. Their 'chances" were advanced by the quarrel, then at its height, between President Johnson and the Congress, and they lost no opportunity of playing upon the passions already unduly excited. The North was flooded with accounts of indignities and outrages heaped upon Northern men, and of the continued disloyalty of the South; and the South, smarting under its defeat and loss of property, isolated itself, and became united in a political combination bitter in its antagonism to the ruling power in the Nation. Such was the condition when General Grant came to the Presidency, and found nearly all of the federal offices at the South filled by men of Northern birth. He felt the wrong of such condition, and desired to change it; but the reticence of Southern men, and their unwillingness to co-operate with him, or to give advice or information to aid him in the matter of appointments to office, left him unable to carry his wishes in this regard into effect.

"His knowledge of men was generally accurate; but he was apt, in this respect, as in others, to reach his conclusions rapidly, and was thus not infrequently led to give his confidence where it was not deserved; and it was from the abuse of his confidence, thus reposed, that arose most of the censure which, after the close of the war, was visited upon him.

"Where he gave his friendship, he gave it *unreservedly*—whether friendship or confidence, he gave it unreservedly—and was slow to believe anything to the discredit of those of whom he was fond.

"When he entered upon the Presidency he did so without much, if any, previous experience in civil administration. He soon, however, very soon, made himself thoroughly familiar with all the questions that were brought to his consideration, and he may truly be said to have applied himself to the great problems of government.

"In his cabinet meetings his habit was to bring before his counselors such questions as might have been suggested to him, either by friends, or as the result of his own thought. He would generally ask of the members of his Cabinet, in order or successively, their views, and would then reach his own conclusion, and direct the course to be pursued which he thought best So far as my own department was concerned, he kept thoroughly up with all the questions that arose; and, so far as I could judge, he was equally familiar with the questions in each of the other departments.

"He was very free to accept the opinions and views of his cabinet, often antagonistic to his own preconceived notions. As an instance of this, when the inflation bill had passed Congress, and was strenuously urged upon him for approval by many of his most influential friends in each house of Congress, and by a majority of his Cabinet, he at first reluctantly yielded to a determination to approve the bill, and prepared a paper to be submitted to Congress, explaining his reasons for approval of the bill, which paper was laid before the Cabinet, but not read. I had most strenuously advocated his vetoing the bill, and an evening or two previous to this Cabinet meeting, he sent for me and read the paper. Having done it, he remarked: 'The more I have written upon this, the more I don't like it; and I have determined to veto the bill, and am preparing a message accordingly.' At the Cabinet meeting he stated that he had prepared a paper assigning the reasons for approving the bill, but had determined not to present it, and had written another message, vetoing the bill, which he then read to the Cabinet and subsequently sent to Congress. He had consulted his own good sense, and had given careful study by himself to this important question affecting the currency.

"Another illustration of his readiness to yield a preconceived opinion is afforded by his action concerning the Treaty of Washington. After the beginning of negotiations about the treaty, it became necessary to determine upon commissioners on the part of the United States I felt it important that the commission should not be partisan, and that there should be at least one Democrat on it. The suggestion at first did not strike the President as important, and it was opposed by many of his confidential friends; but, on presenting the question fully and strongly to him, he abandoned his position, and decided the question in favor of appointing Judge Nelson as one of the commissioners. Subsequently, when an arbitrator was to be appointed to the tribunal at Geneva, strong objections were urged from various quarters against the selection of Charles Francis Adams, which made an impression adverse to him in the mind of General Grant—strongly adverse. But upon my urging upon him that Mr. Adams was more familiar than any other man with the incidents attending the escape of the rebel cruisers, that he had conducted the legation in London during the rebellion with admirable discretion and under a great deal of personal trial, and was entitled to recognition. General Grant cordially yielded his opposition and over-ruled the objections of many close and confidential political advisers.

" So, too, was it in the appointment of Mr. Evarts as counsel. Some things had occurred at the close of Johnson's administration, while Mr. Evarts was Attorney-General, which left a strong feeling of irritation in General Grant; but, on the representation of Mr. Evarts' ability, and his fitness for the position, he yielded all personal feeling, and cordially agreed to his appointment. As a general rule, he asserted his own views tenaciously and firmly.

" Until his election to the Presidency, I don't think he had taken much interest in party politics. He had been brought up—following the political views of his father—in sympathy with the old Whig Party. But, while in the army, he never voted until the election between Fremont and Buchanan, when, from want of confidence in General Fremont's civil capacity, and being then out of the army, he voted for Buchanan. And he often, jokingly, said to me, that his 'first attempt in politics had been a great failure.'

" He was not indifferent to public criticism, but not unduly excited by it. I never knew him but once to be led into an action of the policy or expediency of which he had doubt by the criticism of the press or the public. It was not a very important matter, relating only to the employment of a certain individual in the conveyance of a message, whom a hostile journal had boastfully said should never again be thus employed.

" I never met any one who formed, in advance, better estimates of elections that were about to take place than General Grant. On the evening preceding the Presidential election of 1872, I was sitting with him, and he gave the probable result in each of the states. I noted it down, and found that it varied in each state almost inappreciably.

" He was not a great reader. He wrote with fluency, tersely, strongly, and with great rapidity. He was methodical in his habits and punctilious in the discharge of whatever duties might be before him.

" He had no historical models, but worked out his own course from his good sense and thoughtfulness. He formed his opinions, apparently, from intuition.

" I think he was the most scrupulously truthful man I ever met. He had little idea of the value of money, and had no tendency to its accumulation. He was lavish in his expenditures and generous in his charities. He gave to all who asked of him, being often unnecessarily and unwisely profuse in his donations. I have not infrequently known him to give sums from five to ten times the amount of what the applicants could have reasonably or probably expected.

" In his family he was the fondest and most indulgent and liberal of husbands and fathers.

" He had a large fund of humor, enjoyed a good story, and had the faculty of telling a good story, and of telling it well. I never heard him use a profane or an obscene word.

"The habit of public speaking came to him after the end of his Presidency. While he was President, on one occasion, a large body of clergymen called upon, and made him a long address to which he had to reply, and which he always disliked to do. After a sentence or two I noticed that his voice faltered, and, fearing that he might be at a loss what next to say, standing next to him I caused a diversion by beginning to cough violently so as to interrupt his speech. He afterward told me how fortunate it was for him that I had *that* cough, as he had felt his knees begin to shake, and did not think he could have spoken another word.

"His indignation was always intense against any case of marital infidelity; and I have known an instance of his refusing consideration of applications in favor of an individual of high public position, who lay under such a charge. And once, where a man of much political influence, who had been thus guilty, recommended and was urging upon him some action, the General remarked, after his withdrawal: 'That man had better take care of his own moral conduct than come and give advice to me on any question.'

"He was strongly impressed with religious views, and was a firm believer in the fundamental principles of Christianity. He was brought up in connection with the Methodist Church, which he attended in Washington. On the Sunday either succeeding or preceding—I don't remember which—his second election in 1872, he invited his Cabinet, in a body, to accompany him to the Metropolitan Church in Washington, which he was in the habit of attending, to listen to a sermon from Dr. Newman appropriate to the occasion. The moral side of questions of a public nature, or otherwise, whether presented by his cabinet or friends, always had influence with him.

"His memory was minute and accurate to a degree. He was not fond of talking of the war, or of his battles; but, when he could be induced, or led to the subject, he would carry it through, giving the incidents of a fight, stating minutely, at the various stages of the engagement, the location of each division, or separate corps, or regiment.

"I asked him once: "General, in case we should get into another war, how about our armies?'

"'Well,' he said, 'we have the best men in the world to lead them. No three men living are more capable of leading an army, or conducting a campaign than the men we have. There is a difference between fighting, and planning and conducting a campaign; but there are no three men living better fitted to plan a campaign, and to lead armies than Sherman, Sheridan and Schofield.'

"I said: 'But I hope we may have no war until these gentlemen may be too old to lead our armies. What then?'

"'There are young men coming up who will quite fill their places.'

"'Such as who?'

"He answered: 'Upton, McKenzie, Wilson; and there are more.'

"He said that during the battles around Richmond he placed McKenzie in charge of the cavalry operating with Sheridan, and this assignment of command at once added fifty per cent. to the efficiency of that division of cavalry.

"You ask, 'What position will General Grant take in the history of his country?' I hope it will not be considered irreverent to say that Washington, Lincoln and Grant will be regarded as a political trinity—the one the founder, the second the liberator, and the third the saviour of the United States. It is admirably illustrated in that medallion in which they are represented as the *pater*, the *liberator* and the *salvator*. The work of each was necessary to the completion of the whole.

# CHAPTER XXV.

## TRIBUTE OF THE HON. EDWARDS PIERREPONT.

HON. EDWARDS PIERREPONT, LL.D., D. C. L., Ex-United States Minister to England, gives the following personal recollections of General Grant:

"I first met General Grant on his visit to Washington, after his victories in the Southwest, early in 1864. The Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, with whom I was intimate, invited me to meet General Grant privately with himself, which I did. I had seen no picture of him, and had heard no description.

"I was disappointed in his appearance, but struck by the firmness of his mouth, the fine build of his head, and the exceeding fineness of his hair. He had a thoughtful face and a kind blue eye.

"For more than twenty years I have known him well, and under a great variety of circumstances. He was quite the most remarkable man that I ever knew. He was the hero, not of a chivalric age, nor of imperial splendor, but a hero of our age, and of our institutions, the natural product of a Government such as the world has never seen, whose possibilities are not yet imagined.

"In 1867, while General Grant was living in Washington, I was employed by Mr. Seward, then Secretary of State, and Mr. Stansbury, Attorney-General, to conduct the trial against John H. Surratt as an aider in the murder of President Lincoln; and I then met General Grant daily for some six weeks; and, during that long trial, he often sat by my side in the court room. He told me of an incident during the last days of the war which seemed to have left a deep impression upon his mind, and I related it to the jury, in General Grant's presence, in summing up the case, as follows:

"'On the 14th of April, 1865, Abraham Lincoln called together his Cabinet. We had at that time been receiving most cheering news; but still upon his soul there lay a heavy gloom, and he remarked: "I am very anxious to hear from Sherman." The reply was: "You will hear good news from Sherman; there cannot be any doubt about that." General Grant was there, and he knew Sherman, and he took occasion to assure the President that the news from Sherman would be all right. "I don't know," replied Mr. Lincoln, and then repeated what he had before said, "I am very anxious to hear from Sherman," adding the remark: "I feel some great disaster is coming upon us. Last night I was visited by a strange dream—the same dream that, in the darkness of the night, has three times before visited me; before the battle of Bull Run, before the battle of Stone River, and before the battle of Chancellorsville it came to me, and the following day came the news of disaster. This same dream came to me last night in my sleep, and I feel as if some great calamity is to befall the nation, in which I am to be personally affected." In a few hours afterward—he did not hear from Sherman; but the DREAM came again and led his spirit up to God who gave it.'

"Twelve years later, General Grant recalled this, as we were talking, late at night, in my library in London. I said:

"'General, what did you think of that? Was Mr. Lincoln superstitious?'

"'Yes,' he replied. 'I believe all great men are more or less superstitious'; and he said no more.

"The same evening I was making many inquiries of him about the taking of Vicksburg, which I had heard military men in London name as one of the greatest of military achievements. He said: 'You know, about that time, they thought in Washington that I was too slow, and Mr. Lincoln said "he thought they had better try me a little longer." Before the movement on Vicksburg, I called a Council of War, and was advised not to make the movement; the opinion was that it would be against all well-settled rules of war, because it would enable the enemy to cut off my base of supplies; but I knew that the Government at Washington would cut off my base of supplies anyhow, if I did not go ahead, and I gave the order.'

"Intimate as I have been with him for so many years, I never once knew him to speak of his victories unless specially interrogated, and no one would ever have supposed that he had been in battle from any remark of his.

"I was a member of General Grant's Cabinet during the celebrated whiskey trials, which so agitated the country, and about which so many falsehoods have been told, and in consequence of which so much abuse was heaped upon the General I necessarily, from my position there, knew all the facts; and I have kept a careful record of them, and I shall give them to the world in detail. They are too long to be given in this communication; but when they are given, no one will be disposed to blame General Grant. He acted throughout according to the best information which he possessed and with a determination to do justly, without regard to any public clamor.

"Early in 1876 I was sent by the General as Minister to England.

"In the following year his last term closed. He had then been in the public service some sixteen years, and was weary beyond expression.

"I received a long letter from him in London, written three weeks before his term ended, from which I quote:

"I intend to visit you in London, when my term is ended here, which will be three weeks longer, and it seems to me an eternity, so anxious am I to get away.'

"On Thursday, the 31st of May, 1877, General and Mrs. Grant were my guests at 17 Cavendish Square, London. Twenty-four years earlier, then a young man, I met in London Mr. McLane, of Maryland, just now appointed Minister to France, and he told me that, the night before, he dined at Lord Clarendon's, where he met Lord Stanley, who was the eldest son of the Earl of Derby; that, through his kindness, he was invited to dine at Lord Clarendon's, who was then in the Ministry; that there he met Ex-President Van Buren, who was visiting England; that Mr. Van Buren was treated, not discourteously, but with utter neglect, and in a country where precedence was regarded of so great consequence; that Mr. Van Buren, an Ex-President of the United States, had no precedence; that in the ante-room, at the dinner table, in going in, and coming out he had none of that importance accorded to him which great statesmen and ex-rulers of other countries had carefully accorded to them; that he spoke to Lord Stanley about it. Lord Stanley said: 'The difficulty is you give no title; and, as you know, in England precedence is determined by title.' This gentleman was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs when I was Minister to London, under the title of Lord Derby, having succeeded his father.

"The impression which a thing of this kind makes upon a young man when in a foreign country is not easily effaced.

"About four weeks before General Grant arrived, I received a letter from him, stating his intended arrival; and all that Mr. McLane had told me came back as freshly as it would have done the day after he told it. With the letter in my hand, I went to Lord Derby, and told him of the proposed visit of General Grant, the ex-President of the United States, and that he would be my guest, and that I wanted to know how he was to be treated in England. He replied, in his frank way: 'Oh! we shall be very glad to see him in England. He is a very distinguished man.' I said: 'Yes; but that is not exactly what I mean. I want to know in what way he will be received, so far as relates to precedence.' 'Oh!' he said, 'you care for nothing about those things in your country.' 'No,' said I, 'but you do in yours.'

"He then said, after much more conversation upon the subject: 'Now, exactly what do you want?' I said: I want the ex-President of the United States to be treated the same way that you treat ex-rulers of any other country; that the United States had more important relations with England now, and was likely to have in the future, than any other country.' 'He said: 'Yes; now will you put in writing just what you want· and you know I will do anything I can; the difficulty is you give him no title in your country; and hence the difficulty about placing him in our country. There is no precedent.' I said: 'I think there is. Louis Napoleon was an ex-Emperor; he was not a born king or emperor. He was *elected.* I want General Grant treated as ex-Emperor Louis Napoleon was treated.' He laughed, and said: 'That is pretty good logic. Now put in writing just what you want; and you talk to any of the ministers; you know them well.' I did so, and have a copy of it. I saw him afterward, and he did everything that could be done to have General Grant treated with consideration, so as no ex-President had ever received before, and to accord him precedence, such as would be accorded to an ex-ruler of any other country.

"Trivial as it may seem to us, it was not a trivial matter there, and was not so regarded.

"The Prince of Wales agreed in honor of General Grant, to dine in my house with a large distinguished company, which included all the ambassadors, the ministry, and many others of the great people of England.

"The question arose where General Grant should be seated at the table, and it was matter of some negotiation. The point I made was that he should take the right of the Prince of Wales. The ambassadors thought that the oldest ambassador should take that place. It is too long to repeat what was said, though I have it preserved in writing. General Grant did take the place suggested, and every ambassador was at the dinner, and nobody found any fault with it; and General Grant, from that time onward, both in England and on the Continent, where he went, received such consideration as he so richly deserved.

"Before he arrived the Duke of Wellington had, on the 27th of May, sent me a note, wishing me to fix a day in which General and Mrs. Grant, with myself and Mrs. Pierrepont, would dine at Apsley House, his residence, adding in the note 'I know what you claim. Your ex-President shall have the *pas* of everybody; he shall take in the Duchess.' He dined there, and did take in the Duchess. The Duke also said in that note that he 'thought it a very fitting thing that the greatest general in America should take his first dinner in London with the son of the greatest general in Europe.'

"I should here say, that to the Prince of Wales, to Lord Derby, to the Prime Minister, Disraeli, as well as to all of the ministry, we were indebted for the cordial readiness with which they all aided in doing honors to General Grant.

"On the 15th of June the freedom of the city was presented, at Guild Hall, at a grand banquet. Two days before the Lord Mayor sent me a letter, enclosing an engrossed copy of the speech which would be made to General Grant on that occasion, requesting me to read it to the General or give it to him, as I saw fit, in order that he might prepare his reply. It came while at breakfast. I opened it and told him what it was. He did not say anything. I said: 'We will go into the library after breakfast and read it.' We went in; he sat down, shut his mouth very tightly and said: 'Don't read it.' I said: 'General, this is an occasion on which you cannot avoid saying something.' He said: 'I know it. But,' said he, 'if you read it to me, or I read it, I shall get to thinking about it, and then I shall write down what I want to say, and then I shall try to commit it to memory, and when I get up to speak I shall find that I have not remembered it at all, and shall cave in and have to give it up. I must trust entirely to the spur of the moment, or I can't go through with it.' I have the speech now, and General Grant has never yet read it. He replied at much length, without any hesitation whatever, and made a speech which was happy and apt, without the slightest embarrassment; and it was considered by all as one of the finest speeches that had ever been made in that great hall. Those who have an idea that General Grant's speeches, or that General Grant's writings or messages or letters have been the work of other heads or hands than his own are entirely mistaken.

"On the 23d of June the Prince of Wales invited General Grant and myself to a dinner at the Trinity House. Trinity is a corporation of very ancient date; its business is to have charge of the lighthouses; it is rich, and it is managed by the first men in the Kingdom, and the Prince of Wales was President of it.

"At this dinner the Prince of Wales made a speech, which was very happy and appropriate, as his speeches usually are, and in it he had a great deal to say about General Grant. Following him Lord Carnarvon, who was a member of the Ministry and of Trinity House, also made a speech, in which he spoke very kindly of General Grant and very pleasantly of our country· and General Grant was called upon to reply. He rose, he hesitated, he had great difficulty in going on; he made some remarks about what the Prince of Wales had said, and undertook to say something in reply to Lord Carnarvon, and he ended in utter confusion, and took his seat. He came out after dinner and got into the carriage.

"'Well,' said he, 'I broke down; didn't I?"

"'Well,' I said, 'you did not appear much as you did at the Guild Hall, and I don't know why, for you had not either of these speeches before you, and you did not have to write out and commit your remarks to memory.'

"'No,' said he. 'But the difficulty was that I had been listening to the first speech, and had been fixing my mind to that, and then the second speech came, and then I had to reply to them both together, which I undertook to do, and broke down.'

"That is the only time that I ever heard him attempt to reply to two speeches at the same time, and the only time that I ever knew him fail to make a good speech, whether it were long or short; and the reason that he gave was that he could not bring the two things together without confusing his mind. He added:

"'The speeches were both good, they pleased me very much, and I wanted to say a good thing to each, and, in attempting to do too much, I failed to do anything that suited me.'

"General Grant was generally a silent man, a very silent man. In later years he got in the habit of talking with more facility and freedom than he did at first.

"I never heard him, in all my long intercourse with him, use a profane word. I never heard him, either in an original story, or in repeating one, say anything that had in it the smallest measure of anything indelicate—that might not have been said before any lady.

"He was never arrogant; he was considerate of others; but I don't think the opinions of others, when he had made up his own mind, influenced his action at all.

"I think he was entirely self-reliant where he had examined the question before him.

"He had strong feelings; but he was not emotional. He was delicate in his feelings; but I think he could do firmly whatever he thought necessary to do.

"He was always lenient toward other people's faults or mistakes.

"He was a good hater where he thought he had been wantonly injured or betrayed, and he did not hesitate to express dislike where he felt he had been wronged. And when he thought he had himself been in the wrong, he was as ready to amend the wrong as any man that I ever knew.

"He was not a great reader. His information came largely by absorption and observation.

"He had a wonderfully retentive memory of faces and events.

"He had a clear, concise, and pleasant style of writing, as his letters will show. He had considerable humor; but I never saw any indication of what is called wit.

"He had a greater power of restraining his feelings, whether of indignation or pleasure, than any man I ever knew.

"He was never cold-hearted.

"His whole life proves, and the last days before his death confirm, what indomitable firmness he had.

"On that first occasion when I met him in Washington, after his great successes in the Southwest, in the parlor of Willard's Hotel, there was quite a number of people calling to pay their respects, and among them a clergyman, who, in very earnest words, was saying to him that the weight of responsibility upon him must be terrible, so many lives were dependent upon him, so much depended on his success, with the remark that it was enough to crush any one, when such great responsibilities were laid upon him. The General stood quite stolid when he listened to it, and made no reply, and the clergyman repeated it over with great earnestness and a slight variation, and then the General said: 'Well, I don't feel the same weight of responsibility which you seem to think is upon me. I try to do the best I can, and leave the results to a Higher Power, feeling no more responsibility.'

"In England his visit naturally excited a great deal of comment, upon his administration, upon his character, upon his military achievements, and, somewhat, while there, but largely after he left, men talked to me very freely about him. He left an admirable impression. He was placed in a new situation, a situation calculated to embarrass almost any man. Of course he knew that whatever he did or said, or did not do, would be noted.

"I never heard a criticism from anybody upon his demeanor in social life; but all spoke of his manly bearing, of his self-poise, of his wonderful good sense in every situation.

"His military achievements were spoken of very highly, and it was repeatedly said by military men that the taking of Vicksburg was equal in its genius and its results to any victory that Napoleon ever achieved.

"In June the General and I dined at a house of a member of Parliament, where there were no ladies present, and in the course of the dinner the subject of religion was introduced, and I think it was the only time I ever heard that subject introduced at a dinner-table in England.

"There was one man at the table who treated the subject with considerable mockery, and General Grant shut his mouth and would not enter into any further conversation, and he scarcely said anything during the remainder of the dinner. When we came away he said, after we got into the carriage: 'The conversation of that man so shocked me that I could not talk any more, and I did not enjoy the dinner.' The next day after this dinner we got to talking about the subject of religion, and he said that it always shocked him to hear people speak lightly of it, that he was brought up religiously, that he had never questioned any of the general doctrines, and that it did not make any difference to him whether they seemed logical or not. He said that, although he could not undertake to reconcile all things in revelation with the discoveries in science, the scientific discoveries had not, in the smallest measure, shaken his faith in immortality nor in the great principles of religion.

He was, beyond all doubt, a firm believer in religion, and had great respect for all its ordinances; and I know that he never took part in or listened to, with any complacency, any ridicule of sacred things.

"The Duke of Cambridge is a royal Duke. He is the commander of the forces of England. He was very courteous to General Grant, and expressed himself to me in high admiration of his great military ability.

"On the 26th of June he had accepted an invitation to dine at my house, in honor of General Grant; and a large number of military men, as well as others, had been invited at the same time, and it was supposed that the dinner would be one of exceeding interest, in consequence of the class of men that were to meet General Grant on that occasion. There were twenty-eight of the number. But, according to their peculiar laws of etiquette in England, the dinner never came off; for the reason that the Queen, three days before the dinner, sent us an invitation to come to Windsor Castle to dine and to stay over night, and that, by their rules, made it necessary to recall all the cards of invitation, although the chief guest was a royal duke. The result was that the dinner so carefully arranged could not take place, and we went to Windsor Castle, and dined with the Queen and her Court, and stayed all night, returning at noon of the next day.

"There General Grant was placed in a new situation, as the etiquette at a dinner at the Queen's is a little different from that of any other. He knew how to demean himself there, as well as in every other place, and I cannot better say what I wish to say upon his general bearing than I subsequently said in these words:

> 'I have seen him where Sovereigns and Princes, Emperors and Ambassadors, rose up to do him reverence, calm, self-poised, unruffled as a Sphinx. He is wiser than when he went away, of broader intelligence, loftier in tone, more exalted in his moral nature. But he will come home the same single-minded unpretending, brave and honest man, a fitting product of our noble institutions.'

"And all this he has since proved.

"Disraeli, when I first went to England, was Prime Minister, and during my stay he was elevated to the peerage, under the title of Lord Beaconsfield. Before he became Lord Beaconsfield he was in the House of Commons. When he became Lord Beaconsfield, he passed to the House of Lords; but in both places he was Prime Minister.

"Mr. Gladstone was an ex-Prime Minister, and, while they were both in the House of Commons, they were, of course, on different sides in politics, and the debates in which they both took part were always immensely interesting.

"I met Lord Beaconsfield very often at dinners, and he was at the dinner given to General Grant at my house. He had much curiosity, as he told me, to meet General Grant, and he talked with him, and he called upon him at my house.

"Disraeli was a very peculiar man. He said that he had watched the War in the States with great interest; that he had taken sides, from the first, with the North, particularly from his intellectual view of the question, being thoroughly persuaded, from studying the subject that the North would succeed; and he had, therefore, watched the progress of the War with unusual interest; and that, as General Grant had proved to be the hero of the War, he had been curious to meet him to see what kind of a man he was. And he said: 'He is just the kind of a man that he ought to be with such a record.' And that is the only criticism that he made.

"Mr. Gladstone took breakfast at my house one morning, and it lasted very late. I was interested to learn about England and English politics, and he is the best and most interesting talker that I ever met. Touch him upon any subject connected with England, and he will continue upon it, giving you the most interesting information, until you turn his attention to some other subject.

"In the course of that long conversation he spoke about our War, and with great admiration of the part that General Grant played in the victory of the North, and of his great magnanimity when he became conqueror.

"Mr. Gladstone and Disraeli were violent rivals; but when Lord Beaconsfield died, the finest eulogy that was pronounced upon him was delivered by Mr. Gladstone, about which, and the inspiration of which, Mr. Gladstone wrote me in an autograph letter, which I now have, and which some day I may think fit to make public.

"General Grant took great interest in politics, and his predictions about the results of the elections in the different states from the very beginning of his administration were far more accurate than those of any man that I ever heard talk upon politics.

"I think the great features of his mental and moral character were his self-poise, calm judgment and wonderful common sense. He would hardly be said to be a man of brilliant genius; but his achievements in war are considered to be of the highest order; and he commanded a larger army than ever Napoleon commanded, and led his armies to success.

He was more largely intuitive than people generally supposed. I do not think he was much inspired by reading, either upon war or matters of state; but his wonderfully calm judgment added to his intuitive forces and his deep devotion to the principles of popular government, always guided him aright.

"He was tenacious in his friendships, as in everything else, and was slow to think ill of any one in whom he had confided. He was disposed to be forgiving of others' errors and mistakes, but his confidence, once shattered upon good grounds, was never restored. His early life was one of great privation, which strengthened him for his great work ; but when he came to the possession of power and large means, he enjoyed both. He had respect for wealth, and enjoyed the luxuries which it brought—not in the gratification of the appetite—he always ate very sparingly, and of few things ; but he loved, in his silent way, a banquet graced by fine women in costly dress and jeweled beauty, and adorned with a profusion of beautiful flowers. The scene was pleasing to his eye, and ministered to his imagination.

"His death was as remarkable and characteristic as his battles. He hardly knew when he was beaten ; but when he realized that the battle was over, he calmly surrendered to the will of the Heavenly Father. When the American Republic shall have become the grandest Empire upon the earth, the history which General Grant made during the first century of its rise, will be written by many historians, and Grant will be mentioned as a hero of imperishable renown."

# CHAPTER XXVI.

## INCIDENTS AFTER DEATH.

Funeral Arrangements—Quiet Days at Mt. McGregor—A Letter from President Cleveland to Mrs. Grant—Riverside Park, near New York, selected as the Resting-Place of General Grant—A Chat with Dr. Douglas and Rev. Dr. Newman—The Site of the Mausoleum—Monuments to be Erected.

THE question where the remains of General Grant should be interred gave rise to an animated discussion. New York and Washington were the cities contending for the honor. Very earnestly were the claims of each city pressed. It is understood that at first the family were inclined to select Washington, the national capital, and the city where General Grant passed some of the most illustrious years of his earthly career, but as Mrs. Grant intended to make New York her home, she naturally desired that her visits to the tomb of her husband should be frequent, and she therefore decided in favor of New York. Soon after the announcement of the death of General Grant, Mayor Grace, of New York, sent the following despatch to Mrs. Grant:

Mayor's Office, New York, July 23, 1885.

Mrs. U. S. Grant, Mt. McGregor, N. Y.:—In advance of official action I am instructed to tender to yourself and family the deep sympathy of the Common Council, and of the municipal authorities of the city of New York, in your sad bereavement. I am also authorized by informal action of the authorities, which will be made official to-morrow, to tender to you a last resting-place for the remains of General Grant in any one of the parks of this city which you may select. I am also authorized to offer the Governor's Room, at the City Hall, for the purpose of allowing the body to lie in state.

W. R. GRACE, Mayor.

In reply the following was received:

Mt. McGregor, N. Y., July 23, 1885.

Hon. Wm. R. Grace, Mayor of New York:—Thanks. Can you send some one to confer with me?

F. D. GRANT.

At a special meeting of the Board of Aldermen of New York, the following preamble and resolutions, after Aldermen O'Dwyer, Hartman, Morgan and Van Rensselaer had made feeling addresses upon the character and services of the dead hero, were unanimously adopted:

"The sad intelligence of the death of General U. S. Grant having been officially communicated by His Honor the Mayor to this Common Council, it becomes our sorrowful duty, in behalf of this metropolis, to give expression to the profound grief of our citizens upon their irreparable loss.

"To enumerate the services to his country rendered by the illustrious deceased, and the honors received by him at the hands of his grateful fellow-citizens, to extol his virtues, to delineate his character and to recite the history of his brilliant career as a warrior and civilian, would be simply supererogatory. The fame of his achievements as a soldier and a statesman is world-wide. He was known, admired and honored, not only by the people of this Republic, but by the people of every country and clime.

"The death of General U. S. Grant is a national calamity. This Council, as the representatives of the people of this city, are called upon to take such measures as will tend to show the estimation in which the deceased was held by his fellow-citizens, and to participate with them in paying a proper tribute of respect to his memory. Be it, therefore,

"*Resolved*, That as an expression of sorrow, and out of respect to the memory of General U. S. Grant, our citizens are hereby recommended to close their respective places of business and refrain from any secular employment on the day to be set apart for solemnizing the funeral rites.

"*Resolved*, That the members of the Common Council attend the funeral in a body with their staves of office draped in mourning, and that His Honor, the Mayor, as chief executive, the chief officers of the several executive departments of the city government, the judges of the several courts held in the city, the members of the National Guard and our citizens in general, be and they are hereby respectfully invited to unite and co-operate with the Common Council in the ceremonies incident to the sad occasion; that the flags on the City Hall and the other public buildings be displayed at half staff from sunrise until sunset on the same day, and the owners and masters of vessels in the harbor, and the owners and occupants of private buildings in this city, be and are hereby requested to display their flags in like manner at the same time.

"*Resolved*, That the heartfelt sympathy of the Common Council be and the same is hereby tendered to the family of the lamented deceased in their bereavement.

"*Resolved*, That the proper authorities be and they are hereby authorized and requested to offer a sepulture for the body of General Grant in any of the public parks of the city of New York which the family of the deceased may select.

"*Resolved*, That the City Hall and other public buildings be draped, and that the Governor's Room in the City Hall be placed at the disposal of the family of the deceased, should it meet their approval, draped appropriately, for the reception of his remains, in order that our citizens may have an opportunity to look for the last time upon the loved features of the Republic's greatest soldier.

"*Resolved*, That a special committee of five members of the Board be appointed to perfect the funeral arrangements, and to take such other action as they may deem proper to manifest our sorrow for the death and reverence for the memory of the illustrious deceased.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions, suitably engrossed, be forwarded to the bereaved family."

The question of a burial-place remained in an unsettled condition until four o'clock in the afternoon, when the following telegram from Mayor Grace caused Mrs. Grant and her children to decide at once, and finally to accept the proposal of the city of New York:

"Your two telegrams just to hand, and I understand the matter to be now definitely settled that General Grant's body is to be interred here. We cannot take any more definite action in regard to the matter of Mrs. Grant until a later date. The faith of the President of the Board of Aldermen and my own is pledged that we will see, when a little time is passed away, that the wishes of the family are gratified by formal resolution of the Board. Answer immediately so I may appoint committee to make my quota for grand national monument.

"W. R. GRACE."

Upon the receipt of Mayor Grace's telegram, Mr. Turner, who was sent to Mt. McGregor as a special messenger by Mayor Grace, repaired at once to the cottage, where a conference was held with Colonel Fred. Grant. The Colonel read the Mayor's despatch and retained it. At the close of the conference Colonel Grant assured the Mayor's representative that he and the family thus formally accepted the tender of a burial-place for General Grant and Mrs. Grant in Central Park, in the City of New York, and that he and the family would now proceed with all the funeral arrangements with reference to the above conclusion. The Mayor's messenger then telegraphed to Mayor Grace the result of his mission.

The embalming was begun a few hours after death. The cheeks and face, by the process made use of, were made to assume a fulness, the deeper furrows and lines were filled out and the expression of the face was one of peace and rest.

President Cleveland sent Adjutant-General Drum as a special messenger to deliver the following letter to Mrs. Grant:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, July 23, 1885.

"My Dear Madam: Obeying the dictates of my personal feelings and in accord with what I am sure is the universal sentiment of his fellow-countrymen toward your late husband, I am solicitous that every tribute of respect and affection should be duly rendered, and with constant consideration of your personal wishes on the subject, Adjutant-General Richard C. Drum is charged with the delivery of this note, and will receive and convey to me any intimation of the wishes of yourself and children, in respect to the selection of the place of burial, the conduct of the funeral ceremonies, and the part which may be borne by those charged with the administration of the government. With sincere condolence, your friend and servant,

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

The 26th of July being a Sabbath, Rev. Dr. Newman, the friend of the dead hero, was asked to conduct the morning services, but the reverend gentleman gravely declined. Since General Grant's death he had been unable to speak of his dead friend without emotion, and to have stood where he did two weeks ago to deliver his discourse on "The Value of Character," while General Grant was alive down at the cottage, seemed well-nigh impossible to Dr. Newman, so the day was one of quietness, with some visitors and some permanent arrivals. General Horace Porter and the Japanese Minister Kuki arrived during the day.

During a conversation Dr. Douglas was asked by a correspondent how he happened to bring General Grant to such a secluded part of the world as Mt. McGregor.

"Well," said he, as he stroked his venerable beard and crossed his sturdy legs, "I was born not far from here, and knowing that this pure, dry, balsam-laden air was good for all physical ailments, and seeing that the sea air was particularly bad for General Grant's throat, I suggested this."

"Was General Grant a long time a patient of yours?"

"No. It chanced that some years ago I treated one of Dr. Barker's cancer patients very successfully, and when General Grant applied to him he, fearing or suspecting cancer, sent him to me. He came to my office, and after I examined him, noticing a tell-tale look on my face, he asked if I suspected cancer. I did, and was much alarmed, but evaded a direct reply. I subsequently met his son and Dr. Barker, and told them that I had no doubt. For a while he was very ill, then he grew better, and again there was a marked increase in the cancerous progress.

"I took some of the tissues from the throat and examined them microscopically. I had them photographed, published and sent to the entire medical profession, after which there was no question. Recovery was at no time possible. All we could do was to prolong his life, secure his comfort and keep the difficulty from increasing as much as possible. No caustics were at any time applied. Had there been, as I told the family, there would have been a horrid condition of affairs—a terrific stench with intense pain and much fetid odor. As it was, we had none of these, or at least to no extent. It was suggested that possibly there was some other cause for General Grant's trouble. This was investigated at an early stage, and, in order that we might not be caught napping in any direction, we adopted a course of treatment which would have helped him had he had that trouble, and could do no harm to him if he had simple cancer. His critics talked about his having a malignant ulcer. That, of course, meant but one thing. We carefully and laboriously followed his life step by step. We were assured that this man, sixty-three years old, had during his married life of nearly forty years been as faithful to his marriage vow as to anything else he undertook. His children grew to full maturity and were well and strong. He himself gave no evidence of weakness anywhere, and so after three trials of this special treatment, it was abandoned."

"We see and read a great deal of General Grant's religious talk and life. Do you think he was really a religious or simply a common-sense man?"

"Grant was deeply religious. He was not a man of forms and ceremonies, as well we all know. Neither did he obtrude his opinions on anybody; but he was profoundly religious."

"Was he a prayerful man, except when Dr. Newman was around and suggested exercise in that direction?"

"I can't say that he was; but of that I can't speak knowingly."

"There is a great deal of talk in New York and Saratoga, and on the cars, as to the right of the Common Council to swerve Central Park from its original design, and particularly as to giving Mrs. Grant a promise that her body may be buried there. What do you think of it?"

"I don't think the Central Park idea a good one. There could be a magnificent monument there, of course. I have thought it would be well to bury the General at the base of the statue of Liberty on Bedloe's Island; but, after all, the place is the Soldiers' Home, in Washington. It is the natural place and already well named the Soldier's Home, and Grant was the Soldier."

"In view of the fact that you long since literally gave up your business in New York, that you have devoted yourself, your time, your constant service, your personal devotion day and night to the General and his interest, it is a very natural question to ask if you are treated fairly in the pecuniary line?"

"Well, I can truthfully say I haven't given the matter a thought. I have presented no bill and shall not. I have received some money from the family, but I have made no demand for any, and have no thought about the future."

Soon after the correspondent's chat with Dr. Douglas, Dr. Newman came along. Being asked, in respect of Grant's religious feeling, whether he had any sentiment about it, or simply recognized the existence of a God, the reverend gentleman hesitated for a moment, and then, with the understanding that certain parts of the conversation would be treated confidentially, said :—

"It was the General's wish that I should officiate at the final ceremonies of interment. Beyond the wish and expressed desire that his wife should be buried by his side he had no preferences I shall so officiate, and then shall give to the world what it can get in no other way, a full, complete, absolute proof of General Grant's Christian character. Much that passed he wrote with his own hand, and those writings I have, of course, carefully preserved. Other parts were spoken, and those were put down in my journal when I returned to my room. I propose to treat in my funeral discourse of the character of the man, leaving to others his treatment as a soldier and statesman.

"He was a Christian if there ever was one. No profane word ever passed his lips and he was intolerant of profanity in those about him."

When Dr. Newman accepted the call to the Congregational Church, corner of Madison Avenue and Forty-fifth Street, at New York, General Grant attended services there. Previous to that the General had been a member of the Central Methodist Church, in Seventh Avenue, near Fourteenth Street, of which Dr. Newman was pastor. After Dr. Newman resigned from the Madison Avenue Church and went to California, General Grant was without a church home. The Rev. Dr. James S. Chadwick at that time was the pastor of the Central Methodist Church. In the name of the trustees of the church, he presented to General Grant the family pew formerly occupied by the General. General Grant accepted it, but his illness prevented his ever attending services in the church again. The pew still remains in his name.

Dr. Chadwick's pastorate of the Central Methodist Church expired last spring, and, according to the practice of the Methodist Church, in changing its clergymen about every three years, he was transferred to the Methodist Church in Forty-third Street, near Eighth Avenue. From 1876 to 1879 Dr. Chadwick was assigned to a church in Covington, Ky. Among the members of his congregation were General Grant's parents, Jesse R. Grant and his wife. Jesse Grant died at Covington. His wife died in New Jersey last year. Dr. Chadwick preached the sermon at Jesse Grant's funeral and also spoke at the funeral of General Grant's mother. He knew all the Grant family.

One of the memorial sermons was preached by Dr. Chadwick, on the evening of the 26th of July. The reverend gentleman said he would like to have preached it in the Central Methodist Church, because it was there General Grant went during nearly all his residence in this city. The little church in West Forty-third Street was very neatly draped. The rear of the pulpit was hung with dark cambric and in the centre was an oil portrait of General Grant, regarded as one of the best of the early pictures of him, and presented to Dr. Chadwick and family by General Grant's mother. It is, of course, very highly esteemed by them. Its borders were hung with a fringe of black and white paper. Beneath the portrait the letters "U. S. G.," in paper fringe, were suspended. On either side were small flags with black borders. Over the pulpit was thrown a large flag with drapery of mourning. The whole presented a simple, but tasteful and appropriate, tribute to the memory of the General. Dr. Chadwick's sermon, which is given elsewhere, was delivered with a great deal of feeling. General Grant's sisters, Mrs. Corbin and Mrs. Cramer, who arrived from Europe the other day, are also members of the Methodist Church.

On the 27th of July, Colonel Fred Grant and his brother, Jesse Grant, went to New York for the purpose of conferring with Mayor Grace upon the arrangements for their father's funeral. The Mayor did not arrive at his office until half an hour later, and the visitors were shown into his private room. In the mean time General Perry arrived at the City Hall to represent General Hancock in making the arrangement for the obsequies. After the

Mayor's arrival the parties were closeted together for some time.

Colonel Grant, Mayor Grace and President Sanger, of the Board of Aldermen, drove to Central Park during the afternoon for the purpose of selecting a burial site. They went to Watch Hill, near the old fort, and inspected a location there. The view from this point is extensive. To the east many cottages on Long Island are visible, and to the west Jersey City is in sight. Colonel Grant expressed the opinion that the spot was not of sufficient size, for should the national monument be erected there, it would be dwarfed by its surroundings.

Mayor Grace, who favored the Riverside Park for the site, then suggested a drive to that ground. The northern end of the park, opposite Fort Lee, was the spot preferred by the Mayor. This part was unfinished. The roads were incomplete, and the garden spots had yet to be laid out. The Mayor argued that the park could be built up so as to make the portion of it where the tomb will be the central point of interest, not only from the consideration of who rests there, but in scene and adornments. The party seemed to consider the spot desirable for the final resting-place of the dead hero; but afterwards examined other places. Colonel Grant left for Mt. McGregor in the evening. Before leaving he said he must submit the subject of the burial-place to his mother before a decision could be reached.

The day broke brightly on the mountain and passed without event until ten o'clock on the morning of the 28th day of July, when the train arrived at the summit of Mt. McGregor. Colonel Fred. Grant was one of the passengers upon it. He proceeded at once and alone upon his arrival to the cottage, his brother Jesse having remained behind. The Colonel immediately repaired to his mother's apartment, where the family gathered to hear the result of the Colonel's trip to and conference in New York. He detailed his movements and explained that there seemed to be reasons for the choice of a burial spot in some other than Central Park Riverside Park had at the time of General Grant's death been suggested as the spot of interment, and it seemed best to the Colonel, after seeing and hearing all, to change the place of sepulture to Riverside Park. The matter having been thus presented to the family, a conclusion was reached in accordance with the Colonel's suggestions, and he at once dictated the following dispatches:

Mt. McGregor, July 28.

W. R. Grace.—Mother takes Riverside. Temporary tomb had better be at the same place.

F. D. Grant.

Mt. McGregor, July 28.

General R. McFeely, Washington, D. C.—Mother to-day accepted Riverside Park. She wishes me to thank you for the tender of the Soldiers' Home.

F. D. Grant.

At the meeting of the Board of Aldermen of the city of New York on July 28th, President Sanger announced that a dispatch had been received from Colonel Grant that morning announcing that the family had agreed to the General being interred in Riverside Park. The following resolutions were then adopted by the board:

WHEREAS, The family of General U. S. Grant have accepted the offer of the corporation of the city of New York, for sepulture in one of the public parks of the city and have selected a site in Riverside Park for that purpose; be it therefore

*Resolved,* That the right of sepulture in said Riverside Park, be and is hereby given to General U. S. Grant and his wife upon her demise; and be it further

*Resolved,* That a proper deed of cession for the purpose designated be prepared by the counsel to the corporation when the exact locality and dimensions of the ground are fixed and the said deed be duly executed by the city authorities.

Riverside Park, where the remains of General Grant are to repose, is a narrow and irregular strip of land lying between Riverside Avenue and the Hudson River, from Seventy-second Street to One Hundred and Thirtieth Street. Between the western limits and the river, however, passes the road-bed of the Hudson River Railway. The general width of the park is about five hundred feet, while its entire length is some three miles, the area being about one hundred and seventy-eight acres, only a portion of which has been laid out in walks and drives, while the rest still retains the wild picturesqueness of nature.

The surroundings of this park are so lovely that it is believed it will ultimately become the most aristocratic residence region of New York. The ground rises to a bold bluff above the Hudson River and the views from the river drive-way are very charming, giving glimpses of the undulating, tree-covered park, the shining stretches of the river dimpled into innumerable wavelets and the Weehawken heights opposite. The drives of Riverside begin at Seventy-second Street and extend three miles to One Hundred and Twenty-ninth Street. There are several of these drives curving gracefully along the bank of the Hudson, in some places three hundred feet above the water. The bank slopes gradually to the shore and the intervening space between the drives and the river is filled with groves of tall trees.

In the letter that Mayor Grace sent to Colonel Grant suggesting Riverside Park as the best place for the General's tomb, the writer made the following points in favor of that site:

"Because of the peculiar beauty of the place in its location on the river and the fact that a monument in it would be visible far and wide. It would give a distinct characteristic to this quiet and beautiful park and such a monument as would probably be erected there would vie in beauty and fitness of location with the famous statue of Germania on the Rhine. The entire park would become peculiarly, in a sense that Central Park never can become, sacred and devoted to the memory of your father. The Park is so young that the character of its development would be largely determined and its whole future dominated by this fact. The monument would be visible from two States and for miles, both up and down the Hudson River, and would not only borrow from but lend beauty to the noble stream, and at no time could your father's remains be regarded as lying remote from nature. In the heart of a great busy city, in the rush and hurry of the life of which death and its sacredness may be forgotten, the remains of even the great dead may be passed in thoughtlessness."

Architect Mold, of the Department of Public Parks, had completed the plan for the temporary vault which was to contain the body of General Grant until the erection of a permanent tomb. It is made entirely of brick. Within it measures 12 by 7 feet. It is four feet under ground and is surmounted by a barrel arch, with two rims of brick. In front rises a cross. A large iron door gives access to the plain cemented interior. On each side are four cross-shaped openings for ventilation. The front faces the river.

The question of the resting-place of the remains of General Grant being decided, Governor Hill, of New York, issued the following invitation:

"STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
ALBANY, *July* 27, 1885.

"*To the Members of the Legislature:*

"The remains of General Grant will arrive in Albany on Tuesday, August 4 next, at four o'clock P. M., and lie in state at the Capitol until the next day at noon, when they will be taken to New York to await the burial, which is to occur in that city on the following Saturday.

"It is suggested as eminently appropriate that the Legislature should informally assemble at the Capitol on Tuesday, August 4 next, at four P. M., at the reception of the remains, and participate in the exercises on that occasion, and, if deemed desirable, to take such action during that event as may suitably express the sentiments of our State in regard to the distinguished dead, and afterwards to accompany the remains to New York and attend the funeral in a body.

"The members of the Legislature who approve of this suggestion will please be present at the time named.

"DAVID B. HILL."

The President of the United States, Grover Cleveland, put General Winfield Scott Hancock in charge of the ceremonies connected with the funeral of General Grant, and accordingly that officer issued the following order:

"HEADQUARTERS DIVISION OF THE ATLANTIC,
GOVERNOR'S ISLAND, NEW YORK CITY, *July* 29, 1885.

"I. Having been placed by the President in charge of the ceremonies connected with the funeral of ex-President of the United States General Ulysses S. Grant, and in command of the escort for the obsequies, I hereby give notice that military and civic organizations and associations intending to participate will, upon properly reporting such intention, be assigned positions in the procession, which will take place in the city of New York on Saturday, August 8, 1885.

"II. Major-General John C. Farnsworth, Adjutant-General of New York, is announced as aide, and will act as chief marshal of the obsequies of General Grant at Albany, New York, in due concert with the civil authorities, and he is charged with all details of the ceremonies and care of the remains at that place as the representative of the Major-General commanding, during his absence, and until his arrival, and is also charged with the preparation of orders to meet all contingencies there between the reception and departure of the remains.

"III. Brigadier-General Lloyd Aspinwall, late of the State National Guard, is announced as aide to the Major-General commanding in chief during the obsequies of General Grant in the city of New York, and is entrusted to establish an office in that city, the place of which he will announce, and is charged with the preparation of the routes of march for the funeral procession from the City Hall to the place of interment, and as to final dispersing, as a basis of orders for these purposes.

"IV. Brevet Major-General Martin T. McMahon, late United States Volunteers, Marshal of the United States for the Southern District of New York, is announced as aide, and is charged with the conduct of the march of the civic organizations in column as a body, and for the due dispersion after the ceremonies are concluded. He will establish an office in New York and announce the same. All such organizations desiring to take part will report directly to these headquarters, sending a duplicate of same to General McMahon, and will state title of same, name of chief officer and the number to parade.

"WINFIELD S. HANCOCK, *Major-General.*"

The sad news of the death of General Grant filled the heart of every American citizen with sorrow; from all parts of the globe came expressions of sympathy; at every gathering resolutions of condolence were offered and unanimously adopted. His old comrades, the Posts of the Grand Army of the Republic and other veterans of the Mexican and Civil Wars expressed their grief and offered their services as guards of the body at Mt. McGregor, or as participants in the funeral procession. The first elaborate floral piece was sent to Mt. McGregor by the Meade Post, No. 1, G. A. R., of Philadelphia. It was in the form of a pillow of immortelles and was five by three feet. It stood at an easy angle upon a wire frame. Gilman, the mountain artist, photographed it when it was unboxed at the depot. The ground of the pillow was white, the entire piece being fringed with feathery grasses. In the centre was a sword, the blade of which was yellow and the hilt and guard red, with purple along the edge, which gave an effect of relief from the ground. Lying across the blade was an exact reproduction in colors of the shoulder-strap belonging to the rank held by General Grant. There were four white stars on a blue ground upon the strap, while its edges were gold and purple. On either side of the sword were sprays of ripened wheat and tufts of feathery grasses bound with white satin ribbons. The inscription, which was in purple immortelles on the white ground above and below the sword and shoulder-strap, read thus: "Comrade U. S. Grant, Meade Post, No. 1, G. A. R., Philadelphia." General Grant had become a member of this post shortly before his departure for the old world.

General Burdett, the Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, addressed the following letter to Ex-President R. B. Hayes, relative to the latter's proposition regarding a national monument to the late General Grant:

"HEADQUARTERS GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC,
WASHINGTON, *July* 25, 1885.

"*Hon. R. B. Hayes, Fremont, Ohio:*

"Dear Sir and Comrade—I have just read your letter to General R. B. Buckland and others, recommending that the G. A. R. lead in raising a fund by general subscription for the erection of a national monument to General Grant. I beg to suggest that the national monument to be erected to the memory of our departed comrade will be of such proportions and cost as to be beyond the proper line of private contribution. His fellow-citizens will demand that it be paid for out of their—the national—treasury. For the credit of the nation the lesson of the Washington monument in that regard ought not to go unheeded.

"Movements initiated in cities and States together in funds or quotas of funds will result in their local application to give proper expression to local feeling. The Grand Army of the Republic may of right claim the honor of erecting its own monument to its leader and comrade. I believe it will do so. It should be the work of the individual comrades—Posts, departments and national headquarters acting as agencies only for gathering and caring for the contributions.

"Following out the Grand Army principle of 'equality in fraternity,' the sum to be given might be restricted to an equal amount for each. Ten cents per capita from our 300,000 comrades would produce $30,000. Why not provide for the erection of a statue, to be chiseled by the most skillful hand attainable, that shall tell the story of the last heroic conflict as well as of his greatest days?

"S. S. BURDETT, *Commander-in-Chief.*"

In the mean time movements were set on foot at New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati and other cities and towns to immediately raise funds with which to pay for monuments of General Grant.

Shortly after death, and before the body had been surrendered to the embalmer, a plaster cast of the face had been made by a young sculptor named Karl Gebhardt. On the afternoon of the 29th of July, it was found that the hardening process that results from embalming had begun, and the embalmers expressed the belief, established by precedent, that the body would remain in its present condition without change for at least six months. Harrison was permitted to aid in the final preparation of the body as far as possible. A suit of black broadcloth was placed upon the remains, the coat being a Prince Albert. A white linen standing collar circled the neck, and a black silk scarf was tied in a plain bow at the throat. Harrison also adjusted a pair of low-cut patent-leather slippers on the dead General's feet, when they had been incased in white stockings. Gold studs were fixed in the shirt-front, and plain gold buttons in the cuffs. When the remains had been finally attired and placed within the casket, the double-breasted coat was buttoned closely from top to bottom. The right hand was laid across the breast, and the left hand was disposed in an easy position by the side.

Colonel Fred Grant at this point entered the apartment. He approached the casket where it rested beneath the black-draped canopy, and, leaning above it some moments, studied the face of his father in silence. Then, taking in his own the right hand of the General, Colonel Grant placed upon the third finger a plain gold ring, and then replaced upon the breast the still, thin hand. Before turning away, the Colonel drew forth a small packet of mementoes and placed them in the breast-pocket of the coat. Having performed these last direct personal offices, Colonel Grant retired, and those in charge dropped the heavy plate-glass top of the casket in place, and the casket was sealed by the turning down of sixty screws that press the glass down into its fitting, which thus renders the casket air-tight. And so that evening the General's remains laid covered with an American flag. An incandescent lamp shed a mellow light about the heavy canopy, and the flag-covered casket beneath was in shadow and rest until the day of removal. In the room and beside it the men of U. S. Grant Post were on watch; the members of Wheeler Post had their vigil upon the veranda, and outside were the "regulars," who tirelessly tramped the beaten paths over the pine needles under the trees about the cottage.

The casket was what is called the "state style," and was a cloth-covered, metallic casket. It was the finest ever made and was the first one of its kind manufactured. It was six feet long, and the red cedar shell was covered with the finest purple silk velvet. The frame had heavy solid silver mountings and portals. The inside metal was highly-polished copper and the casket opened full length, the top being of fine French beveled plate glass. The inside trimmings were of light cream heavy satin, tufted, and with an elegant pillow of the same material, upon which were handsomely embroidered the initials "U. S. G." The handles were of solid silver, made especially from models and dies manufactured solely for them. The outside box was red cedar, heavily lined with lead. The outside was finely finished, with the corners and tops tastily mounted with silver ornaments and was practically indestructible. The casket was perfectly air-tight and weighed three hundred pounds.

A steel case enveloped the cedar casket. It is oval in shape, air, water and burglar-proof, and was secured by rivets. There was a door on the end for the reception of the casket, which could resist all attacks. It was eight feet long, three feet six inches high and thirty-five inches wide, and was painted with a water-proof paint.

President Cleveland, at the request of Mrs. Grant, named the following gentlemen as pall-bearers for General Grant's funeral:

General William T. Sherman, U. S. A.; Lieutenant-General Philip H. Sheridan, U. S. A.; Admiral David D. Porter, U. S. N.; Vice-Admiral Stephen C. Rowan, U. S. N.; General Joseph E. Johnston, of Virginia; General Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky; Hamilton Fish, of New York; George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts; George W. Childs, of Pennsylvania; John A. Logan, of Illinois; George Jones, of New York; Oliver Hoyt, of New York.

The President and the members of the Cabinet decided that they would attend the funeral ceremonies, and the following invitation to ex-members of his father's Cabinet was issued by Colonel Fred. Grant:

"MOUNT MCGREGOR, N. Y., *July* 31.

"The undersigned respectfully invites all ex-members of his father's Cabinet to attend the obsequies, to be held on the 8th proximo, in New York. Gentlemen accepting this invitation are respectfully requested to advise General Hancock of their intention to be present, who will assign them appropriate places in the procession.

"FRED. GRANT."

# CHAPTER XXVII.

## FINAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE FUNERAL.

The Arrangements for the Funeral—No Visitors admitted to see the Body—The Work of the Embalmers—Disrespectful Conduct of Relic Hunters—A Letter from Simon Cameron to Colonel Grant—A Tribute from the Governors of Arkansas, New Jersey and from the Society of the Cincinnati—The Family's Farewell—Private Services over General Grant's Remains—Sympathy from Confederate Soldiers—Dr. Douglas' Tribute to the Dead.

Saturday, the first day of August, was a day of disappointment. On Wednesday the remains of General Grant were exposed to the view of the guests of the hotel and their friends, and on the following two days nearly all who presented themselves were admitted; and many hundreds availed themselves of the privilege. On Friday evening Mrs. Grant gave orders that the face of the General should not be exposed to public view until Monday morning. This order was literally obeyed; even the former private secretary of General Grant, Mr. Sniffen and the wife of Rev. Dr. Newman were not allowed to do anything more than inspect the parlor in which the remains were laid. On Friday night there was a thorough inspection of the face at the suggestion of the undertaker, and Colonel Grant expressed himself entirely satisfied with the embalmer's work. The leaden hue about General Grant's face was owing largely, the undertaker said, to the unfavorable lights and shadows of the room in which the body lay.

The real reason for Mrs. Grant's order were the reports of indecorous conduct of some persons who were admitted to view the remains, and to whom nothing was too sacred, and, apparently, nothing too common, if it has the remotest connection with the life and death of General Grant, to prevent him from putting his hands upon and carrying it away by stealth. The colonnade in front of the cottage is composed of silver birch, and the marks of knives used for cutting away the bark are to be seen on every pole. On Saturday it was discovered that a piece of the lightning rod, that was placed on the cottage, had been carried off, and to this fact is traceable the very severe shock of lightning the cottage received on Thursday evening, and which, it is surprising, did not lead to more serious consequences. Even the drapery of the observation car which is to receive the remains had been cut in several places, although a military guard was placed over it.

Dr Douglas has sustained what to him is an irreparable loss, and it is indirectly attributable to this inordinate desire for relics. He is the possessor of many of the leaves of the pads on which General Grant wrote his pencil talks. In looking over his collections recently he has found out that some one has discovered a way into the side pocket of his coat and has stolen several of the more valuable of these interesting documents.

Among the many letters and telegrams received by Colonel Fred Grant was the following from Simon Cameron :

Donegal Farm, Lancaster County, Pa.

To Colonel Fred D. Grant, Mt. McGregor, N. Y.—I am glad to know that Generals Johnston, Buckner and Gordon are going to act as pall bearers with Sherman and Sheridan. Your father's prayer for peace to his country has been answered, and the last bitterness of the war wiped out forever.

SIMON CAMERON.

A laurel wreath came on Saturday from Miss Schellman, of Westminster, Md. An ebony penholder with a pen attached to it by a white ribbon, from which a card depends upon which is written "Let us have peace," "And to him is granted rest and peace eternal." Opposite upon the wreath is fastened a small golden sword and near this a card bearing these words :

"The sword and cross are both laid down,
Our hero wears the victor's crown."

Colonel and Mrs. Grant on Saturday entered the parlor together. The bodyguard at once withdrew, and the two were alone with the remains for nearly half an hour. Mrs. Grant is employed a portion of her time in draping what all through his long illness was called "the General's easy chair." It is the huge leather-covered chair in which he rested and slept. It was brought with him when he came to Mt. McGregor and will be jealously treasured by the family.

Governor Abbett, of New Jersey, issued the following proclamation :

General Ulysses S. Grant died on the morning of the 23d day of July. A nation mourns the loss of an illustrious soldier, whose history is written in the hearts of the people. Gratitude and affection will rear a monument, the grandeur of which will be a fitting tribute to the hero who lies beneath, but his eternal monument will be the Union of States preserved through his genius and the bravery of his comrades. The most glorious tribute paid to his memory will be the love and sorrow of fifty millions of freemen. When the dust of ages shall cover with forgetfulness the name and history of his brave comrades, there will still stand in the march of the centuries, clear and bright, the name and fame of U. S. Grant, the victorious leader of the Union armies.

On behalf of the people of this State I deemed it proper immediately upon his demise to drape the public buildings in mourning, order our flags at half-mast and telegraph to his family the profound sorrow and sympathy of our people. I have waited until the time and place of his funeral were determined upon and the arrangements therefore so far perfected as to enable me to take further action. All the regiments and battalions of the National Guard of the State have expressed their desire to parade in the funeral procession.

The Grand Army of the Republic in this State, under its department commander, will form part of the mighty array of mourners that will follow the remains of the hero to his grave.

The Governor and staff, the State officers and a committee of the Senate and General Assembly will accompany the remains to their final resting place. I deem it proper to set apart the day of the funeral for services in honor of the deceased. In taking this action I give expression to the wishes of all of the citizens of the State.

Therefore I, Leon Abbett, Governor of New Jersey, do hereby direct that on Saturday, the 8th day of August, all public buildings shall be closed and draped in mourning, and I earnestly request all our citizens to desist from all worldly employment and devote the day to appropriate religious services and such other demonstrations of sorrow and respect as are fitting to the occasion and to the memory of the illustrious dead.

Given under my hand and privy seal at Trenton, August 1, 1885.

LEON ABBETT, Governor.

Governor Cameron, of Virginia, issued the following proclamation:

"WHEREAS, By the death of General U. S. Grant, the country is called upon to mourn the loss of an illustrious citizen, whose deeds have made him famous throughout the world, and whose generosity in a memorable crisis of the fortunes of this State has left an indelible impression on the hearts of our people, and as it is becoming that, in common with our fellow-citizens of the Republic, Virginians should mark their sense of the National loss, and pay their tribute of respect to the memory of the ex-President and great commander of the United States armies; therefore it is ordered

"That, on Saturday next, the 8th instant, the day appointed for the funeral of General U. S. Grant, all public offices of the State be closed; that the flags of the capitol be displayed at half-mast, and that, from sunrise to sunset, guns be fired every half hour from the Capitol Square. Citizens throughout the Commonwealth are requested to observe the solemn occasion by religious services or other appropriate ceremonies."

Governor Stockley, of Delaware, issued the following proclamation:

"In recognition of the universal sorrow at the death of General Ulysses S. Grant, I recommend our citizens to cease from ordinary business pursuits on Saturday, August 8th, and unite in testifying their respect for the eminent services rendered by the illustrious soldier and citizen, and direct that the National flag be displayed from the capitol at half-mast."

The following telegraphic correspondence passed between Fitz Hugh Lee and General Hancock:

GOVERNOR'S ISLAND, N. Y., August 2.

General Fitzhugh Lee, Alexandria, Va.:—Would it be agreeable to you to be appointed an aide on the occasion of the ceremonies in connection with the obsequies of General Grant? If it would you will be so announced. Please reply by telegraph. W. S. HANCOCK, Major-General."

ALEXANDRIA, VA., August 3.

General W. S. Hancock, Mt. McGregor, N. Y.:—Your telegram received. I accept the position, because by so doing I can testify my respect for the memory of a great soldier, and thus return, as far as I can, the generous feelings he has expressed towards the soldiers of the South. FITZHUGH LEE."

At a meeting of the Tammany Society, the following resolution was adopted:

"The soldier of our age has fallen. The Tammany Society, or Columbian Order of the city of New York, in common with the rest of his countrymen, mourn his loss. Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That in the death of Ulysses S. Grant the Union has sustained the loss of a sincere and devoted friend, whose life was constantly exposed for years in his labors to preserve its integrity, and whose magnanimity and kindness to those who opposed him on battle-fields did much to assuage the bitterness remaining after a stoutly contested civil war. From Appomattox dates the end of sectionalism. Thenceforward healing from sectional wounds has gradually obliterated the marked divisions between the North and South, and no man did so much to bring about the result as Ulysses S. Grant, the soldier and President. To-day the Unionists and the Confederates are united in the universal sorrow which all citizens feel at his death, and join hands over his bier in one sacred pledge of devotion to the principles and the Union to which his life was earnestly devoted."

Governor Hughes, of Arkansas, on Saturday, issued the following proclamation:

"The death of General Grant, the brave soldier, the great civilian and unpretentious citizen, has caused universal sorrow at home and abroad. Those who followed the flag of the Union in the contest in which his fame as a soldier was won and those who were the recipients of the liberal and magnanimous terms granted by him at Appomattox will cherish his memory and mingle their tears over his bier. His memory is dear to all classes of his countrymen.

"Through respect to his memory, and in consideration of the universal sorrow at his demise, it is hereby ordered that all offices of the several departments of the State government be closed on Saturday, August 8, from half-past ten o'clock A. M., and that the flag upon the Capitol be displayed at half-mast. And it is recommended that citizens generally suspend business and attend the funeral services and ceremonies on that day. S. P. HUGHES, Governor."

General Grant was an honored member of the Society of the Cincinnati, having been elected to membership about twenty years ago. By his death the privileges of membership, which are hereditary, descend upon the eldest son, Colonel Fred. Grant, if he chooses to accept them. The following circular letter was received by Secretary General Major Asa Bird Gardner, of New York, with instructions to forward a copy to each of the State societies, viz:—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and South Carolina:

"No official notice is needed to inform the Society of the Cincinnati of the loss they have sustained in the death of their distinguished fellow-member, General U. S. Grant. Words cannot add to the world-wide appreciation of the greatness of the character of our dear associate.

"The Society of the Cincinnati, having a national grief, will ever cherish the name and memory of the great soldier and statesman.

"Members will wear the usual badge of mourning.

"HAMILTON FISH, President General."

The badge of mourning of the society is crape worn upon the left arm for thirty days. On the occasion of the obsequies on the

8th, the order was represented by an official delegation from the New York society. At the head of the column was borne a banner presented to the society in 1786 by Baron Steuben, its president at that time. A feature of the society is the extremely long terms of office to which members are elected. Hamilton Fish has officiated as president general since 1856. Major Gardner, the sixth secretary general in the course of the past one hundred years, was elected in May, 1884.

The interesting event of Sunday at Mt. McGregor has been a family service of prayer at the Grant cottage. This was the last Sunday that the family would be together with the remains of the General, and Mrs. Grant desired it should be taken advantage of and solemnized in this way. Through the coming week the nation will demand the privilege of carrying the dead. When Dr. Newman came Mrs. Grant asked him to be with the family while they gathered in the cottage parlor to say their farewell. Thus it was that about two o'clock Mrs. Grant and her daughter and three sons and their wives were in the room with the dead. Dr. Newman and wife came as well, and lastly entered little Julia, the General's granddaughter, the child of Colonel Grant.

The family surrounded the catafalque, beneath which was the calm, peaceful face of the General. Mrs. Grant from a table brought her dead husband's Bible, which she opened and passed to Mrs. Newman, who handed it to Dr. Newman. When the minister had adjusted his glasses he found that the book was opened at the eleventh chapter of Job. The chapter was read and then the clergyman re-read with tender emphasis the sixteenth to the nineteenth verses:

> Because thou shalt forget thy misery, and remember it as waters that pass away.
>
> And thine age shall be clearer than the noonday: thou shalt shine forth, thou shalt be as the morning.
>
> And thou shalt be secure, because there is hope; yea, thou shalt dig about thee, and thou shalt take thy rest in safety.
>
> Also thou shalt lie down, and none shall make thee afraid; yea, many shall make suit unto thee.

There was a slight pause, and then Dr. Newman bowed for prayer and each one present knelt down, and the silent member of the group, who lay in the shadow, was thus surrounded. The little girl of eight years seemed to appreciate the moment and also knelt silently beside her father and mother. Then the guards having withdrawn to the grove beyond hearing, a prayer of gratitude was offered up—gratitude for the beautiful character of the silent one and the influence it should exert upon all lives. There were in the prayer solemn vows to follow the example of the General in all his virtuous ways, and the supplication closed with an appeal for divine assistance and an expression of hope of a reunion. After this the entire family, there alone with their pastor, entered with him into a religious conversation, and then each and all dwelt upon reminiscences recalled of the General's last sickness. And so, after an hour, the little group arose and the last Sabbath service of the family with their dead was at an end.

Outside the cottage there was a great contrast to the quietness that prevailed within. All the railroad trains had been heavily laden with visitors from Saratoga and its neighborhood and from more distant places. The day was perfect as far as weather was concerned—sunny, but pleasantly cool; so cool, indeed, in the latter part of the afternoon as to render necessary the lighting of a log fire in the vestibule of the hotel.

There was another examination of the body on Sunday by the embalmers in the presence of Dr. Douglas, and it was unanimously conceded that the discoloration that presented itself a few days ago on the features is increasing rather than diminishing.

At an impressive meeting of Confederate officers and soldiers held at San Francisco, on the 2d day of August, to take action on General Grant's death, the following nine Southern States were represented:—Virginia, Missouri, Maryland, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Kentucky, North Carolina and Tennessee. Major C. D. Wheat, of Virginia, chairman of the meeting, expressed the sense of the meeting in the following words. He said they had assembled to do honor to a gallant soldier and patriot in the brightest sense of the terms. General Grant had been their enemy, their crushing foe, it was true, but in the hours of his victory he had proved himself their best friend and most generous benefactor. Hating him once, they now remembered him with gratitude, and in this hour of national sorrow came together as citizens of a united country to honor the dead hero of their dear and common motherland.

To-day Dr. Douglas wrote his first letter since General Grant's death. In it there is such a touching tribute to General Grant that I have begged it from the doctor for publication. This letter contains a more eloquent tribute to the character of Grant than will be found in the more elaborate and pretentious eulogies. It reads:

"MT. MCGREGOR, HOTEL BALMORAL, N. Y.,
August 2, 1885.

"My dear sister: This is the first day I have felt able to write for a long time. I have had a long and trying time, and was on the edge of an abrupt break when the death of my patient ended my vigils. It is three full months since I had a continuous night's sleep. My head was dizzy and my step very faltering. My work is ended and I have now only to follow to the grave the man I loved and for whom I have devoted my life these many months. I could not cure him, but I could by close and continuous care alleviate his sufferings and possibly prolong his life. That I think I have done. I am contented. I go from here on Tuesday with all that remains of my patient and my friend, and expect to keep close to him until he is deposited in his tomb. Nine months of close attention to him have only endeared him to me. I have learned to know him as few only can know him. The world can know him as a great general, as a successful politician, but I know him as a patient, self-sacrificing, gentle, quiet, uncomplaining sufferer, looking death calmly in the face and counting almost the hours he had to live, and those hours were studied by him that he might contribute something of benefit to some other fellow-sufferer. If he was great in his life he was even greater in his death. Not a murmur, not a moan, nor a sigh, from first to last. He died as he had lived, a true man. My heart and thoughts are too full to write more now. Affectionately, your brother. "JOHN."

Informal visits of condolence were paid the Grant family this afternoon by ex-Postmaster-General Creswell and wife and ex-Assistant Sectetary of the Interior Gorham. The embalmers have been busily engaged with the body during the entire evening. They will use coloring substances if necessary in order to have the face present a good appearance. Dr. Douglas says the countenance looks better than ever. He believes the glass lid causes the dark reflection on the features. He states that the embalming could not have been improved.

# CHAPTER XXVIII.

## REV. DR. NEWMAN'S ELOQUENT SERMON.

Simple but Impressive Service at Mount McGregor—Sermon of Rev. Dr. Newman.

General Hancock and his staff on Monday proceeded to Mt. McGregor, to take charge of the obsequies. He arrived there on a special train from Saratoga at 11.45. Before leaving the train, he issued instructions that no salute should be fired in his honor by the artillery stationed there.

The General marched at the head of his staff up the slope to the cottage. At the foot of the balcony he was met by Colonel Fred. Grant, with his hat off. The General took off his hat in return and entered the cottage. Half an hour later the doors were thrown open to the general public.

With the exception of the military feature, General Grant's funeral at Mt. McGregor was such as might have been the funeral of any leading citizen of a country town.

The cannon began to boom at sunrise, and the guns were fired at intervals during the morning.

The door leading into the room where General Grant's body was lying was left open. From it came the odor of freshly gathered flowers. A great bowl of purple, red, pink and white pond lilies, the gift of Mrs. James Arkell, with the various floral offerings of Senator Stanford and several Grand Army Posts stood out against the background of the deeply shaded room. Just at the left of the door outside was a little stand covered with a silk star-spangled banner trimmed with black. Upon this flag rested a Bible. In front of the cottage the two companies of infantry and artillery were stationed.

The blue and white uniforms of the infantry stood out in the shadows of the trees, while the red and blue uniforms of the artillery were picked out by the sun, making blazing patches of color against the background of green behind them. Upon the porch, at the right of the preacher's desk, was a group of brilliantly-uniformed artillery officers.

Three or four artillery sergeants, with swords drawn, cleared an open space in front of the orator's desk, and then stood still, as so many wooden men, during the hour and twenty-five minutes occupied by the discourse.

Just before ten o'clock a group of Grand Army men, numbering ten, the representatives of the Brooklyn Post, headed a little procession from the hotel. They were in full uniform, and walked up the porch with heads uncovered. Behind them came Dr. Newman, leaning upon the arm of Bishop Harris. Behind them came Dr. Douglas and the Rev. Mr. Agnew. These four last-named gentlemen wore great white sashes, caught with black and white rosettes upon their right shoulders. They took seats at the right of the speaker's stand. At precisely ten o'clock the services began. The members of the Grant family did not make their appearance, but remained in the room where the dead General was lying. After the funeral service they retired to the private rooms of the house and were only seen when it was time for the train to depart. The Rev. Dr. Agnew, a tall, spare man, with high forehead and partly bald, opened the exercises by reading clearly and distinctly the ninetieth Psalm. The reading was occasionally interrupted by the booming of the cannon. Then there was a prayer by Bishop Harris, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of New York. At the close he repeated the Lord's Prayer, the audience joining with him.

Mr. Camp, the well-known choir leader, came to the front holding a roll of music in his black-gloved hand, and nervously beckoned to a group of ladies who were in front. They were the soprani, Miss Whitney, of Boston; Miss Fannie Ropes, of Brooklyn, and Miss Callader, of Brooklyn; contralti, Mrs. Dr. Douglas and Mrs. Chapman; tenor, J. R. Whitney; bass, Hermann Busch. They took their positions about Mr. Camp and sang the hymn, "My Faith Looks up to Thee." A number of the country members of the audience joined in the singing. The music sounded well in the open air. A fresh breeze was then beginning to blow so that the music was heard distinctily at the station, nearly three hundred feet away.

After this Dr. Newman arose to begin his discourse. He was dressed in a close-fitting frock suit of dark cloth, with a huge white tie tied in a wide bow under his double smooth-shaven chin. He held a mass of manuscript in his hands as he explained the object of his discourse. He told in a word what he was going to say, and then he began to read from his manuscript. Dr Newman's discourse was a pleasant surprise to many, as it contained many interesting things, for he was able to give for the first time a number of new writings of General Grant. Dr. Newman's recital of the farewell to Mrs. Grant, found in the General's pocket after his death and written secretly two weeks before that event, was a most interesting part of the discourse.

Dr. Newman preached from the text:

"Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."—Matthew xxv. 21.

"Some comrade in arms," he said, "shall speak of the splendor of his martial genius; some statesman shall review the majesty of his civil administration; some historian shall place him on the pedestal of his renown, but let me, as the minister of religion, dwell upon that great character which will ever be his crown of glory and the imperishable heritage of the country he loved so well.

"You have seen him in the fury of battle, in the glory of victory, in the chair of state; you have seen him the guest of the world, honored by crowned heads and sceptred hands, by renowned warriors and eminent statesmen, by foremost scholars and adoring peoples; you have seen him in the quiet of private life, undistinguished from his fellow-men other than by those virtues which made him conspicuous and by that fame which came from honorable deeds; you have seen him in the sorrow of misfortune, such as has often come to the best and wisest financiers in the world; you have seen him in the suffering of the sick room through nine weary months, enduring the indescribable tortures of a malignant disease and that without a murmur; and to day you see him in the repose of death in the undisturbed sleep of the just. And could you rend the veil that obscures our mortal vision, you would see him in his better form of immortality, with all his mighty faculties in full play, unchanged in his individuality, the same calm, earnest, sincere soul, purified and exalted and intent on the realities of his better life.

"Shall we inquire why the land is filled with lamentation from the savannas of the South to the snow-capped hills of the North, and from where the Atlantic moans along its ancient coast to where the Pacific sobs on its golden shore; why poets lament, orators deplore, editors deprecate and ministers turn to the Unseen for consolation; why kingdoms and empires, and republics stand with our great nation as chief mourners around this bier?

"Who is dead? Oh! ye sobbing winds of Mt. McGregor that fanned his brow, tell it not. Whisper it not, ye mountain pines that shaded his form. And keep ye silent, Oh! ye summer skies of love and beauty that smiled upon him.

"And what were the elements of that character, so unique, symmetrical and now immortal? God had endowed him with an extraordinary intellect. For forty years he was hidden in comparative obscurity, giving no indications of his wondrous capacity; but in those four decades he was maturing, and at the appointed time God lifted the veil of obscurity, called upon him to save a nation and give a new direction to the civilization of the world. How calm his judgment, how clean and quick and accurate his imagination, how vast and tenacious his memory! Reason was his dominant faculty. He was a natural logician. He could descend to the smallest details and rise to the highest generalizations.

His wonderful understanding was like the tent in story; fold it and it was a toy in the hand of a child, spread it and the mighty armies of a republic could repose in its shade. He could comprehend a continent with greater ease than others could master an island. Under his vast and comprehensive plans a continent shook with the tramp of advancing armies. As out of some immense mental reservoir there came a fertility of resources displayed in a hundred battles, in the greatest emergencies and in a threefold campaign carried forward at the same time without confusion, and each the part of one stupendous whole. The grandest campaigns are often defeats, the most brilliant plans are unconsummated, the most wished-for opportunities are unrealized, because baffled by the unexpected at the very moment of expected fulfillment. But he appeared greatest in the presence of the unforeseen. Then came an inspiration as resistless as the march of a whirlwind, as when on the second night of the battle of the Wilderness, when he changed the entire front of the line of battle, and quietly said in response to a messenger, 'If Lee is in my rear, I am in his.' This man, pre-eminent by the happy combination of both nature and Providence, rose superior in the supreme moment, forced all things to do his bidding, and, like another Joshua, could have commanded sun and moon to stand still to illuminate his final path to victory. He imparted to all his own spirit and all things became possible to his faith. The nation felt her mighty change, and the rebellion went down beneath the power of one master mind. He was the logician of war. He conquered by logic. He reasoned out his victories. In all the annals of war there is no such splendid reasoning on the certainty of results. Others have conquered by the superiority of material force, but he by the superiority of mind over mind. Alas! alas! that he can no longer think for us.

"From this better nature and higher mission as a warrior sprang his conduct toward the vanquished. He had no hatred in his heart. His heart was as tender as a woman's. He was not vindictive. His holy evangel to the nation was: 'Let us have peace.' Hence, toward the close of the war, those who had fought against him saw that there was no safety but in the arms of their conqueror. In his dying chamber he grasped the hand of him whose sword was the first he had won, and said: 'I have witnessed since my sickness just what I wished to see ever since the war, harmony and good feeling between the sections.' On Holy Easter he sent forth this tender message: 'I desire the good will of all, whether hitherto my friends or not.' His was the song of the angels: 'On earth peace, good will toward men.'

"This has been the softening ministry of his sufferings to his countrymen. God permitted him to see this glorious consummation. Our sorrow is national in the broadest sense. And to-day, where the magnolia blooms and the palmetto grows, the 'men in gray' weep as over the death of their best friend. And had he lived to see a foreign foe invade our shores North and South would have chosen him to lead us to defend our liberty.

"The time will come when men everywhere will recognize the greatness and beneficence of his administration as President of the United States. When the memories of party strife shall have been forgotten; when the disappointed aspirations for office shall have ceased to fester; when the rivals for place and power are no more: then, as comes the sun from the mist of the morning, so shall his administration appear in greatest splendor. Great and beneficent as were his measures of reconstruction, amendments to the constitution, of finance, of the improvement of the laboring classes, of the just treatment of the Indians, of the elevation of the freedmen, of the promotion of education, and of the concessions he compelled foreign powers to make, yet, in the interest of universal peace, in the ultimate recognition of the brotherhood of nations, in the advancement of Christian civilization in all the earth, the Treaty of Washington will be esteemed of immeasurable grandeur and beneficence, not to be estimated by millions of dollars, but by the possibility and prophecy that all international disputes may be adjusted by peaceful arbitration, when nations shall learn war no more. Such was his dream of the future, expressed to the International Arbitration Union in Birmingham, England, when he said: 'Nothing would afford me greater happiness than to know, as I believe will be the case, that at some future day the nations of the earth will agree upon some sort of congress which shall take cognizance of international questions of difficulty, and whose decisions will be as binding as the decision of our Supreme Court is binding upon us.'

"And whether in camp or Cabinet, in private or public, at home or abroad, how pure and commendable his moral character! Life in the camp has proved ruinous to the morals of the greatest of warriors. The excitement of a life devoted to arms, the scenes of excess and plunder to which a soldier is exposed, the absence of the restraints of home and Church, tend to the worst of passions and to the corruption of the best morals. But here in the presence of the dead, whose ears are forever deaf to our praise or censure, let it be our grateful duty to record that after five years in camp and field he returned to his home without a stain upon his character. Among ancient or modern warriors where shall we find his superior in moral elevation? Given to no excess himself, he sternly rebuked it in others. He never took the name of his Creator in vain, and an impure story never polluted his lips. He assured me, as his pastor, that were he disposed to swear he would be compelled to pause to phrase the sentence. Such was the purity of his thought-life that he has been seen to blush and withdraw from the companionship of those who had presumed to relate a salacious story in his presence.

" His sense of justice was equalled only by his love of truth. He preferred honor to wealth and poverty to riches not his own. Oh, Americans, think of the pride of your nation, the glory of your age and the object of the world's admiration, having nothing to bequeath to those he loved, save his good name, and that heaven admitted to probate without the whisper of contention. When restored to the army as General and retired on full pay he was deeply touched; and taking the wife of his youth by the hand he read the telegram which announced the fact, while, more eloquent than words, tears of gratitude to the nation he loved moistened those cheeks never blanched with fear.

" Grant was not a stoic, insensible alike to pain and pleasure, indifferent to public opinion or careless about his honor or his rights. He loved the praise of men, when the reward of honorable action. He was a sensitive, high-spirited, manly man, who had the will and the courage to contend to the last for what was his due. If he reviled not when reviled, he accepted the divine philosophy that a 'soft answer turneth away wrath.' If he was patient under misrepresentation, he trusted him who said, 'Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.' Was he silent under reproach? He preferred the greater satisfaction of the reversion of public opinion. Only those permitted to hear the whispers of his sensitive heart knew the grief and anguish he experienced when maligned by ignorance, prejudice and disappointed aspirants. He had meekness, but it was not the base surrender of self-respect. His indignation could burn like a mountain on fire, but he never permitted himself to be consumed by its volcanic eruptions. He knew his enemies and treated them with a withering silence that has passed into a proverb. He knew his friends and true to his knightly soul, supported them in 'good report and evil.' But he was never the companion of bad men; and when he discovered in a pretended friend deception, or dishonesty, or immorality, he shook him off as Christ rejected Judas. He discerned charity with the precision of a seer. His great subordinates are in proof. His chief associates in the affairs of State are illustrations. And the marvel of the ages will be that through a long and responsible public career he was so seldom deceived when on the highest authority it is said: 'Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light' to deceive the very elect. It has been the ill-fortune of the best and wisest of men, from •Moses to David, from David to Paul, from Paul to Luther, to be deceived by pretended friends. Cæsar had his Brutus. Washington had his Arnold. Christ had his Judas.

"Oh! great soul, forgive our impatience; forget our lack of confidence; blot from thy memory our cruel censures. Thou wert wiser and kindlier and better than we. We did it in the ardor of our patriotism and in our love of liberty. And from the serene heavens into which thou hast gone, join our song as we praise that God who gave thee the victory and us a redeemed nation.

"The martyrs of one age are the prophets of the next. Fame succeeds defamation. Time changes all things. Washington endured a like ordeal. His Neutrality Proclamation touching the war between France and England and his treaty with England gave mortal offense. His action was denounced in Philadelphia, New York and Boston. His mock funeral was enacted in Philadelphia. The treaty was burned in public squares. His character was aspersed. He was declared destitute of merit as a statesman. He was charged with having violated the Constitution; with having drawn from the public treasury for his private use, and his impeachment was publicly suggested. Time has changed the verdict of the people. He is now enthroned in the hearts of his countrymen; and so shall his illustrious successor forever dwell in the grateful affections of the American people.

"And where, in all the annals of our national life, shall we find another, save the sage of Mount Vernon, who was so truly a typical American? Is it true that his personal qualities were not brilliant; that his salient points were not conspicuous; that in running parallels between him and other men of fame, a feeling of disappointment is experienced because there is not on the surface some prodigious element of power and greatness? Yet he had this double advantage over all this world's heroes—he possessed the solid virtues of true greatness in a larger degree than other men of renown and possessed them in greater harmony of proportions. Some heroes have been men of singular virtue in particular lines of conduct, but this foremost American possessed all these and other virtues in happy combination, not like single gems brilliant by isolation, but like jewels in a crown of glory united by the golden band of a complete character. What humility amid such admiration; what meekness amid such provocation; what fidelity amid such temptations; what contentment amid such adversity; what sincerity amid such deception; what 'Faith, Hope and Charity' amid such suffering! Temperate without austerity; cautious without fear; brave without rashness; serious without melancholy; cheerful without frivolity. His constancy was not obstinacy; his adaptation was not fickleness; his hopefulness was not Utopian. His love of justice was equalled only by his delight in compassion, and neither was sacrificed to the other. His self-advancement was subordinated to the public good. His integrity was never questioned; his honesty was above suspicion; his private life and public career were at once reputable to himself and honorable to his country.

"As he was the typical American, should we be surprised to find his was the typical American home? May we lift the curtain and look upon the holy privacy of that once unbroken household? Oh! the mutual and reciprocal love of wedded life within those sacred precincts. Husband and wife the happy supplement of each other, their characters blending in sweetest harmony, like the blended colors in the bow of promise. He, strength, dignity and courage; she, gentleness grace and purity. He, the Doric column to sustain; she, the Corinthian column to beautify. He, the oak to support; she, the ivy to entwine. In their life of deathless love, their happiness lay like an ocean of pearls and diamonds in the embrace of the future. He, unhappy without her presence; she, desolate without his society. She, pure, high-minded, discriminating, ardent, loving, intelligent; he confided to her his innermost soul and blessed her with his best and unfailing love. She shared his trials and his triumphs, his sorrows and his joys, his toils and his rewards. How tender was that scene in the early dawn of that April day, when all thought the long-expected end had come; he gave her his watch and tenderly caressed her hand. It was all the great soldier had to give to the wife of his youth. And the dying hero whispered; 'I did not have you wait upon me, because I knew it would distress you; but now the end draws nigh.' And out from the 'swellings of Jordan' he rushed back to the shore of life to write this tender message to his son: 'Wherever I am buried, promise me that your mother shall be buried by my side.' It is all a wife could ask; it is all a husband could wish. Lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they shall not be divided. Side by side they shall sleep in the same tomb and she shall share with him whatever homage future ages shall pay at his national shrine. It was his love for her that lifted his intellect above the ceaseless tortures of a malignant disease and threw oblivion over the sense of excruciating pain, that he might write his 'Personal Memoirs,' that she should not want when he was gone.

"And how tender was his care. He thought not of himself, but of her. To his son he said: 'I hope mother will bear up bravely.' To quiet her anxiety he wrote: 'Do as I do; take it quietly. I give myself not the least concern. If I knew the end was to be to-morrow, I would try just as hard to get rest in the meantime.' Would she keep holy vigils through the livelong night? He wrote her: 'Go to sleep and feel happy; that is what I want to do, and am going to try for. I am happy when out of pain. Consider how happy you ought to be. Good night!'

"Did she seek to divert his mind from his sufferings by recalling the victories of the past? He replied: 'This is the anniversary of the battle of Vicksburg, that is a fact. I had not thought of it before. It has been an important anniversary to us on two other occasions—one when our only daughter was born, and subsequently to Vicksburg, when we had a grandson born on that day.'

"Was hers a laudable desire that the forthcoming Memoirs should be inscribed to her? Yet she surrendered her claim to the magnanimity that inspired him to write: 'It is a great deal better that it should be dedicated as it is. I made what reputation I have as a soldier. The troops engaged on both sides are yet living. As it is, the dedication is to those we fought against as well as those we fought with. It may serve a purpose in restoring harmony. If it does, it is of more importance than to gratify a little vanity. You will die; it is hoped the book will live. After you and the soldiers who fought are all gone the dedication will have more value than now.'

"And such was the tenderness of his love and solicitude for her and hers he surprised her by a letter found after his death. It came as a message to her from him after he had gone. When his spirit had returned to the God who gave it there was found secreted in his robe his last letter to her, enveloped, sealed and addressed. He had written it betimes, written it secretly, and carried the sacred missive day after day during fourteen days, knowing that she would find it at last. In it he poured forth his soul in love for her and solicitude for their children:

> "Look after our dear children and direct them in the paths of rectitude. It would distress me far more to think that one of them could depart from an honorable, upright and virtuous life than it would to know that they were prostrated on a bed of sickness, from which they were never to arise alive. They have never given us any cause for alarm on their account, and I earnestly pray they never will.
>
> "With these few injunctions and the knowledge I have of your love and affection, and of the dutiful affection of all our children, I bid you a final farewell until we meet in another and, I trust, a better world. You will find this on my person after my demise.
>
> "Mt. McGregor, July 9, 1885.

"If such was his character, such his life, such his home, what were the consolations that sustained him in sickness and cheered him in death? Was life to him a 'walking shadow' and death an endless dream? Was his calmness in suffering born of stoical philosophy or inspired by Christian fortitude? Were his love and hope limited by earth and time or destined to live forever? Reared in the Methodist Episcopal Church and baptized in his last illness by one of her ministers, his religious nature was sincere, calm and steadfast. The principles of Christianity were deeply engrafted upon his spirit. Firm but never demonstrative, he was not a man of religious pretense. His life was his profession. He knew that Christianity had nothing to gain from him beyond the influence of a 'well-ordered life and a godly conversation,' but that he had everything to gain from the power and promises of our Lord. More than in all things else he was taciturn touching his religious faith and experience, not, however, from doubt and fear, but from mental characteristics. The keenest, closest, broadest of all observers, he was the most silent of men. He lived within himself. His thought life was most intense. His memory and imagination were picture galleries of the world and libraries of treasured thought. He was a world to himself. His most intimate friends knew him only in part. He was fully and best known only to the wife of his bosom and the children of his loins. To them the man of iron will and nerve of steel was gentle, tender and confiding, and to them he unfolded his beautiful religious life.

"On the 18th of April he said to me: 'I believe in the Holy Scriptures, and who so lives by them will be benefited thereby; men may differ as to the interpretation, which is human; but the Scriptures are man's best guide.' He revered their source, recognized their influence, responded to their requisitions, trusted in their promises and found consolation in their hopes. His faith in God as the Sovereign Ruler and the Father Almighty was simple as a child's and mighty as a prophet's. Doing nothing for show, yet he made public recognition of God by his faithful and conscientious attendance upon divine worship. No public man heard more sermons than he, and he was the best of hearers. Whether in the obscurity of Galena, or in the conspicuousness of Washington, or in the private walks of life in New York, he was in his pew on the Lord's Day. And his pastor was always sure of his presence on a stormy Sabbath. His faithful attendance at church was largely inspired by his respect for the Sabbath Day. On Monday, April 20, he said to me: 'I did not go riding yesterday, although invited and permitted by my physicians, because it was the Lord's Day, and because I felt that if a relapse should set in the people who are praying for me would feel that I was not helping their faith by riding out on Sunday.' And on a Saturday night, to divert his attention from pain and uneasiness, his eldest son suggested some innocent diversion, but when informed that it was near midnight the honored father replied: 'It is too near the Sabbath to begin any diversion.'

"He was a man of prayer. It was on Sabbath evening, March 22, when alone with Mrs. Grant, that his pastor entered, and the General with tenderest appreciation and gratitude referred to the many prayers offered for him and mentioned societies and little children who had promised to pray for him daily; and then, in answer to his minister's suggestion that we should join that universal prayer, he replied with emphasis, 'Yes;' and at the conclusion of our supplication the illustrious invalid responded, 'Amen!'" That amen by that silent man was more significant than volumes by others. But it was his custom and habit to call to prayers. On March 27, late in the evening, he requested all to enter his room for devotions, and made a special request for the presence of his 'beloved physician' and his friend Romero. And on this mount, to be hereafter hallowed ground, and where his monument shall rise, in grandeur, he said to an honored priest of another church:

"I know and feel very grateful to the Christian people of the land for their prayers on my behalf. There is no sect or religion as shown in the Old or New Testaments to which this does not apply. Catholics, Protestants and Jews, and all the good people of all nations, of all politics as well as religions and all nationalities, seem to have united in wishing or praying for my improvement. I am a great sufferer all the time, but the facts you have related are compensation for much of it. All that I can do is to pray that the prayers of all these good people may be answered so far as to have us meet in another and a better world.

"U. S. GRANT.

"July 8, 1885.

"He was not a bigot. Bigotry was no part of his noble and generous nature. While he demanded religion as the safeguard of a free people, he accorded to all the largest freedom of faith and worship. He was without prejudice; he claimed that public education should be non-sectarian, but not non-religious. His Des Moines public speech on education was not against the Roman Catholic Church but against ignorance and superstition. The order issued during the War excluding certain Jewish traders from a given military district did not originate with him but came from higher authority, and was not against the religion of the Jews.

"Strangers might regard him indifferent to the needy, yet the poor will rise up and call him blessed. Many were the pensioners on his kindly bounty. He gave his goods to feed the poor. While President he heard his pastor, on 'Active Christianity,' and in the discourse mention was made of a soldier's widow, sick and poor, and of a blind man in pressing want. He had just reached the White House, when he sent me back this card with the money: 'Please give $10 to the blind man and $10 to the soldier's widow.' On a Christmas eve he wrote me thus:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, Dec. 24, 1869.

"DEAR DOCTOR: Please find inclosed my check for $100, for distribution among the poor, and don't forget 'the Ragged Schools' on the Island. Yours truly,

"U. S. GRANT.

"In private, unseen life he bore many of the fruits of the Spirit. He loved his enemies not as he loved his friends, but he loved them as enemies by doing them good as he had opportunity. Of all men known in a pastoral experience of thirty years, he displayed the spirit of forgiveness more than any other man. He caught the spirit of the Saviour's prayer: 'Father forgive them; they know not what they do.' There is one high in official position in our nation who had traduced him at the point of honor, whereat a great soldier is most sensitive, and the wrong done was made public to the mortification of all. Grieved at what he had done, and confined to his sick-room, he who had offended was nigh unto death. But himself a man of proud and sensitive spirit, he sighed for reconciliation. 'Would the President forgive the offense and call on the sick?' anxiously asked interested friends. A suggestion from me that it would be a Christian act to call was sufficient. The call was made; the sick man revived, and old friendship was restored. And, rising to a magnanimity worthy a saint, he would not withhold an honor due, even from those who had done him a wrong. Who does not regret the death of such a man? Heaven may be richer, but earth is poorer. On one of those delusive April days when hope revived in all our hearts I said to him: 'You are a man of Providence; God made you the instrument to save our nation, and he may have a great spiritual mission to accomplish by you and may raise you up.' In the most solemn and impressive manner, with a mind clear and a voice distinct, he replied: 'I do not wish to proclaim it, but should he spare my life it is my intention and resolve to throw all my influence by my example in that direction.'

"Oh! who would not even dare to die to do so much for mankind? And this was his consolation. When near his end he sought to cheer that precious woman who loved him as her life. 'You ought to feel happy under any circumstances. My expected death called forth expressions of sincerest kindness from all the people of all sections of the country. The Confederate soldier vied with the Union soldier in sounding my praise. The Protestant, the Catholic and the Jew appointed days for universal prayer in my behalf. All societies passed resolutions of sympathy for me and petitions that I might recover. It looked as if my sickness had had something to do to bring about harmony between the sections. The attention of the public has been called to your children and they have been found to pass muster. Apparently I have accomplished more while apparently dying than it falls to the lot of most men to be able to do.' Oh! let me live the life of the righteous and let my last end be like his!

"And where in all the annals of the Church shall we find a dying hour so full of divine repose? His calm faith in a future state was undisturbed by anxious doubt. His suffering and wasted body was but the casket for the resplendent jewel of his soul, and when death ruthlessly broke that precious casket an angel carried the jewel to the skies to lay it at the Saviour's feet. In the early light of April 1, when all thought the end was come, the sufferer said to me: 'Doctor, I am going.'

" 'I hope the prospect of the future is clear and bright,' was my response; and the answer came: 'Yes; oh, yes.' Then followed a scene of infinite tenderness. The honored wife, the precious daughter, the devoted sons and their wives, each in turn approached and he tenderly kissed them. "Do you know me, darling?' was the loving wife's inquiry, and he whispered back: 'Certainly I do, and bless you all in my heart.' Such love melted the marble heart of death and the 'King of Terrors' fled affrighted. The sufferer revived. Heaven added months to a life so dear to us all. When he had recovered sufficiently I asked him: 'What was the supreme thought on your mind when eternity seemed so near?'

" 'The comfort of the consciousness that I had tried to live a good and honorable life,' was the response which revealed the hidden life of his soul. Again the angel of death cast his shadow over the one a nation loved. Amid the gathering gloom I said: 'You have many awaiting you on the other side.'

"I wish they would come and not linger long,' was the answer of his Christian faith and hope. They came at last. They came to greet him with the kiss of immortality. They came to escort the conqueror over the 'last enemy' to a coronation never seen on thrones of earthly power and glory. Who came? His martyred friend, Lincoln? His companion-in-arms, McPherson? His faithful Chief of Staff Rawlins? His great predecessor in camp and Cabinet, Washington? And did not all who had died for liberty come? O calm, brave, heroic soul, sing thou the song of Christian triumph: 'O death, where is thy sting; O grave, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory, through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

"And that victory was at hand. From his view on Monday at the eastern outlook he was to ascend to behold a grander vision; Tuesday came and went. Night drew on apace and death seemed imminent. Around his chair we knelt in prayer for some divine manifestation of comfort. Our prayer was heard. The sufferer revived. Again he wrote messages of love and wisdom. The night wore away. Wednesday dawned on hill and dale. Hope revived. His intellect was clear and his consciousness was supreme. Again he wrote, and again he whispered the wishes of his heart, As came the eventide, so came his last night. From out of that chair wherein he sat and suffered, and wrote and prayed, tenderly he was carried to that couch from which he was never to rise. Around him we gathered and bowed in prayer to commend his departing spirit to the love and mercy of Him who gave it. He answered in monosyllables to questions for his comfort. The brain was the last to die. All were watchers on that memorable night. Recognitions were exchanged. A peaceful death and consciousness to the last breath were granted unto him. The last night had passed.

"'Tis morning. The stars have melted into the coming light. The rosy-fingered morn lifts the drapery of the night. The distant mountains stand forth aglow. The soft, pure light of early dawn covers earth and sky. The dewdrop sparkles on the grass and in the daisy's cup. The birds from their sylvan coverts carol the melody of a thousand songs. The world rejoices, and its many minstrels challenge the harpers of the sky. In an humble cottage, prone upon his couch, lies our Old Commander. He is dying.

"'Tis morning, and in the light of that day thousands of earnest faces flash with renewed concern. From many a shaded lane and mountain slope, from many a farm-house and splendid mansion, eager eyes look toward the mount of suffering and breathe a prayer to God for the one we loved. Alas! he is dead.

"'Tis morning. It is the promise of a brighter day. The trumpeters of the skies are sounding the reveille. Their notes have reached the earth. The notes have reached our General's ear. He has gone to join the triumphant host. 'Tis morning in Heaven!"

After the close of his discourse, Mr. Camp led in the singing of "Nearer, My God, to Thee." Then came a brief benediction by Bishop Harris, and the preliminary services were ended.

At 12-45 the two companies of artillery placed themselves in position at the left of the cottage, with arms reversed. Two buglers stood at the head of the line. At a signal from the officer they began to play a dirge, which sounded like a wail as it echoed through the pine trees. The soldiers moved slowly, and as they did eight members of the Grand Army appeared at the door carrying the purple-covered, silver-trimmed casket containing the body of General Grant. In front of the casket was the undertaker, behind whom came the clergyman and Dr. Douglas. Behind the casket marched a detachment of Grand Army men. Just behind them were Gen. Sherman, with Col. Fred. Grant upon his arm, and behind them came Jesse and Ulysses, Jr. Next were Gen. Frederick Dent, a brother of Mrs. Grant, and Dr. Sharpe, a brother-in-law, Gen. Creswell and Senor Romero. After them were Gen. Hancock and his staff, with the visitors who came up with them.

# CHAPTER XXIX.

## GENERAL GRANT'S LAST JOURNEY.

Starting with the Body from Mt. McGregor—Received at Albany by Governor Hill—The Funeral Procession up Capitol Hill—Great Crowds Look upon the Face of the Dead Hero—The Sons at the Coffin—England's Warm Tribute to Grant—Sermon of Canon Farrar in Westminster Abbey, London.

THE transfer of the casket to the funeral car was made without delay. In a few moments the party was on board, and the train started away without a sound. It disappeared around the curve, leaving Mt. McGregor once more in quiet. Mrs. Grant succumbed to the excitement of the day very soon after the departure of the train. It had been arranged that the ladies of the family should leave at 3 o'clock and go directly to New York. Mrs. Grant thought, however, that she was unequal to the journey.

The car upon which the beautiful purple casket was placed has heretofore been used on this queer little mountain road for "observation" purposes. It was built without sides in order that passengers might command unbroken views of the beauties of the country. Uprights had been set at its four corners and along its length on either side, which formed the framework for a canopy of mourning. Beneath this canopy the casket was placed. Attached to the funeral car were six narrow-gauge coaches. The first was occupied by Battery A, of the Fifth Artillery; the second by Company E, of the Twelfth Infantry; the third by the three sons of Gen. Grant, Dr. Newman, Dr. Douglas, Gen. Sherman, Gen. Horace Porter and the two faithful servants, Harrison and Henry; the fourth by Gen. Hancock and his staff; the fifth by a few privileged guests, including Mr. Drexel and the members of his family, and the sixth by representatives of the press.

The smoke from the locomotive had been seen in Saratoga, and when suddenly a bend in the road brought the funeral train in sight of that fashionable watering place there echoed upon the air the sound of artillery. A United States battery from Boston was established in a field near the Saratoga station. Near the right of the track were corn-fields which had been taken possession of by the public. The Mt. McGregor Railway depot in Saratoga is at Broadway, but the intelligence that the transfer of the remains from the narrow to the broad gauge road was to be made not at the station but at a considerable distance up the track, had in some way become generally known, and a thousand people had tramped across lots, through gardens and fields, to reach the spot. Private carriages, landaus, victorias and dog-carts had found their way across and were drawn up, their horses snorting at the sound of the cannon on the cliff at the right of the railroad. Close down along the edge of the track were members of the G. A. R. with muskets at "present arms."

The little mountain train halted close beside the track of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad, whereon was standing the Government funeral train. An engine completely wrapped—smoke-stack, man-house and all—in heavy black cloth stood at the head of a train of nine cars, all of which were not draped, but entirely covered with the cloth of mourning. The transfer of the remains from the Mt. McGregor cars to the funeral train was quickly made. The two companies of regulars were drawn up in line before the open door of the Woodlawn. The two buglers stirred the air with the notes of the same mournful melody—"The Dead March in Saul"—that had made the removal of the body from the cottage on the mountain so exquisitely pathetic. The officers of the army and the black-clothed civilians stood with uncovered heads, and the Brooklyn veterans tenderly transferred the casket from the little car to the larger one. When placed in the funeral car it rested upon a stand about a foot in height over which was spread the folds of the American flag. The broadside doors leading into the funeral car were left open so that all the people who lined the road through the city of Saratoga were able to catch a glimpse of the casket as the train moved by.

Following the Woodlawn were three parlor cars and following these were four ordinary coaches. In the first of the parlor cars were seated the three Grant brothers, with Generals Sherman and Porter, Dr. Newman, Dr. Douglas, the faithful body servants. General Hancock and his staff occupied the second car. The third was intended for and was to have been occupied, on the trip to New York, by Governor Hill and the members of his official family, but in the absence of the Governor at Saratoga was taken possession of by several members of the Albany City Council, who wore huge mourning badges on their bosoms and looked lugubrious enough to be among the mourners in the first coach. The next car was occupied by the members of the press, after which followed the regular troops.

The Brooklyn Guard of Honor and the six men of the Loyal Legion, with a detachment of regulars, entered the dead car, also two men of Wheeler Post, G. A. R. Soon after 2 o'clock Superintendent Voorhees bade Conductor Thornton give the signal to start, and the impressive and heavy train moved through the throngs and away from Saratoga.

At the Broadway crossing the first adequate idea of the popular outpouring of the people to witness the passage of the funeral train was given. Broadway was tightly jammed for a distance of several hundred feet on either side of the track by private carriages and public hacks, and an immense multitude of eager-faced spectators. Meantime the church bells were tolling, and echoing after the slowly moving train came the faint sound of the minute guns. The distance from Saratoga to Albany is thirty-nine miles. The schedule time for the train was one hour and twenty minutes. As Saratoga station had been left a moment or two ahead of time it was necessary, the military programme permitting of no deviation, that this gain should be lost before Ballston was reached. The long black procession, led by its crape-covered locomotive, therefore moved at a snail's pace past the green garden of the United States Hotel and out beyond the limits of the pleasure-loving city. Ballston Spa was reached at 2.35. An immense crowd had assembled on the long range of the station platform. The church bells at Ballston were tolling and manifestations of public grief were seen upon all sides. At Mechanicsville the cheap tenements and little dwellings that skirt the railroad track, boldly flaunted the red, white and blue colors from their colorless fronts, while the inhabitants stood with bared heads at the steps of their dwellings. At West Waterford it was the same. Its single street was choked up with spectators, except in the central strip where the iron tracks ran through. It seemed to be the aim of the people both here and at the flourishing town of Cohoes to place themselves within arm's reach of the funeral train and touch its sombre habiliments.

In passing Round Lake, at 2:50, the platform was packed with school children, who held up black bordered flags as the train passed. There were the same silent crowds at Waterford. One family living near the station at Waterford were gathered about a boy who wore a mourning cap and held aloft a banner, evidently home made, on which the black letters " U. S. G." on a white ground had been sewed. From Cohoes, which the train passed at 3:20, until Albany was reached, at 3:45, the sides of the track were lined with people, and there were crowds at short distances apart. The road crossings and stations were simply packed with people. Vacant cars along the tracks were filled, and so were the roofs of factories and of houses—wherever foothold could be had people were there. The same signs of general sorrow and the same decorous regard for the solemnity of the occasion that had been marked along earlier parts of the trip were observed to the end.

From early morning the streets of Albany resounded with the beats of muffled drums. Companies and battalions in uniforms, commands of the Grand Army and Loyal Legion, wearing their insignia, and civic bodies in sober black, tramped to their rendezvous in the streets above and below the railroad station. The three divisions into which the funeral procession was formed were in position and patiently waiting two hours before the funeral train arrived. from Mt. McGregor. Broadway, North Pearl and State streets were lined with the citizens and the visitors, who came in by thousands from Massachusetts and from the country around the capital city. Special trains were run over all the railroads to accommodate them.

### ENGLAND'S WARM TRIBUTE.

In far-off London, on the 4th of August, the mourners gathered in Westminster Abbey and listened to a most eloquent address from the eminent Canon Farrar.

The Grant memorial service in Westminster Abbey was an imposing event in the history of England. The edifice was crowded with a congregation, nearly every member of which was a distinguished person. The order of the service was as follows:

1. Schubert's "Funeral March."
2. The funeral procession up the nave of the cathedral to the choir.
3. The opening of the burial service.
4. The Ninetieth Psalm.
5. The day's lesson.
6. Funeral sermon by Canon Farrar.
7. Spohr's anthem, "Blest are the departed."
8. Handel's anthem, "His Body is Buried in Peace."
9. The two concluding prayers of the burial service.
10. The blessing.
11. The "Dead March" in Saul.

The funeral address, delivered by Canon Farrar, was most impressive, and was listened to in almost breathless silence. The effect of this sermon, delivered by one of the most extraordinary English ecclesiastics that ever lived, in England's peculiar and most sacred temple, over the greatest soldier produced by a former British colony made by rebellion independent and powerful among the countries of the world, and to-day the mother country's greatest rival among nations, was simply indescribable. Among the distinguished Englishmen present were Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, the Earl of Iddesleigh, Earl Cranbrook, the Right Hon. Mr. Forster, Sir Lyon Playfair, and a great number of peers and members of the House of Commons. There were also present Prime Minister Salisbury, the Duke of Cambridge, Commander in-Chief of the British Army; the Marquis of Lorne, Gen. Lord Wolseley and Senor Martinez, Chilian Ambassador to England. Among the distinguished Americans present were Chief-Justice Waite, ex-Attorney-General Benjamin H. Brewster, Senator Edmunds, Senator Hawley, Mr. Bancroft Davis, the Rev. Charles Bridgman, Consul-General Waller and Messrs. Morgan, Field, Marble, Smalley and Potter. Queen Victoria was represented at the service by an equerry. The Prince of Wales, the Duke of Connaught and the Duke of Edinburgh were also represented by equerries. The British Army was represented by 16 staff officers. The Prince and Princess Teck, the Rev. Dr. Newman Hall, Bishop Hurst and Gen. Alison were also among those who attended the service. All the members of the American Embassy and nearly all the members composing the other embassies occupied places in the Abbey. Mr. Gladstone remained standing throughout Canon Farrar's address, with his hand to his ear, listening intently to the eulogy.

"The following is Canon Farrar's address. His text was taken from Acts xiii. 36:

'Eight years have not passed since the late Dean Stanley, whom Americans so loved and honored, was walking around this Abbey with General Grant, explaining its wealth of great memorials. Neither of them had nearly attained the allotted span of human life. Both might have hoped that many years would elapse before descending to the grave, full of years and honors. This is only the fourth summer since Dean Stanley fell asleep. To-day we assemble at the obsequies of the great soldier, whose sun set while it was yet day, and at whose funeral-service in America tens of thousands are assembled at this moment to mourn with the weeping family and friends. I desire to speak simply and directly, with generous appreciation, but without idle flattery of him whose death has made a nation mourn. His private life, his faults or failings of character, whatever they may have been, belong, in no sense, to the world. They are before the judgment of God's merciful forgiveness. We will touch only upon his public actions and services. Upon a bluff overlooking the Hudson, his monument will stand, recalling to future generations the dark page in the nation's history which he did so much to close.'

"After eloquently tracing General Grant's boyhood and manhood, the speaker said:

'If the men who knew him in Galena—obscure, silent, unprosperous, unambitious—had said, if any one had predicted, that he would become twice President and one of the foremost men of the day, the prophecy would have seemed extravagantly ridiculous. But such careers are the glory of the American continent; they show that the people have a sovereign insight into intrinsic force. If Rome told with pride that her dictators came from the plow-tail, America may record the answer of the President, who, when asked what would be his coat of arms, answered proudly, mindful of his early struggles: "A pair of shirt-sleeves." The answer showed a noble sense of the dignity of labor, a noble superiority to the vanities of feudalism, a strong conviction that men should be honored simply as men, not according to the accident of birth. America has had two martyred Presidents, both sons of the people. One, a homely man, who was a farm-lad at the age of seven, a rail splitter at nineteen, a Mississippi boatman at twenty-eight, and who, in manhood, proved one of the strongest, most honest, and God-fearing of modern rulers. The other grew from a shoeless child to be an humble teacher in the Hiram Institute. With those Presidents America need not blush to name the leather-seller of Galena. Every true man derives a patent of nobleness direct from God. Was not the Lord for thirty years a carpenter in Nazareth? Lincoln's and Garfield's and Grant's early conscientious attention to humble duties fitted them to become kings of men.

'The year 1861 saw the outbreak of the most terrible of modern wars. The hour came, and the man was needed. Within four years Grant commanded an army vaster than had ever before been handled by man. It was not luck, but the result of inflexible faithfulness, indomitable resolution, sleepless energy, iron purpose, persistent tenacity. He rose by the upward gravitation of natural fitness. The very soldiers became impregnated with his spirit. General Grant had been grossly and unjustly called a butcher. He loved peace and hated bloodshed. But it was his duty at all costs to save the country. The struggle was not for victory, but for existence; not for glory, but for life or death. In his silence, determination and clearness of insight, Grant resembled Washington and Wellington. In the hottest fury of battle his speech never exceeded "Yea, yea," and "Nay, nay." God's light has shown for the future destinies of a mighty nation, that the war of 1861 was a necessary, a blessed work. The church has never refused to honor the faithful soldier fighting for the cause of his country and his God. The cause for which Grant fought—the unity of a great people, the freedom of a whole race—was as great and noble as when, at Lexington, the embattled farmers fired the shot which resounded around the world. The South accepted a bloody arbitrament. But the rancor and fury of the past are buried in oblivion. The names of Lee and Jackson will be a common heritage with those of Garfield and Grant. Americans are no longer Northerners and Southerners, but Americans.

'What verdict history will pronounce upon Grant as a politician and a man, I know not; but here and now the voice of censure, deserved or undeserved, is silent. We leave his faults to the mercy of the merciful. Let us write his virtues on brass for men's example. Let his faults, whatever they may have been, be written on water. Who can tell if his closing hours of torture and misery were not blessings in disguise—God purging the gold from dross, until the strong man was utterly purified by his strong agony? Could we be gathered in a more fitting place to honor General Grant? There is no lack of American memorials here. We add another to-day. Whatever there be between the two nations to forget and forgive is forgotten and forgiven. If the two peoples which are one be true to their duty, who can doubt that the destinies of the world are in their hands? Let America and England march in the van of freedom and progress, showing the world not only a magnificent spectacle of human happiness, but a still more magnificent spectacle of two peoples united, loving righteousness and hating iniquity, inflexibly faithful to the principles of eternal justice, which are the unchanging law of God.'

"The flags upon the royal residences at Windsor and Osborne and upon the royal yachts Osborne and Victoria and Albert were lowered at 2 P.M., and remained down during the memorial services in Westminster Abbey."

Governor Hill and General Sherman were the first persons to view the remains in Albany. They passed on opposite sides of the casket, and, joining each other at the head of the coffin, proceeded arm in arm back to the Executive Chamber. Then followed Generals Farnsworth and Carr and their respective staffs, General Hancock's staff, members of the Legislature, State officials and their families. Two members of the guard of honor stood at the head and two at the foot of the bier, to divide the stream of persons as they passed around the casket. The procession filed past the glass covered bier without halting. In the front line were the Grand Army of the Republic guard of honor, extending the full length of the corridor, from north to south. The catafalque and surroundings, heretofore described, were greatly admired, and it would be exceedingly difficult to improve upon the arrangements in any way. The head of the casket being much higher than the foot the opportunity for viewing the remains was improved. There was ample width between the upright supports of the canopy, and there was no crowding or jostling whatever, all passing in an orderly and respectful manner. The glass case of the casket extended the whole length, thus exposing the entire body to view.

According to figures furnished by an official in Albany the following is a fair approximation of the numbers who looked at the remains:

| | |
|---|---|
| August 4, from 6 P. M. to 7 P. M. | 7,400 |
| August 4, from 7 P. M. to 10 P. M. | 20,000 |
| August 4, from 10 P. M. to 12 M. | 11,900 |
| August 5, from 12 M. to 2 A. M. | 7,200 |
| August 5, from 2 A. M. to 4 A. M. | 1,600 |
| August 5, from 4 A. M. to 6 A. M. | 3,100 |
| August 5, from 6 A. M. to 8 A. M. | 4,800 |
| August 5, from 8 A. M. to 10.30 A. M. (estimated) | 15,300 |

Early on Wednesday morning the city and its multitudinous array of strangers was astir. Hurried breakfasts were partaken of, and preparations for the Grant demonstration were made by some, while others looked out for the transportation of the funeral train, with its added cars for the benefit of guests desired by the family or those whose positions entitled them to seats in any event in one of the funeral cars. It was not known until late Tuesday night that the committee of a hundred citizens appointed by Mayor Grace to go to Albany and accompany the cortége to this city were expected to come down with the special train, but as soon as the superintendent was informed of that fact, he directed that two extra cars should be draped and made ready for their use, so that the train, already very heavy, finally consisted of eleven parlor cars—a particularly long and difficult train to manage. At a very early hour yesterday morning the people began to throng about and pass through the Capitol, looking, as will be seen by the above table to the number of fifteen thousand, at the remains, between the hours of eight and half-past ten, and nearly twenty thousand between the hours of six and half-past ten. It was understood that the procession would be the same yesterday as on Tuesday, and this fact drew to the already overcrowded city an immense number of strangers from the neighboring cities and the country all round about, so that in its chief portions Albany was literally packed, and with great difficulty one could make his progress from street to street. The early morning salutes were fired according to orders, and during the entire forenoon half-hour guns boomed heavily, and the tolling of the bells added to the solemnity of the occasion. Without any special variation from the programme, the crowds upon the streets and the throngs passing through the Capitol, the morning wore away until half-past ten, at which time the gates were shut.

It is probable that twenty-five thousand people were shut off at half-past ten this morning when the gates were closed, and none but the guard of honor from the U. S. Grant Post, Wheeler Post of Saratoga and six men of the military order of the Loyal Legion, were allowed to remain while the undertakers prepared, as far as possible, the remains for this last trying stage of this long, last jolting. When all was ready, General Hancock, who was mounted on a magnificent black charger, attended by his staff, rode to the Capitol, accompanied by General Farnsworth and his staff. There they were met by Governor Hill and his staff in full uniform, who were waiting in their honor. After perfunctory interchanges of civility, and friendly interchanges of courtesy, also, the general in command intimated that all was ready.

### ACTION OF THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE.

The Legislature of the State of New York met at Albany on Friday morning, at half-past ten o'clock. Mr. Ellsworth offered a resolution empowering the president and clerk to provide a record of the proceedings for the journal of the next Legislature.

The Assembly Committee, Messrs. Arnold and Cutler, then announced the invitation to meet in joint Assembly. The Senators formed in line and proceeded to the Assembly Chamber. As they entered the Chamber the members of the Assembly rose. President McCarthy was called to the chair by Speaker Erwin, and Senator Ellsworth, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, read the following:

"The members of the Legislature of the State of New York, assembled at the Capitol for the purpose of representing the people of the State in this period of national mourning over the death of Ulysses S. Grant—

"*Resolved*, That the people of the State of New York mourn the loss of the nation's greatest defender and the most illustrious citizen of his day, whose matchless services to the Republic in its times of sorest need command our highest admiration and gratitude. That as he wrought for the entire nation, for the world and for posterity, so his fame as the greatest 'servant of a righteous cause,' both in war and in peace, is the heritage of the nation and of mankind. That while a man of peace, he became a soldier that permanent peace might be possible; that as the commander of armies he was the equal of the world's greatest military chieftains, and surpassed them all in this, that he twice conquered—first, by the irresistible might of his genius of arms, and then by the equally irresistible force of his magnanimity and considerate generosity; that as President and citizen he rendered incalculable service; that his fame will receive increasing lustre as men come to value more justly the pure elements of simple, sincere and magnanimous manhood combined with the greatest abilities revealed in the noblest services; that in the retirement of private life his demeanor reflected credit upon the name of American citizen by its dignified and manly attributes, by the wholesome nature of his influence, which in the later days of his life was specially directed to the establishment of unity and fraternity throughout the land, and by an example of patient resignation and nobility of character which invites the emulation of all men; that with profound respect and gratitude we recognize in his whole career that modest and unselfish devotion to duty which was his crowning glory.

"*Resolved*, That the next Legislature be required to enter upon the journal of the Senate and of the Assembly a record of these resolutions, and that a copy of the same be engrossed and sent to the family of the deceased, with assurances of our condolence and sympathy with them in this hour of their bereavement.

"*Resolved*, That the members of the Legislature attend the funeral in a body, and that the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the Assembly, with nine Senators and fifteen members of the Assembly, to be appointed by the presiding officers, be a committee to accompany the remains to the city of New York."

# CHAPTER XXX.

## FROM ALBANY TO NEW YORK CITY.

THE Start for New York—Down the Hudson—On the Train—A Storm—Entering the City of New York—Grant at Home Once More—A Vast Crowd Salutes His Remains—The Funeral Car—The March Down Town—Affecting Scenes Along the Route—The Cortege—The Funeral Car at the City Hall—The Coffin Placed on the Catafalque—The Body Lying in State—Action of Ex-Confederate Officers.

### THE START FOR NEW YORK.

AT half-past eleven, drawn by six black horses with mourning trappings, the funeral car started down the street, the heavy casket resting on a black dais within a mounted catafalque. Companies of regulars were on either side of the car, the Grand Army guard walked behind, brazen trumpets rang forth the note of preparation and in good order the several organizations fell in, until a great procession was formed. They moved along, every step marked by the loud booming of a cannon and made resonant by the attendant ringing and tolling of all the bells in all the steeples. They had but an hour in which to make their long march, to satisfy the affectionate curiosity of the attending multitude, estimated as at least one hundred and fifty thousand. The Grants and their companions had driven to the depot, where the long black train stood in silence waiting for its sacred burden. At half-past twelve the casket was placed upon the Woodlawn car, while all the bells of the engines near kept time to the tolling of the bells beyond, and farewell salutes were fired from guns that echod along the adjacent hills and thence to the more remote mountains. The generals and the various military guests in gorgeous array took their seats. The distinguished citizens' committee from New York did the same, the soldiers were properly placed, and while the hot sun beat down upon the greatest crowd ever seen upon the streets of Albany, the long black suite pushed rapidly away, preceded by a pilot engine, so that no trouble could happen, no harm chance to mar the perfect outcarrying of the carefully arranged programme.

### DOWN THE RIVER.

The trip from Albany was singularly devoid of incident, the chief features being, first, a perfect execution of the programme; second, a pleasant diversion at West Point, and, third, the marvelous washings of the rains from heaven and the subsequent development of a bow, parti-colored, that spanned the earth from horizon to horizon. The train started one minute late, and there was in reality nothing that might be called a stop between Albany and New York. Doubtless no crowd of equal magnitude was ever seen in the State capital as that which, with uncovered head, said an inaudible adieu as the remains were borne toward the metropolis of the nation. The streets in every direction were packed. The tops of buildings, the bridges, the craft in the river and all available places were dense with a respectful multitude. The band played a dirge as the long, sombre train passed out of the depot yard upon the Hudson River bridge, and the people looked on silently with uncovered heads. At East Albany the train passed between human walls. At Castleton the whole village seemed to be at the river front to see the train go on. At Shodack, Stuyvesant, Coxsackie and Stockport as many people as these riverside villages contain paid respectful heed to the passing of the dead soldier. At Hudson and at Poughkeepsie—in fact, at all the places on the road—there was considerable demonstration; but at West Point an incident occurred which touched the heart of the most callous spectator. For reasons peculiar to his family and himself the Academy was most dear. In all legislation, in all army talk, General Grant as general, and subsequently as President, and later on as citizen, did what he could to make West Point better and stronger. Naturally enough West Point sought to honor her distinguished son, and as the train approached her guns pealed forth the national salute of thirteen guns —boom! bang! boom!—which echoed and re-echoed and reverberated along the line of hills, touching even the mountains far beyond. Drawn up at attention stood the West Point cadets as the train rolled in at Garrisons. Ceremonials peculiar to their order were indulged in, salutes were fired, recognitions were passed, and as the train moved on toward its depot, the hero being borne to his final resting-place, the funeral salute followed, filling every ear and touching every heart on the train.

And still the train sped on. Although it started a minute late there was no minute behind time now. Open stood the valve, the steam was at its height, and with vehemence pushed that long train toward its halt. On came the train until the sullen walls of Sing Sing stared it in the face, when all of a sudden a cloud, not much larger than the hand of man, assumed phenomenal proportions and blackened the entire dome from river front to mountain peak.

### A MARVELOUS STORY.

Quick came peals of thunder, prefaced by brilliant flashes of zigzag lightning. Peal after peal echoed and rolled about the hills. The quick, large drops that fell were followed soon by voluminous streams, and they by torrents, while the wild winds whistled and whirled about the eleven cars and the mammoth engine as they sped onward.

Swiftly moved the train, leaving the storm behind, and ere the verge of Yonkers was touched the last great rumble of the heavens sought refuge in a quiet rolling, far away, and the volumes dwindled to streams and they to drops, as though tears were falling on the coffin of the dead. Presently there came a beautiful spectacle that charmed every eye; riveting the attention of all and cheering every heart, the rainbow of promise, that stretched from one side of the vast expanse to the other, spanning the entire distance, with its many lines and demarcations of exquisite, clearly distinguishable color. On came that train whizzing through the crowded streets of Yonkers, through the darkened tunnel, while guns from the neighboring hills belched out their salute and bells rang in the steeples of the upper town, giving hint to those below that that for which all waited at last had come.

### ENTERING THE CITY'S HEART.

New York had awaited the train with sorrowing, sympathetic heart. Her people felt that while the dead soldier was the country's hero they had a peculiar claim to him, and while the nation laid mourning tribute upon his bier it was theirs to do him special reverence. His home had been among them. His figure was a familiar one on their streets. He had met the first great misfortunes of his life in this city. Here financial disaster had overtaken him, and here he had hovered for months 'twixt life and death. As the funeral train rolled in the people recalled the starting off, on a warm June morning, of that other train that was to carry him to Mt. McGregor and hoped-for health. They had from afar watched the fluctuations of his disease with tenderness and solicitude. They had mourned when the message came that his life had passed away; and now he was brought home dead. Military and civic honor accompanied his remains. Other and even more imposing honors were awaiting them. The city was deeply buried in the drapings of sorrow as it never had been before. Guns were being fired at regular intervals from his future resting place in Riverside Park, and from old Fort George, on the Harlem. All over the city the church bells were tolling a requiem.

### IN THE GRAND CENTRAL DEPOT.

Not many people had been admitted to the Grand Central Depot. Besides two-score policemen there were not more than a hundred men and women there aside from those who were hurrying to catch outgoing trains. There was no mourning drapery within the big structure, but the arches and doorways without were covered. Orders had been issued that the trucks on the east side of the depot should be cleared, and half an hour before the train was to arrive engines puffed in and drew away to other points the cars that had been standing there. The windows that looked down on the interior of the depot were filled with people, as was the balcony that runs along the Forty-second street side.

### THE FUNERAL CAR.

Suddenly there was an unusual stir among the people at the edge of the crowd and then a craning of necks. The crowd pressed closely upon the heels of those in front of them and awaited with eager curiosity the explanation of the commotion.

Then at some distance there was seen slowly advancing the heavily draped funeral car, drawn by twelve black horses, each caparisoned in black and led by a colored man dressed in a suit of dark cloth, with white gloves and high silk hat, around which was a mourning band. As the car drew near a hush fell upon the assembled multitude. The car passed through Vanderbilt avenue, and, turning into Forty-third street, stopped at the southwest corner. The spectators pressed forward to look at it, but were kept back by the police. A wooden staircase covered with black material was placed at the rear for the use of the pall-bearers in placing the casket on the car.

### ALL READY.

All was now ready for the reception of the remains. A few minutes before five o'clock the beat of drums had been heard, and a band of forty pieces wheeled from Fourth avenue into Vanderbilt avenue at the head of the 400 soldiers of the Seventy-first regiment, preceding whom came the mounted officers of the First Brigade. The men formed on Vanderbilt avenue, with their right on Forty-third street, and disposed themselves for the reception of the remains. The people at the windows, on the stoops and roof-tops and in the streets crowded forward. The hands of the clock on the Vanderbilt avenue side of the depot pointed to five P. M. Word that the train was coming in on time spread like wild-fire among the great crowd of spectators. A few minutes afterward General Hancock and his staff filed slowly out of the depot

### THE JOURNEY ENDED.

It was just four minutes after five o'clock. There was a clicking of switches, a waving of trackmen's arms and the black-draped funeral train came in sight. Slowly it moved and with little noise. The engine had already switched off. A white-capped brakeman waited until the baggage car, which led, was within twenty feet of the pilot engine, when he turned the stop of the air valve, and almost without a creak or a jar the train of eleven cars came to a stop. Scarcely a bit of wood-work was visible. Black drapings covered everything, only relieved by flags looped up on either side. There was an opening in the side of the car which followed the baggage car. Through this could be seen the casket, its silver mounting showing out brightly from the dark purple covering. The low dais on which the casket rested was covered by an American flag. Men in Grand Army uniform, with medals on their breasts and a bit of crape tied about the arm, stood upright and silent at either side of the casket. They held their slouch hats in their hands. The Committee of One Hundred, that had gone on from New York to escort the remains, stepped from their car and formed in double file at its side. Ex-Governor Alonzo B. Cornell and ex-Mayor Edward Cooper headed the line. All were uncovered, and there was no word spoken. The scene was too impressive to permit of idle talking. Men stood about with bared heads and countenances in which there was no levity. Veterans looked at the casket that held all that was left of their old commander, and in their bronzed faces there was deep sorrow that he had been called away.

### MOVING THE CASKET.

At a signal the men of the U. S. Grant Post, who were acting as pall-bearers, lifted the casket and carefully and tenderly lowered it from the car on to a hand truck, such as is used in Woodlawn Cemetery. Then the different bodies moved forward with slow tread. The military Order of the Loyal Legion, New York Commandery, followed the body, and behind them came a detachment of the Fifth United States artillery. The walls of the depot building sent back the measured tread of the troops and filled the place with echoes. At the plaza that runs along the Forty-second street end of the building a brief halt was made till Inspector Dilks appeared in the doorway and motioned that all was in readiness for the procession to emerge. Outside the Seventy-first regiment formed a lane through which the body was borne. There was at once the sharp cry of officers to their men calling for a "Present arms!" the clicking of the muskets as they were brought to the present, the clattering of hoofs as aides-de-camp dashed here and there carrying instructions, and above all the strains from a band, unseen as yet, playing a funeral dirge. The great multitude crowded upon the police and soldiers in their efforts to catch a glimpse of the casket. Over the pavements the procession slowly moved till the funeral car was reached at the corner of Forty-third street. Up the steps leading to it the pall-bearers carried their honored burden and laid it under the canopy upon the dais to which three steps ran up. At once the undertaker's assistants fastened it there, so that should there be any jolting it would be in no danger of toppling off. All this time the band played its solemn dirge, and people looked down from the roofs and windows of the surrounding buildings while the arranging of the procession went forward. General Hancock and his staff and the Committee of One Hundred were driven off in carriages to Fifth avenue, where other lines were forming. Colonel Fred. Grant and Ulysses S. Grant, Jr., who brought up the rear of the procession, entered a carriage, which drew up abreast of the funeral car. The face of Harrison, the General's faithful colored attendant, looked sadly out of another carriage window. General Horace Porter, Dr. Newman and gray-bearded Dr. Douglas—the latter with a black and white sash running from his shoulder to his waist—were driven up ahead of the funeral car. While the driver was lowering the upper part of the carriage the horses took fright and dashed off, but were stopped before they had gone far. A mishap occurred at the funeral car, too. The first eight of the prancing black horses that were to draw it started off before the signal was given. The heavy straps that held them to the car parted, and ten minutes were lost in repairing the damage. Finally all was in readiness and the word was given to start.

### THE MARCH DOWN TOWN.

As the great black car rolled toward Fifth avenue there were sounds of bugles and flashings of glittering steel. The bugle sounds grew louder and the black plumes on the catafalque swayed majestically as the twelve black horses moved forward. A burst of funeral music swelled through the air and thrilled the hearts of the multitude, which uncovered and looked with moistened eyes up at the purple casket. A company of regular troops wheeled forward on each side of the car with shouldered arms. It was the army guard. A group of veterans from the Grand Army post that has guarded the body since death trudged along behind the guard. When Fifth avenue was reached the scene was one of splendor. A sea of bayonets melted at a single bugle call and every rifle was reversed.

There was a wild clatter of hoofs, and a line of mounted policemen swept down Fifth avenue, charging at the black crowd and driving it back. Every window for a mile was alive with faces, and the multitude on the sidewalks was so dense that it looked like a mourning fringe. Behind the policemen rode General Hancock on a brown charger, and the crowd applauded the soldier and his brilliantly uniformed staff. When the General reached Twenty-third street he took his place at the head of the column and the march began. Row after row of soldiers passed with reversed arms and slow steps, while the air was filled with solemn music.

### THE CORTEGE.

First came the police, followed by General Hancock and his staff. Then came a battery of the Fifth United States artillery with their standards draped. A battalion of artillery armed as infantry next marched along with rigid lines and wailing music from the light battery band of Governor's Island. A group of scarlet buglers walked in the rear of the band.

Now all the bells were tolling. Men and women were standing bareheaded as the sombre chariot was seen in the distance. The river of black that lined on the sidewalks opened into a sea of black at Madison square, where the monuments of Farragut and Worth looked down upon the moving cavalcade.

Two companies of marines, with orange epaulets and snowy helmets, marched in front of two companies of blue jackets from the man-of-war Swatara, who also carried rifles reversed. General Shaler and his staff moved along with draped sword hilts at the head of the First brigade of State troops. A few lines of prancing horses, scarlet plumes, bright sabres and busy buglers marked the Second battery without its guns. There was a clear space, and then Gilmore's Band led the Twenty-second regiment, playing the funeral chorus from "The Martyrs."

Waves of white helmets rolled down the street. Then another band in gold and scarlet made the air throb, while the roll of muffled drums filled every pause. A line of white plumed officers rode behind the colonel of the Ninth regiment and then came billows of dark blue coats and black helmets rising and falling regularly. The Eleventh regiment's band hushed as Farragut's statue was reached and the fife and drum corps took up the burden of the mourning song. A carriage containing the Rev. Dr. Newman, side by side with Drs. Douglass and Shrady, followed the soldiers. Then the massive car appeared with its twelve black horses led by colored grooms.

After the car marched the little guard of thirteen men, picked from U. S. Grant Post No. 327, Grand Army of the Republic. Then came thirty-two carriages containing Governor Hill and his staff, the Senate Committee and the Committee of One Hundred representing the city of New York. Next in line was the Sixty-ninth regiment. The Eighth and Seventy-first regiments stretched in ripples of color to the rear, where a line of policemen acted as file closers.

So the noble procession moved through the draped city, past a hundred thousand reverent spectators and through long lines of policemen. All flags were at half mast and the streets were at times walls of black. The space in front of the Fifth Avenue Hotel, was packed from curb to curb, and through the middle of the mass a lane was cut by the procession. Every stoop was jammed with spectators. They hung out of windows, watched through transoms and peered over rooftops. A more impressive spectacle could not be imagined.

### DOWN BROADWAY.

When the procession wheeled through Waverly place into Broadway a little girl threw a handful of flowers from a window. The cortege moved on through the miles of black draperies which all New Yorkers have seen on Broadway. As the car and its purple casket advanced the murmuring of the crowds sounded like the sea hushing after a storm It was all genuine, heartfelt emotion stirred up in thousands of hearts by the sweet, plaintive music and the presence of the dead soldier. Away down Broadway the crowd stretched, now filling the street from wall to wall, and straining its eyes for a sight of the procession, now parting and falling back to the curb line to let the cortege pass. Finally the masses opened out into a broader multitude, and from out of the green trees rose the figure of Justice, robed to the feet. It was the City Hall. Another rest for the hero. Another Shrine for the people. Slowly the soldiers marched toward the square. The air was filled with the sound of dirges. Officers rode here and there with orders. Bugles blended their shrill blasts into solemn harmonies. The color bearers fell back and the regular troops passed on down Broadway, while the Twenty-second and Ninth regiments wheeled into the plaza in front of the City Hall. Then the rest of the troops fell to the west side of Broadway and faced east with presented arms, while the funeral car passed on the plaza, each band playing a dirge.

As early as four o'clock the people had assembled in hundreds at the City Hall.

### THE DISTANT FUNERAL MARCH.

It was nearly seven o'clock, and the western sky was crimsoned with the glory of the setting sun, when the expectant crowd, which had waited so long and so patiently, caught the soft notes of sad music wafted on the evening breeze. Instantly there was a surging of the masses toward the Broadway side of the Park and a hush of expectancy. Gradually the sounds grew more distinct, and then the sweet strains of Chopin's " Marche Funebre " were distinguished and the advance guard of mounted police came into view. Then came General Hancock and his staff, their horses prancing proudly to the music. General Hancock and his aids drew up just within the entrance to the plaza, and Captain Allaire drove back the crowds on Broadway so as to leave room for the regular troops and the naval detachment to march on down Broadway, and the Governor's

Island Light Battery Band led the way, still playing Chopin's impressive music. After the regulars had gone General Hancock and his staff faced about and rode on the plaza to the City Hall, followed by General Shaler and his staff. Then the second battery of the National Guard wheeled into the plaza and crossed to the Park Row side, where they formed two sides of a square facing the hall. The Twenty-second Regiment came next, the band playing the "Dead March in Saul." The band halted in the plaza, just west of the City Hall, but the white coated troops marched with arms reversed to the east end of the building and formed into two lines along the front, facing each other on opposite sides of the plaza. Meanwhile the Ninth Regiment had entered the enclosure from Broadway and then halted, so that the command formed an elbow, with a portion of the men at rest along the east end of the plaza and the remainder on Broadway. The men were in double lines and faced the funeral car, carrying arms after they came to a halt.

### THE FUNERAL CAR AT THE CITY HALL.

Then there was a pause. The mournful music ceased. Every eye was turned toward Broadway. A trampling of hoofs was heard, and horses with black trappings were seen through the trees of the park. Then the funeral car wheeled slowly into the plaza. Thousands of heads were uncovered in the crowd, and there was perfect silence.

As the car reached the spot opposite where the Twenty-second Regiment band stood Gilmore's musicians began once more to play the "Dead March in Saul." The effect was impressive in the extreme. The music ceased when the car had reached the front of the building. Here the band of the Ninth regiment was stationed, and as the car advanced, more and more slowly as it neared the end of its journey, the funeral chorus from "Il Poliute" sounded with thrilling effect.

When the funeral car stopped in front of the entrance to the City Hall black covered steps were silently and deftly placed alongside, and the thirteen men of Grant Post who had guarded the body during the march mounted the platform and reverently carried the coffin to the ground. They bore it slowly up the marble steps into the vestibule, and as they entered the portal two buglers of the Second Artillery, who stood on either side, sounded a loud and weird funeral blast. The notes rang out like a wail.

### VIEWING THE DEAD HERO'S FACE.

Long before the procession arrived everything was in readiness at the City Hall for the reception of the dead chieftain. A force of police guarded the approach to the catafalque. All the iron gateways were kept closed. A deep silence fitting the solemnity of the occasion pervaded the spacious vestibule, grandly solemn with its profusion of mournful trappings. Presently the central gateway was opened and General Hancock, followed by members of his staff, advanced inside to deliver the body to the city authorities. The casket was slowly borne inside by the Grand Army guard of honor, who carried the body to the catafalque. Tenderly they lowered the casket upon its temporary resting place. Behind them came the Rev. Dr. Newman, Dr. Douglas and General Horace Porter, and after them Colonel Fred. Grant, U. S. Grant, Jr., and Jesse Grant—the honored and grief-stricken sons of the illustrious soldier. The dead hero's sons were followed by Governor Hill and his staff and Major-General Shaler. After these, with heads uncovered, came slowly filing in the Citizens' Committee of One Hundred, led by ex-Governor Cornell and ex-Mayor Cooper.

### ONCE MORE AT REST.

Directly after the arrival of the remains the Grant Post, G. A. R., detail that had marched beside the funeral car as guard of honor was relieved and went to their quarters in the Astor House. The second relief of thirteen at once began their tour of duty. In charge of this relief was Senior Vice-Commander Johnson, whose post was at the head of the coffin. Six men stood on each side.

The Loyal Legion guard of honor was in command of General J. J. Milhau.

It was the good fortune of the Twenty-second regiment, National Guard, to have its officers chosen as the first guard of honor of the illustrious military hero whom all delighted to honor. Eight were on duty at a time and the reliefs were every two hours.

### CONDITION OF THE BODY.

Directly after the details of the various guards of honor had been arranged, the casket, borne by the members of the Grant Post detail, was removed to the private room adjacent to the Chamber of the Board of Aldermen for inspection, as to its condition. In addition to this, pursuant to the request of Colonel Fred. Grant, badges of the Loyal Legion and Grand Army of the Republic were to be attached to the lappel of General Grant's coat. Superintending the examination of the body were Surgeon Brush, of the Grant Post, Grand Army of the Republic, and Deputy Coroner Jenkins.

The lid of the casket, which had been placed on a table, was removed under direction of Mr. Merritt, the undertaker, and Mr. Sullivan, the embalmer. As this was being done, the eyes of all who were present were turned toward the casket, and as quick as the remains were exposed to view a careful but anxious inspection was made of the features. It was greatly feared by some that they might be in such a condition as to render it unadvisable to expose them to public view. On the contrary, they were found in very good condition, as good, probably, as could be reasonably anticipated under the circumstances, two weeks lacking a day having elapsed since death.

The expression of the face was one of calm, serene dignity, but with unspeakable indications of the severe, protracted physical suffering he underwent during his protracted illness. It was gratifying to all present to know that the features could be seen, while the body was lying in state by the great host of mourning friends he had left behind.

Lieutenant Colonel Clarkson fastened to the coat the badge of the Loyal Legion, while Senior Vice Commander Johnson affixed the Grand Army of the Republic badge, the two being placed side by side. This done, the glass cover was placed on the casket and it was carried back to the catafalque in the main corridor and placed in state.

### THE PASSING THRONG.

After the component parts of the military pageant had disappeared through the various arteries of traffic around the City Hall the remains of the illustrious dead were in the hands of the municipal authorities. The thousands of people realized this, and although they knew it would be some time before any one would be admitted to view them, they waited in solemn silence for that time to come.

The plate glass top enabled a full length view to be taken of the dead General.

### ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY A MINUTE.

The signal was now given to admit the masses, and orderly and in silence they passed by the bier at the average rate of 160 persons a minute, or eighty on each side of the body. The casket was placed so low that all of the children who marched in the line obtained a full view of the illustrious dead. Some of the persons would stop to take a long look at the features of the hero, but the peremptory "Move on!" of the guard started them on on again. For four hours this double stream of humanity coursed by the coffin—women, girls, old men and boys, natives and Chinamen being among the number. Some showed signs of emotion, others of curiosity only; but all preserved the reverent and subdued conduct suitable to the surroundings. The position of the guard in the vestibule during these hours was as follows: immediately at the head and foot of the bier stood a representative of the military order Loyal Legion of the United States; on each side of them stood officers of the Twenty-second Regiment. On either side stood the members of Post 327, Grand Army of the Republic, leaving a space between them and the remains for the public to pass through. Behind them stood the other members of the guard of honor of the Twenty-second Regiment, with two aids from General W. G. Ward's staff on the left flank, and still further in the rear, on either side of the vestibule, was a line of police.

### CLOSED FOR THE NIGHT.

As the night drew on the numbers grew less, so that not more than one hundred and twenty-five per minute were passing through the hall at midnight. At one o'clock the gates of the hall were closed, and the remains were left with the guards and twenty five policemen.

### NO NORTH, NO SOUTH.

The heavy tread of the escort and the last sad strains of the mournful march had hardly died away in the distance as they accompanied the illustrious remains of the nation's hero to the City Hall, when the parlors of the Hoffman House began to fill with brave men who wore the gray. Unanimously electing General John B. Gordon, of Georgia, as chairman, the meeting of ex-Confederates remained at ease while the committee appointed for the purpose—Generals W. H. Loring and W. W. Lilley and Majors Quincey, Davies and Mayo—should draft resolutions expressive of the ex-Confederate sentiment touching the decease of the great commander.

In answer to several calls, General Loring spoke tenderly of the time when, shoulder to shoulder, Grant and he had fought at Santa Anna; sorrowfully of the sad years when they confronted one another as foes, and gratefully of the reconstruction times, when Grant proved the South's noblest friend. Concluding, the General said:—"I have known General Grant as a boy, I have rejoiced in him as a comrade, respected him as a foe. At home or abroad, as a traveler in Egypt or as the occupant of the White House, he was always the same—a noble gentleman, a valiant soldier and a true friend—and as such he is mourned from the Potomac to the Rio Grande."

### THE RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were then read and immediately adopted:

*Resolved*, That, with the deepest sympathy and unabating solicitude, we have watched from the beginning the progress and fatal termination of the painful disease which has closed the career of General U. S. Grant, and that we mingle our sincere and profound sorrow with that of this entire Union.

*Resolved*, That, as Southern soldiers, we can never forget the delicate courtesy with which General Grant opened negotiations with General Lee, and the honorable terms accorded to the Southern army at Appomattox, and that in these we recognize the magnanimity of the great conqueror and the kindly instinct of a noble hero.

*Resolved*, That we recall with grateful emotions the lofty bearing of General Grant as exhibited in the decisive promptness with which, in the midst of personal and political animosities engendered by the war, he interposed the influence of his high office and the broader shield and more commanding authority of his great character to prevent the arrest of General Lee, the beloved and illustrious commander of the Southern army.

*Resolved*, That to the family of General Grant we tender our heartfelt sympathies in this their great bereavement and irreparable loss.

The following is the memorial:—

"His mortal passing away we deplore. Duty, as he and we respectively saw it, found us opposed as foes in arms. Peace made us friends. In overcoming our power in battle, by his greatness in war and magnanimity in victory, he won the fortune beyond the reach of bayonet thrust and cannon ball, the noblest triumph.

"His words of kindly remembrance and peaceful parting, so befitting a great spirit on the eve of its immortal flight, will be cherished in the noblest sanctuary of our memory. As it was peace and good will to us and ours, so let it be peace and good will to them and theirs, great General, now and evermore.

"For his country he lived, and he received the highest honors, both military and civil, which that country could bestow. His passing away, while a national bereavement, will render more lustrous his grand achievements as a soldier and statesman, and doubly endear him to the hearts of his grateful countrymen."

It was decided that General Gordon should appoint a representative from every Southern State to participate in the funeral procession, and it was suggested that ex-Confederates desiring so to do, could march in the parade along with the Lee Post, of Richmond, to which space has already been allotted in the column.

Mrs. Grant, on Friday, received the following cable despatch from the King of Siam:—

"BANKOK, August 4.

"To Mrs. Grant, Mt. McGregor, N. Y.:—

"I learn with deepest regret of the death of General Grant. You will be assured that your grief for the severe loss you have sustained is shared by me in this extremity of the earth, which the General has honored by a visit, and I pray that Providence will bestow his blessing upon the late and lamented General's family.

"CHULALONKORN, REX. SIAM."

Mrs. Grant also received from the Lyon Relief Corps, G. A. R., of California, a wreath of flowers and a series of sympathetic resolutions. Early in the day came a despatch from Burnside Post, G. A. R., of Tombstone, A. T., embodying the resolutions of regret passed by that organization.

# CHAPTER XXXI.

## CLOSING SCENES IN NEW YORK CITY.

Hundred Thousands Paying the Last Tribute to the Dead Soldier—Statesmen, Soldiers and Citizens Flocking to the Metropolis—Sheridan and Gordon clasp hands in kindly Greeting—Words of Sympathy from Texas—Vice-President Thomas A. Hendricks praises the dead hero—Eulogy of General Longstreet—Walt. Whitman on Grant—Another day of homage to the great Soldier—More than 250,000 persons view the honored remains—The coffin closed forever—Watched and guarded by old comrades.

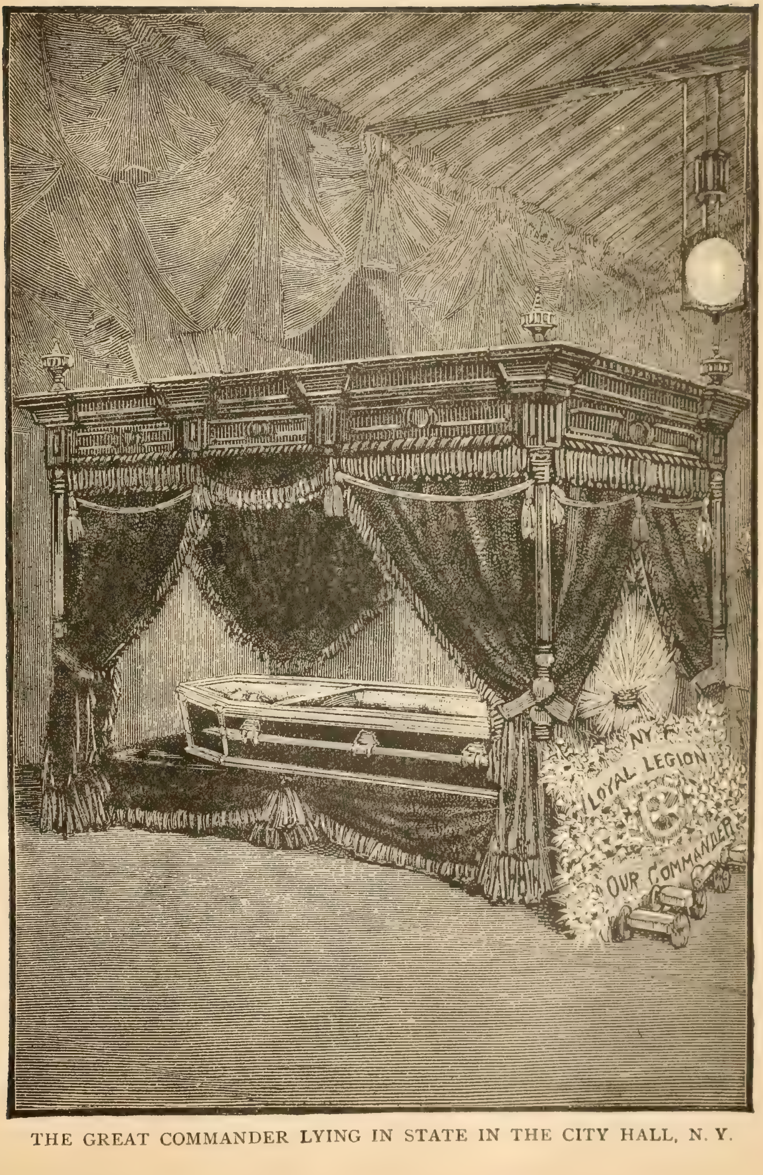
On the morning of Thursday, the 6th of August, before daybreak, when the iron gates of the City Hall were opened, about fifteen hundred persons had congregated on the street, and a force of 150 policemen found it no easy task to keep the crowd in good order. There was a disposition to rush, which was immediately checked. The line was properly formed and the inspection began. All kinds of people made their appearance from early morning until midnight. They were not allowed many seconds in which to look, for at times 150 people passed by the casket in a single minute. It was interesting to note that in the early hours of the day a vast preponderance of the on-lookers were working men and women. They came so fast, passing along at the rate of 150 a minute, that the procession became a quick step. Now and then a man would stop as though he would like to catch more than a glance, but he was hurriedly pushed along by the policemen and the ever ready hands of the other guards, as well as by the impetus of the crowds behind him. Meanwhile the officers of the Twenty-second regiment, who had been on duty through the early morning, marched out of the City Hall. They were going home and their places were taken by the officers of the Twelfth regiment. The Grant Post had mounted a detail at five o'clock, to serve from that hour until eight o'clock. They were under the command of D. L. Staples.

A negro, with his little boy, came in. The child was too small to see into the coffin, and the father lifted him so that he could. The child's toes came in contact with the dais, to the horror and anger of the body-guard. A little bootblack, with his box on his shoulder, appeared. His face shone, and his hair had been freshly wet and smoothed out at the fountain. Many women also came to cause delay. They wished to examine every detail, even the flowers, with the utmost closeness. Men and boys and wan-faced women, with lunch-baskets and dinner-pails, filed along. The hour from six to seven o'clock was occupied by working men and women, boys and girls, in viewing the body. They were on their way to work, the day was young, and their opportunity better than at any other hour. All through the hour the formation of the line was at a point near the fountain, and the time of waiting was not more than ten minutes from that point to the place where the coffin rested. After seven o'clock the character of the line changed. There were fewer women and girls. They had gone through and were at work when the line began to lengthen. At eight o'clock there was another change taking place in the formation of the line. The laborers had gone, and the clerks coming down town were stepping from elevated and surface cars into the stream that was moving them at the rate of one hundred and ten and one hundred and twenty each minute. The police were reinforced at eight o'clock. Details under sergeants and roundsmen had been arriving and reporting to Inspector Steers from seven o'clock. At eight o'clock there were four hundred and eighty-seven men on duty. The channel, with walls of police, was extended in "Y" shape around the sides of the fountain-circle, which, like a hopper, received the people. Thence they were straightened out in lines of twos and threes up to the City Hall steps. The guards at the coffin were hastening the people; one hundred and fifty a minute were being hurried through. The hands on the clock-dials marked nine o'clock. The fountain circle was no longer the point of formation of the line. Every car and train coming down town added its quota to those anxious to look upon the face of General Grant.

In the early morning it was cool; the forenoon found it warm; and in the early hours of the afternoon the heat became intense; but that passed away, and in the evening the calm placidity of the night—itself an attraction to those whose occupation kept them in the house all day—found scores of thousands waiting their turn to say good-by.

But it was a busy day with others than those who sought to gratify their curiosity or to drop possibly a tear upon the coffin of the dead. General Hancock was in consultation with General Shaler, Colonel Jones, General Aspinwall and others, while officers charged with details in connection with the procession, the march, the reception at Riverside and the burial ceremonies, were hard at it from early morning until late at night.

At the head of one line of the visitors, when the gates were opened, was a little woman who led two boys by the hand. She was so anxious that the children should obtain a good view of the face that, the crowd not being very great at the time, she was permitted to linger by the coffin-side for a minute. The other line also had at its head a woman, alone, middle-aged and tearful.



THE GREAT COMMANDER LYING IN STATE IN THE CITY HALL, N. Y.

Then followed all sorts of people—young, old, good-looking, ugly, robust and weak, healthy and sickly-looking. A continuous, changing kaleidoscope of humanity, startling in its contrasts and presenting an intensely-interesting picture for the student of human nature. In that passing multitude there were many faces that looked down upon the drawn features of him who had suffered so much, which themselves had plainly written on them the story of sickness, sorrow and pain.

One stout woman tried to leisurely inspect the floral pillow at the foot of the coffin, but was unceremoniously passed along the corridor. The guards kept repeating the admonition to "Step along, now;" and, this failing of the desired effect, they accelerated the movements of the lingerers by a gentle or vigorous shove, as the case might warrant. Until about half-past seven o'clock, A. M., the pressure was slight. After that the line of spectators began to stretch out. The number of children in the ranks was noticeably large. They and their guardians delayed progress somewhat; but the presence of the little ones made the scene all the more memorable and affecting.

At half-past ten the crowd was rushing through the corridors of the City Hall at the rate of 170 a minute. By eleven o'clock it was calculated that over 30,000 people had passed. The light reflected on the thick plate glass made it almost impossible to obtain a good view of the features. Between noon and one o'clock about one hundred people were passing the casket every minute. Among the passers by at this time were the members of the Board of Aldermen. At three P. M., it was estimated that 53,000 people had passed the remains since the opening of the gates. All the rest of the afternoon the crowd increased in size. At six o'clock the crush was at its height. The total number of visitors since morning was estimated at 67,000.

As the sun was sinking beneath the Western sky and twilight was beginning to spread its broad mantle on the great city, the electric lights were lit in the City Hall and surrounding park. There was a sudden transformation scene. Their quick and dazzling flash gave the bright effulgence of noonday to the hall of death. During the day the lights near the catafalque had been raised. The effect was to dispel the shadows, whose flickering had rendered it difficult to get a clear view of the features of the dead chieftain. Under the changed lights each characteristic of that grand face was brought out in distinct relief. In bolder outline—a preraphaelite picture sadly imposing in its strangely weird character—were presented the forms and faces of the guards of honor, unwearied in their long vigils. Added beauty was also given to the floral display, and the fragrance of a sweeter perfume seemed to fill the air.

Still the throngs kept pouring through to look upon the lifeless but loved face. The scene in the park was one of strange and marvellous picturesqueness. Nothing like it has ever been witnessed in this city before. Excepting the narrow passage way in front for the advance of the crowds the vast esplanade was kept clear by the police, who guided the pilgrim visitors on their way up the steps and by the catafalque.

The evening throng was more complex even than those of the day—a medley of all classes and all conditions and all ages. They continued to pass by in the same order and with no diminution in numbers. Large numbers of members of different Grand Army posts came with the procession. Among these were the members of the E. S. Daken Post, No. 206, who came with their wives and children and their drum corps of fourteen boys. Major General Molineux, commanding the Second Division, National Guard, with his staff, was also among the evening visitors. By eight o'clock P. M. it was estimated that 80,000 persons had passed the catafalque, and at ten P. M. the number was placed at 92,000. At times they were hurried by with such rapidity that only the slightest possible glance could be obtained of General Grant's face.

At midnight the line stretched up Broadway to Broome street, and when the iron gates of the City Hall were closed at one A. M. it still wound around through Chambers street and up Broadway to Duane street.

### SHERIDAN AND GORDON CLASPING HANDS.

"On Thursday it looked like old war times at the hotels in New York. Great crowds of strangers arrived on every train and boat in anticipation of the funeral pageant. All the cabs in the city were unable to supply the demand for transportation. Rustic-looking couples walked along Broadway and other prominent streets, staring in the shop windows and admiring the mourning decorations on the fronts of the buildings.

"But it was in the hotel lobbies that the most extraordinary assemblages gathered, and friends of twenty-five years ago who were made enemies by the war, shook hands and made it all up. Some of the scenes between the soldiers of the North and South were heart-stirring, and there were groupings of grand old figures on all sides.

"There was a perfect picture gallery of celebrated faces in the corridor of the Fifth Avenue Hotel. Senator John A. Logan strode up and down the marble floor, twisting his black mustache thoughtfully. Vice President Arthur's rosy face beamed upon a little fat colonel from the West, who insisted upon saluting everybody who passed. Colonel Mike Sheridan trotted about anxiously in search of a friend and Colonel George W. Davis walked a few feet behind Quartermaster General Van Vleet. Senator William M. Evarts wandered around for a while, looking lean and lonely until he met Senator Morrill, of Vermont. General Thomas L. James leaned familiarly against a post and chatted with Sergeant-at-Arms Chrystie, of the United States Senate, and on his right stood General Merritt, of West Point, talking over old memories of Grant. Then there was ex-President Hayes, brown-bearded and smiling, with a piece of manuscript in his hand and a red button on his lapel; Senator Warner Miller, burly and warm of hand; sharp-eyed Smith M. Weed; bluff old Governor Eaton, of Colorado, and ex-Senator Page, of Ohio. Lieutenant Emery, of the Greely expedition, chewed a toothpick in front of Naval Officer Burt, and General Rufus Ingalls sauntered about in a group composed of General Joseph B. Carr, gray and spectacled; ex Lieutenant Governor John C. Robinson, on crutches, and Congressman Burleigh. Colonel Richards, of Mobile, an old Southern soldier, stood close by.

In the midst of all this scene stood General Phil. Sheridan. Suddenly a red faced man advanced, leading General John B. Gordon, toward the Union soldier. Then he introduced him of Georgia, and the two old warriors seized hands with a firm grip and looked each other fair in the eyes. Then their hands trembled, but they did not release the friendly grasp, but stood there looking at each other with sparkling eyes General Belknap, the ex-Secretary of War, came up with General Curtis, the one-eyed conqueror of Fort Fisher, and formed a part of the group. It was a picture worthy of a great painter as the Southern general, tall, black-eyed, long-haired and scarred, pressed the hand of the famous soldier of the North.

The two men laughed and chatted, and all the while their hands never once parted from the hearty clasp.

Oh, human heart! Oh, loving-kindness and forgiveness! After all these years of bitterness the blue and gray are one again.

"This is how the soldiers of the North and South meet to-day," said General Curtis. "God grant that it is only an emblem of what is coming to the whole country."

In the Hoffman House there were other scenes, but they were all alike Governor Hill and General Farnsworth chatted at the door of the hotel, while Senators Coggeshall and Murphy recalled old fighting times in the lobby. Colonel F. E. Greene, of Virginia, walked through the main corridor and saluted two or three old friends. By midnight the hotel was full.

Colonel Betts, of Tennessee, said last evening to a friend: "Did you see Gordon and Sheridan shaking hands in the Fifth Avenue Hotel? Never expected to see such friendship between such men. The old bitterness died with Grant. He offered himself as a sacrifice of reconciliation for the good of the whole country, God bless him. Yes, he was a great man, a good man, and his memory will be kept green all over the South."

The Thompson Street colored people were in commotion over the preparations for the funeral. "Oh, we's heard his big guns up de ribber in de war. Dey sounded like guns of liberty for the whole world. And dey made more noise de second day dan dey did on de fust, and a heap louder booming on de next. Den all was like the grave, and dar was blood and pale faces everywhar in old Varginia. Grant did it. And now we're gwine to his funeral and ask de Lord to bless his spirit shore."

### SYMPATHY FROM TEXAS.

The ex-Confederate reunion meeting at Fort Worth, Texas, on the 5th day of August, appointed a committee of five to draft resolutions on the death of General Grant, which were unanimously adopted amid thunders of applause.

The resolutions read as follows:

Whereas the ex Confederate and Union soldiers here assembled have learned, with regret, of the death of General U. S. Grant, therefore be it

*Resolved*, "First, that the nation has lost an able officer, who won a world wide reputation and shed lustre on American arms; second, that we extend our heartfelt sympathy and condolence to his bereaved family."

The resolutions were telegraphed to Mrs. Grant.

General Gano, of Dallas, then delivered an address, in which he spoke of the bravery of the soldiers on both sides, and asserted that if the politicians had kept their hands off perfect peace would have been established long ago. He paid a high tribute to the memory of General Grant and gloried in him as an American soldier.

General George W. Smith delivered a thrilling speech. He exulted in the peace prevailing between the sections, in the reestablishment of the Union, paid a glowing tribute to the character and attainments of General Grant, and portrayed in eloquent language the dying hero's desire for the good-will and affection of the Southern people.

Other speakers dwelt upon the character and service of Grant in a similar strain.

At a reunion of ex-Confederate soldiers, held at Greenville, Texas, on the 5th day of August, it was estimated that 20,000 veterans and others were on the grounds. At the close of General Ross' address the following was unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, "That we, the surviving members of Ross' Brigade, Rector's Brigade, Maxey's Brigade, Graham's Brigade, the Eleventh Cavalry of Texas, and unattached Confederates and Union soldiers, numbering about 10,000 men, in this our annual reunion, held at Greenville, Texas, express our deep and heartfelt regret at the sad news of the death of that illustrious soldier and patriotic statesman, U. S. Grant, whose remains now lie in state in New York;" and,

*Resolved*, "That we tender to the heart-broken widow and family of the deceased our warmest sympathy in this the sad hour of their bereavement;" and,

*Resolved*, "That these resolutions be telegraphed to the family of Gen. Grant by the President of this association."

### MR. HENDRICKS PRAISES GRANT.

Vice-President Thomas A. Hendricks, on the 6th of August, accompanied by Mrs. Hendricks, passed through Chicago on his way to New York to take part in the Grant obsequies. "I have been at Ashland and up around Lake Superior with Mrs. Hendricks for a fortnight," said Mr. Hendricks. "I heard of General Grant's death with a feeling of deep sorrow. I always had a high regard for General Grant as a man and great admiration for his ability as a soldier and statesman. He was the greatest man of his time—always composed, firm and self-reliant in battle, in high places of responsibility, and even up to the moment of his death. He never made a speech, even if but one or two lines in length, that was not full of wisdom, and whatever he said was effective and held the attention of the public."

### GRANT'S EARLY DAYS.

"He was the truest as well as the bravest man I ever knew," was the remark of General James Longstreet, as soon as he recovered from his emotion on being informed of the death of General Grant. "A man of unbounded confidence in human nature, with the greatest sense of modesty, and utterly without guile, the one great American of the present age who will live in history as typifying the best elements of manhood. As passion cools and prejudice clears away, and politicians are relegated to obscurity, then the figure of Grant will stand out in bold relief, second only to that of Washington."

General Longstreet lives in a large two-story frame house, set in the midst of a grove near Gainsville, Georgia. Upon the airy porch of his country mansion, his cheeks fanned by the southern breeze, his form enveloped in a dressing-gown, General Longstreet enjoys the peaceful days which have little in them to recall the memory of the trenches on the well-fought fields between Washington and Richmond. His form, once so erect and soldierly, and the appearance of which was wont to be greeted with cheers by the brave boys in gray as he rode down the line, is now bulky and bowed; but his eyes still have the same look of dogged determination as in the days when they refused to see defeat and snatched victory from the very despair of desperation. When your correspondent found him he was examining his grape-vines, and looked for the world like the good old countryman who never looked upon a field of carnage. Passing his hand over his forehead, as if in painful meditation, he made use of the words with which this sketch was opened.

"I well remember the delicate and fragile form of the boy who, in 1839, answered to the roll-call when the name of Grant was repeated. We were a boisterous set who filled the classes that year, and my physique and exuberance of spirit led me to be among the leaders of every sport and diversion. The delicate stranger was not of our mold; his build and his want of strength did not warrant his becoming one of our unruly gang. Instead of forming for him the dislike so apt to be entertained for one not given to manly sports, we grew to admire his modesty, his manliness and the evident spirit which was at the bottom of his character. In one trait, however, he excelled. He was the most daring horseman in the whole command, and the wonder has often been expressed that he did not gravitate into the cavalry branch of the service. In 1842 I graduated and was assigned to duty as second lieutenant in the 4th Infantry, then stationed at Jefferson Barracks, twelve miles from St. Louis. The year following, 1843, Grant followed, and was attached to the same regiment.

"These early days," said Longstreet, as he he settled in the great easy chair which stood on his front porch, while the reporter threw himself on the banister railings, "recall a delightful period. As I think over the names, how many have risen to fame, how many have failed, how many have gone beyond, by war and death in other forms, until now, the one who became the greatest of all has passed to his rest. Thus it is with humanity." "Well," said he, "to return to our subject. Lieut. Grant's distinguishing trait at that time was his simple performance of duty, without show of authority or offensive manner, and his scrupulous regard for the feelings of others. So perfect was his sense of honor that in the numerous cabals that were often formed his name was never mentioned, for he never did anything which could be made subject of criticism or reproach. Grant confided in me, perhaps, more than any other officer in the barracks. On one occasion, meeting Grant coming out of the barracks, I said to him:

"'Grant, I wish you would come with me on a visit to a kinsman.'

"He readily assented. When we reached the mansion of my kinsman we were heartily received, and the family were introduced one by one, as they returned from their daily duties. At last the musical voice of a young woman was heard in the hall, and an instant later the lady was in the room.

"'Miss Julia Dent,' said I, as I took my pretty kinswoman's hand, and she blushed deeply as she bowed to Lieut. Grant.

"A little later Cadet Fred. Dent entered, and while I engaged him in conversation, in which the old people joined, Lieut. Grant and Miss Julia were forming the ties, the last chapter of which may be seen in the weeping widow now bending over the dead body of her husband in New York city. After that day Miss Julia Dent was one of the most frequent dancers at our military balls. It is only a few months ago that Mrs. Grant recalled to me a story of that period, showing how they used to tease her about the young lieutenant. On one occasion she went to one of the balls under the escort of some other officer, when it was noticed that Lieut Grant was absent. Lieut. Hoskins, with a most doleful expression on his face, went up to her and asked:

"'Miss Julia, where is that little man with the large epaulettes?'

"This caused a smile at the expense of the young lady, but she clung to her young lieutenant, and in 1848 they were married. I had been married just six months at that time myself, and, as the one who had originally introduced the couple, was an honored guest upon the occasion."

### WALT. WHITMAN ON GRANT.

When a visitor spoke the name of Grant, Walt Whitman bowed his head as the whole nation has bowed beneath a common grief. When at last the poet spoke it was in the tone of one who has lost a dear friend, yet he pondered his words and weighed each sentence carefully.

"Yes," said he, "I, too, am willing and anxious to bear testimony to the departed general. Now that Grant is dead it seems to me I may consider him as one of those examples or models for the people and character-formation of the future, age after age—always to me the most potent influence of a really distinguished character—greater than any personal deeds or life, however important they may have been. I think General Grant will stand the test perfectly through coming generations. True, he had no artistic or poetical element; but he furnished the concrete of those elements for imaginative use, perhaps beyond any man of the age. He was not the finely painted portrait itself, but the original of the portrait. What we most need in America are grand individual types, consistent with our own genius. The west has supplied two superb native illustrations in Lincoln and Grant. Incalculable as their deeds were for the practical good of the nation for all time, I think their absorption into the future as elements and standards will be the best part of them.

"Washington and all those noble early Virginians were, strictly speaking, English gentlemen of the royal era of Hampden, Pym and Milton, and such it was best that they were for their day and purposes. No breath of mine shall ever tarnish the bright, eternal gold of their fame. But Grant and Lincoln are entirely native on our own model, current and western. The best of both is their practical, irrefragable proof of radical democratic institutions—that it is possible for any good average American farmer or mechanic to be taken out of the ranks of the common millions and put in the position of severest military or civic responsibility and fully justify it all for years, through thick and thin. I think this the greatest lesson of our national existence so far.

"Then," added the poet, "the incredible romance of Grant's actual career and life! In all Homer and Shakespeare there is no fortune or personality really more picturesque or rapidly changing, more full of heroism, pathos, contrast."

Warming to his subject, the poet had voiced his estimate of Grant with a spontaneous fervor none the less eloquent because it was thoughtfully and critically spoken. Then, with one of his benign smiles, he said: "Let me give you, in this connection, the little sonnet I wrote originally for Harpers:"

As one by one withdraw the lofty actors
From that great play on history's stage eterne,
That lurid, partial act of war and peace—of old and new contending,
Fought out through wrath, fears, dark dismays, and many a long suspense;
All past—and since, in countless graves receding, mellowing,
Victors and vanquish'd—Lincoln's and Lee's—now thou with them,
Man of the mighty days—and equal to the days!
Thou from the prairies!—tangled and many-veined and hard has been thy part,
To admiration has it been enacted!

### SCENES ON FRIDAY.

The scene in and around the City Hall on Friday was, with the exception of a few minor circumstances of little importance, but a repetition of that enacted the preceding day. The same long, serpentine line of surging humanity kept sending those in the van up the steps of the building to pay their silent homage to the dead hero. In the gloomy corridor the guard of honor of the Grand Army Post named in honor of the warrior who will fight no more battles, the members of the National Guard and the policemen were in the same positions they had occupied Wednesday, while at the head of the bier stood a solitary member of the Loyal Legion, as motionless as a wax figure. All through the day the stream of people kept flowing into the building past the catafalque and out into the park again with a monotony that would have been tiresome could the object of their mission have been forgotten. The visitors were as numerous, if not more so, than on the preceding day, and it was estimated that about 125,000 persons had viewed the body at 1 o'clock on Saturday morning when the last persons left the building. More than a quarter of a million of persons have viewed the remains during those three memorable days.

When the gates of the building were closed on Thursday, they shut out thousands of persons anxious to take a last look. Many of them returned to their homes, while others took possession of the benches in the park, determined to wait until morning, when they could be first in line and be sure to be admitted.

It wanted but a few minutes of 6 o'clock when Junior Vice-Commander Cranston, of the U. S. Grant Post, removed the lid from the casket, and the minute the iron gates were thrown open, the people began to move, allowing the first on the line to ascend the white marble steps. The first to view the body was a woman, as was also the case Thursday. From this time until the closing of the gates the tide never ebbed for an instant, but incessantly it poured by the catafalque.

Two hours after the opening of the gates a detachment from the Seventh Regiment filed into the building to act as a guard of honor to the body.

During the afternoon the Grand Jury filed by the casket in a body, with Inspector Steers at their head. Mayor Joseph E. Haynes, of Newark, with the Common Council, Board of Education and municipal authorities of that city, numbering about seventy-five, all wearing badges of mourning, viewed the remains in a body, as did also the officers and Executive Committee of the Grand Lodge of the Order of Kesher Shel Barzel. Ex-Lieut-Gov. John C. Robinson, of this State, entered by a private door and took a look at the body.

Many elaborate floral tributes were placed in the corridor near the body during the latter part of the day. The handsome piece, representing the "Gates Ajar," was placed at the head of the catafalque and was much admired. It had been sent by the members of the Stock Exchange, and a card bore the inscription :

FROM THE MEMBERS
OF THE
NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE.

On a stand near one of the draped pillars was an immense wreath of Marechal Niel roses and ivy, a heavy purple ribbon attached to which bore the name of the departed soldier. A large pillow of immortelles bearing the words "Galena," had been sent by the citizens of Galena, Ill.

The city of San Francisco sent by express a beautiful memorial of Grant, consisting of a square of dark purple velvet on which at the top was the figure of a miniature bear in gold, representing the arms of the State of California, and at each of the four corners miniature bears in silver. Across the middle of the square was the emblazoned inscription "California," and at the bottom, also in miniature letters, "In Memoriam U. S. Grant."

The remains of General Grant were forever closed from view at nineteen minutes past 1 o'clock on the morning of August 8th. When all the citizens had left the City Hall and the policemen had taken a look into the bier the members of the G. A. R. with a solemn step formed in line and passed by the casket. Each one lingered as long as possible and reluctantly turned their gaze from the face of their old commander. As the last one passed he stood for several moments as if petrified and tears rolled down his face.

At the Fifth Avenue Hotel a crowd gathered all day. When General Sherman stepped from a carriage at the door the crowd formed about him. Colonel Fred. Grant left his room shortly before 7 o'clock to get a breath of air. He had not proceeded half a block when the crowd closed about him and insisted on shaking hands. He was obliged to give up his walk and retired to his room.

All day Friday the Grant family was pressed for interviews by hundreds of curious visitors. When told that the family did not care to receive callers many attempted to force their way to the rooms. It was found necessary to station a porter to keep back the visitors. They had left the hotel but once since their arrival. This was on Friday when the whole party took a short drive to Riverside Park. The family took their meals in a private dining hall near their apartments. They were joined on Friday, at dinner, by ex-President Hayes, Senator Chaffee and Senor Romero, Minister from Mexico. The latter had placed himself at the service of the family and remained with them until their departure for Mount McGregor.

Mrs. Fred. Grant, Mrs. Jesse Grant and Mrs. U. S. Grant, Jr., with Mrs. Sartoris, made up the party of ladies who occupied the family apartments at the hotel. It was intended that these ladies should occupy carriages in the funeral procession, and were to immediately follow the funeral car. But since Mrs. Grant could not be present at the exercises it was decided that the ladies should not join the procession. Carriages were provided for the sons of the General.

The various delegations, staffs and organizations had established headquarters in the parlors about the hotel. General Sherman held an informal reception in the upper corridor shortly after dinner. After a large number of ladies had been presented and had retired, a great many old army veterans grasped the General's hand.

# CHAPTER XXXII.

## BORNE TO HIS REST.

The Last Rites—The Obsequies of General Grant—A Noble and Worthy Tribute to the Great Warrior—Hancock Leads the Advance—The Blue and the Gray United!—Virginia and Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Georgia March Together—Sunrise at Riverside—The Start of the Cortege—Funeral Song—Clergymen and Pall-bearers—The United States Troops and the State Militia—The President and Party—The Catafalque—The Grand Army of the Republic and the Civic Societies—Arrival at the Tomb—Impressive Burial Services—The Hero has Found His Rest at Last.

On Saturday, the eighth of August, the remains of General and Ex-President U. S. Grant, the most renowned American citizen of his time, were removed to their resting-place in Riverside Park, near New York City. The funeral solemnities on the banks of the Hudson River were attended by an assemblage of his countrymen far greater than has ever been brought together on any similar occasion. The ceremonies were not confined to the city of interment alone; the day was marked by solemn observances in most American communities, and by a general cessation of business throughout the whole country. There were no factitious elements about these mournful tributes of regard and regret. No movement of popular feeling was ever more spontaneous and genuine. It was true homage to a man who did service of infinite value to his country, and who brought great qualities to the performance of great deeds.

Few men have achieved such success or have been the principal actors in events that made so deep an impress on the history of millions of men. His service to the country as the most successful general of the armies in the life and death struggle of that country for existence, made him President of the United States within eight years from the time when he was an unknown clerk in a tannery of a country town. His Presidential period of eight years was only less eventful than the four years of the civil war. When General Grant retired from the Presidency he left the government of the United States in a more influential place in the estimation of the rest of the world than it had ever occupied before.

The participation of eminent Confederate soldiers in the ceremonials meant that these men and those whom they represent entertained for General Grant during his life a regard as sincere as it was outspoken; that they esteemed themselves, in common with their brethren of the North, the inheritors of Grant's glory and of the fruits of his victories, and that the nation's loss is their loss in the fullest possible measure. Close upon a quarter of a century ago General S. B. Buckner—meanly deserted at Fort Donelson by the men who had led him into taking up arms against the United States Government, and who should have borne the onus of defeat—permitted himself, in a bitter moment, to characterize Grant's demand for an unconditional surrender as unchivalric. Buckner was one of Grant's pall-bearers, for he fully appreciated not only the real chivalry which was one of the strong qualities of the man to whom he surrendered at Fort Donelson that sad winter-day long ago, but the real merits of the idea which Grant represented on that occasion. For this man and for Joseph E. Johnston to stand by the bier of Grant side by side with William T. Sherman, Philip H. Sheridan, David D. Porter, and other eminent representatives of Union sentiment during the civil war, convey a lesson that cannot possibly be misunderstood by the thoughtful people of the North, the South, the East, the West. It means that the results for which the war was fought, and for the sake of which alone it was worth fighting, have been absolutely, completely and unalterably achieved; that the war, and the contentions which led to it, are closed issues; and that from now, henceforth and forever, it will be useless for unscrupulous partisans to appeal to the passions of the war for the furtherance of their personal and unpatriotic ends.

The participation of these ex-Confederates in the funeral ceremonies would be a small thing in itself, did it not so evidently represent Southern sentiment. But from every part of the South the expressions of respect for the memory of Grant have been as hearty and as evidently sincere as it could possibly be asked that they should be. The terms which Grant gave to Lee at Appomattox, and especially his simple suggestion that the surrendered men should keep their horses, as they would need them for their spring ploughing, appealed, in the most direct manner, to the best Southern sentiment; and whatever he did at Appomattox towards making his victory a moral as well as a physical one, he still more became in Southern eyes the embodiment of a true chivalry when, later on, he brought the weight of his official and personal influence to bear to prevent the prosecution of prominent Confederates and to maintain the inviolability of the promises which he made to Lee.

General Grant was a great soldier. He was great not only in his ability to handle huge bodies of men, but in his clear understanding of the character of the struggle in which he was engaged, and of the means necessary for bringing it to an entirely satisfactory conclusion. It was fortunate, for many reasons, that the Government and its supporters had the services of such a man when the time came for striking the last blows at the Rebellion.

In grateful acknowledgment of his great services and of his worth as a soldier, a man and a citizen, his countrymen honored him by the grandest and most imposing obsequies America ever saw.

The following poem is an expression of the feeling which pervaded the whole nation, North and South, East and West:

### HIS LAST TRIUMPH.

Furl all the flags and muffle all the drums!
Back to the home he loved the hero comes,
  Not as the victor at the head
  Of armies he has often led,
Nor panoplied for war, nor laurel-crowned,
Nor greeted by the cannons' thund'rous sound,
  Or by the rapturous acclaim
  Of thousands who repeat his name,
Nor, as he left us last, in mortal pain,
His steps supported by his crutch or cane,
  But silently, so silently,
  That men may ask, Can this be he?

And yet he is a Leader. Grand and vast
A mighty multitude is marching past,
  And West and East with South and North
  Again have sent their legions forth,
Who come with reverent mien and solemn tread
To humbly follow the Commander, dead,
  While standards bright and scarcely worn
  Mingle with those by battle torn,
And men who with him and against him fought,
Like brothers, counting now the past as naught,
  Join hands beside the hero's bier;
  Oh, what a wondrous sight is here!

This is his triumph, this his joy and pride;
For this alone he might have gladly died.
  He ordered war's alarms to cease,
  And brought in pleasant days of peace.
"Go home," the victor to the vanquished said,
"And work for those you love, and mourn your dead!"
  When Death against his spirit strove
  His latest words were words of love.
Peace holds the Union that he helped to save,
And severed sections weep above his grave.
  Such is his last and best reward
  Who sheathed his anger with his sword.

### THE LAST REVIEW.

A more impressive picture than that of General Grant's funeral was never presented to the American people. The day was perfect, and the arrangements admirable. The prediction of "local rain and subsequent clearing weather" was, fortunately, not fulfilled. A brief shower at midnight led up to a morning cooled by breezes from the bay, so potent as to stir the leaves of all the trees at Riverside and through the Park and the few left along the line of procession, memorable in all future time as being the route over which the most superb pageant, military and civic, known in the history of the country, passed on this superb August day. In the earliest hours of the morning the city was astir. Thousands of men sat on stoops, rested on the curb-stones, loitered in the parks, and made populous all the points of vantage near the rendezvous where dignitaries were to meet, sharing the curiosity of the multitude which crowded about the City Hall concerning the sacred burden soon to be brought from its resting-place and taken to its last, long home. The hotels of the town were alive. Every corridor on every floor was lined with cots, and strangers doubled up in all the rooms. There was stir and bustle in every armory and at all the points where perfunctory preparations were being made for the grand ceremonial of the day. On every road leading to the city late trains were run at night and extra trains put on early in the morning. There was not a horse in all the stables of the town whose services were not enlisted. Every driver knew the hard day's work before him, and in every home it was distinctly understood that early rising, an early breakfast and an early start was the programme of the day.

### IN FRONT OF CITY HALL.

The morning sunshine fell at 8 o'clock, an hour before the procession was to start, upon a throng of people surrounding the asphalt esplanade road in front of the City Hall. Other streams of people, clad in their best garb, poured from the Brooklyn Bridge and the ferry-houses to join the throng. Smaller streams filtered away at the edges and moved up town, but most of the crowd waited patiently for the start of the great pageant. Men and boys climbed upon the dry granite fountain directly in front of the City Hall, and others displayed their agility by perching upon the frail iron support about young trees. A group of men found a lofty view from the top of the Federal building, and the roofs of the other tall buildings in the vicinage were dotted with spectators.

All alike looked down upon the sun-beaten open plaza, around which a line of policemen ran like a blue cord. Here and there a detail of policemen would form in line and march away to duty elsewhere.

In the distance there began to beat faintly the pulse of marching feet; from some side street swelled now the music of a band, now the sound of a drum, and between this vista of buildings and that, through this sunlit space East and that shadowed rift West, between tall blocks, could be caught the glitter of brightly polished guns or the tossing head of a horse.

The purple casket had been closed forever, and the dead hero, whose face had been gazed upon by acclaiming millions living and reverent thousands dead, had been shut away from mortal vision. The original guard of honor who escorted the body from Mt. McGregor, thirteen members of Grant Post, of Brooklyn, stood like statues about the catafalque. The officers of the 22d Regiment shared their vigil. No one spoke above a whisper, and those who walked moved lightly. The black draperies darkened the morning light, and even a whisper seemed boisterous. Through the tall, straight bars of the iron gates floated new murmurs of preparation. The time had nearly come for the casket and its unconscious, helpless burden to be carried on its last journey.

Battery place was alive with people at sunrise. Children, women and gray-bearded men with umbrellas and lunch baskets sat waiting in the shade of the Barge Office, where General Hancock's troops were to land. The water sparkled and white sails dotted the bay from Stevens' Point to the Narrows. All the street cars were packed and every train on the "elevated" roads was loaded to its fullest capacity

Troops were seen embarking at Governor's Island. The big black guns on the flower-bordered parapets were silent. Only the muffled drum and the plaintive wailing of music broke the stillness of the green island. Promptly tugs, steamers and barges reached the stone pier with blue jackets, soldiers and musicians. Policemen and a military detail kept back the increasing crowd which swarmed park and plaza. Officers, men, horses and artillery speedily disembarked. While the various organizations were preparing to fall into line and march General Hancock, with his regular staff, stood in front of the Barge Office entrance.

While guns, bayonets, regimentals and swords were glittering in the morning sunlight, General Fitzhugh Lee and Major Smith, of his old staff, in civilian's dress, alighted from an "elevated" train. They had come to join General Hancock's staff.

"Bless me, what are we coming to?" exclaimed a bronzed veteran, "ex-Confederate cavalrymen going with Union major generals to pay a last tribute at Grant's tomb! Well, the war is ended at last."

The distinguished visiting Southerners were cordially greeted by Gen. Hancock and his officers. After salutations and a few moments' chat the illustrious company mounted their horses and the march began. A squad of police on horseback cleared the street. Then came the Major-General and his staff, followed by pioneers with axes and side arms. Next were the battalions of United States troops in fresh uniforms, the naval brigade, marine battalion, blue jackets, infantry, artillery and National guards, in imposing columns, steadily marching to the roll and beat of muffled drums. Immense crowds lined the sidewalk; the crowd continued to increase until City Hall Park was reached. By this time Broadway, as far as the eye could reach, was filled with troops and spectators. The police arrangements were found to be good and Broadway was cleared of spectators from curb to curb at an early hour.

From every side street, to the music of fife and drum, with battle flags draped and bows of crape on the left arm, came the veterans of the war and the members of the Grand Army of the Republic. The Grand Army posts formed on the west side of Broadway, the Department of Pennsylvania having the right of line and its right resting on Duane Street. Next came the Department of New York and the other departments, and delegations formed from Fourteenth Street up nearly to Forty-second Street. Carriages for disabled soldiers were waiting in Canal Street.

All the early morning the tramp of soldiers and the mournful strains of the regimental bands were heard as the various regiments marched to the positions assigned them. The east side of Broadway was the scene of the deploy line. When the troops were drawn up in line of parade rest they presented an imposing sight. The regiments of the First division stretched southward down Fifth Avenue from Twenty-eighth Street, and the remaining troops continued the line down Broadway to the City Hall. At the City Hall there was a division of New Jersey National Guards, looking like regulars in their uniforms of light and dark blue; the Veteran Zouaves were shoulder to shoulder flanked against them. Company D, First Minnesota Guard, Captain Bean, with left resting below Grand Street, was next in the order of line, with the Capitol City Guards, left resting on Grand Street, next. The Union Veteran Corps, Captain A. E. Thomason, of the District of Columbia, rested on the right of the Capitol City Guards.

At Broome Street there was a battalion of four companies of Virginia State troops and the First regiment of Massachusetts infantry—two bodies that during the war would have been fighting each other to death, but which were now joined in brotherhood. Another similar contrast was next in line—the second regiment of Connecticut National Guards, the first regiment of Pennsylvania's National Guards, below Prince Street, and the Gate City Guards of Atlanta, Ga—which, with the two preceding troops, made a picture of blue and gray.

Then came the second division of the State National Guards, left resting on Bleeker Street, with companies of veteran guards, composed of the race the hero had fought to free, their left resting on Eleventh Street. Following them on the way up town were the Columbia Guard, the Garibaldi Legion, the Italian Rifle Guard, the Columbo Guard, the second company Washington Continental Guard, the tenth regiment New York Volunteer Veterans, the Veteran Zouave Association and the Veteran Association 165th New York Volunteers. The Governor's Foot Guard, Hartford, Conn., and the first division of the State National Guards completed this front of soldiery.

The pall-bearers and other distinguished persons met at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. Carriages waiting for them were drawn up in Twenty-third Street. President Cleveland, accompanied by Secretary of State Bayard, left his rooms, Nos. 82 and 83 on the third floor, at ten o'clock, and the two took seats in the carriage that awaited them at the Twenty-third Street entrance. The six bay horses which drew it only moved a few feet forward and then waited for two hours for the funeral car to pass. The sun poured down so fiercely that the President was obliged to leave the carriage after half an hour and to wait in the hotel. The spectators took off their hats as he passed among them.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie, the marshal of the Presidential and Gubernatorial carriages, had a difficult task before him. There was some trouble in getting ex-Presidents Hayes and Arthur placed in the proper carriages. Twice they were changed, and at last were seated together in a carriage that stood in front of the Eden Musée. At one side of them was Governor Hill's staff, mounted. Vice-President Hendricks and his secretary waited in a carriage directly in front of the hotel entrance.

The broad pearl sash of Colonel Gillespie was seen moving carelessly up and down and in and out between the horses, until at last the carriages were massed in three lines down the street. President Cleveland's Cabinet, in five carriages, were on the north side of the street. At the other side, drawn together in hopeless confusion, were a number of carriages containing Mrs. Rawlins Holman, the daughter of General Grant's old friend and chief of staff; the General's old staff and his Cabinet officers, detachments from Wheeler and U. S. Grant Posts and survivors of the Mexican War. Down the centre line were judges of the Supreme Court, United States Senators, with white silk sashes over their shoulders, and the House Committee, in a score of carriages. Down near Sixth Avenue were the committee of the State Legislature, the members of the Cabinets of ex-Presidents Hayes and Arthur, and the diplomatic and consular officers under General Grant. In the lines up and down Sixth Avenue were the Governors and their staffs of the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, Indiana, Illinois, Maine, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, West Virginia, Colorado and Dakota.

On Twenty-third Street, beyond Sixth Avenue, were the heads of the War and Navy Departments, Generals Sheridan and Merritt and Admiral Jouett and Commander Chandler and staffs, and a large number of federal officers, including the Indian Commissioners.

On Seventh Avenue were the carriages containing the Mayors of Brooklyn, Boston, St. Louis, Jersey City, New Haven, Hartford, Elizabeth, Hudson and Litchfield, Conn., and the Committee of One Hundred.

The rays of the rising sun had not pierced the dampened vapors clinging in the air when the boom of morning guns on the fleet anchored in the Hudson River, off the bluff at Riverside, gave notice of the day's mournful business, and on the six United States vessels thenceforth there was bustling life throughout the day. Here the first sounds which broke the stillness about the future resting place of General Grant's remains were heard. The executive officer of each man-of-war gave the order to "cockbill the yards." Next came the command, "Stand by your gear!" Then, "Sway!"

At this command, almost in unison, the yards on each vessel were dipped, the fore yards to port, the main yards to the starboard side, and there made fast. The colors at the peak were dropped to half-mast, and the men were "piped down" to don their uniforms of mourning. It consisted of a white cape, white jacket and black trousers, which were worn throughout the day of the burial.

In half an hour there came from one of the port-holes of the Despatch, which headed the line, a puff of white smoke, followed on the instant almost by the roar of the gun. It echoed on the high rocky walls of the three-crowned Palisades across the river, rolled back and forth and passed away among the distant hills like the rumble of reverberating thunder. Thenceforward until ten o'clock one gun every half hour measured the passing movement of time. When the hour of the departure of the procession from City Hall Park arrived the Despatch began firing twenty-one guns at intervals of a minute. The Powhatan followed, and each vessel's crew took their turn at the cannons, each firing two minute guns until the procession arrived. The billows of smoke rolled from the open ports, and the fleecy white sulphurous clouds lolled on the river's bosom until the gentle morning air carried them slowly away southward.

Soon the sun, rising higher in the heavens, shone brilliantly down on the line of ships. They formed a pretty sight as they lay at anchor one below the other, their clean, bright metal reflecting the warmth of the sun. Heading the line was the Despatch. At her foretop fluttered the ensign of Admiral Jouett. In close order following were the Powhatan, Omaha, Swatara, Alliance and the revenue cutter U S. Grant. At the stern of each vessel floated a little steam launch for the use of the officers. At ten o'clock the excursion boats began to arrive. The Plymouth Rock brought down 350 passengers from Peekskill; the C. A. Pean a like number from Yonkers; the Alpine 250 from the same village, and the Pleasant Valley and Fort Lee each landed 300 excursionists trom the lower end of the city. The same boats made many trips each way, and every time the throng in the Park was swelled by heir living cargoes.

Meanwhile on the shore, men, women and boys were rushing about in the endeavor to secure a point of vantage from which to view the burial pageant. Early in the morning Foreman McCann and Chief Engineer Kellogg had gangs of men on the ground to put the finishing touches on the work of the past week. The graders were busy levelling off the driveways leading to and from the tomb; the masons were trimming the stone pavement and making a temporary board platform before the tomb, and a large force of laborers set green slates of turf around the sides and rear of the vault, making the sloping, gravelly hill a place of freshness and beauty. All the roads about the place were rolled and sprinkled until they looked cool and smooth. A fresh coat of gilding was put on the finial cross at the apex of the roof and on the iron name, Grant," which stretches across the inner grated door. The inside of the tomb was next carefully swept with brooms, and before the news of the coming procession reached Claremont Bluff everything was in readiness.

With the opening of the day the crowds began to make their appearance, and while the work around the tomb was in progress the multitude was augmented by new arrivals until the patience of the police was taxed in their efforts to control it. A cordon of police officers stretched completely around the burial mound in the centre of the Park. There were 500 city policemen, under Inspector Dilks, and 150 park policemen, commanded by Captain Beatty. No one was allowed to pass the line without the proper credentials. Without the line of officers the crowd pressed and surged. The stands erected for their accommodation rapidly filled up, at an admission of one dollar, until there was room for no more. A temporary floor, upon which were placed seats to accommodate over four hundred of the mourners who rode in carriages in the procession, was laid in front of the tomb, distant about fifty feet. Between these seats and the tomb, and to the left of its entrance, the cedar outer casket, to contain the coffin, was resting on two standards. It was at once the centre of an interested group of officers and civilians, eager to examine its beautiful workmanship.

When the sun stole in through the barred gates of the City Hall in the morning it flashed upon the burnished silver mountings of the casket, and was reflected from the steel helmets of a guard from the Seventy-first regiment. It paled the electric lights, which soon went out. With it came a cool breeze that fluttered the sombre drapery hanging from the arches overhead, and rustled the leaves and the flowers that formed the background to the casket.

At one o'clock the double file of people had been stopped in the march past the bier, the iron gates were closed, the last look at the dead was taken, and the coffin lid shut out forever from the world's view the face of General Grant.

Impressive in the dignity of its simplicity, historic in its character and meaning was the scene. The eyes of the nation were centred upon that black draped vestibule, between whose massive pillars the country's hero slept his long sleep. The hour was fast approaching when he should be borne out through those iron portals and carried through a dense lane of his mourning fellow-citizens to his resting-place by the river's side. At the head of the casket stood a man, one of whose sleeves dangled empty at his side. The arm had been left behind on some battle-field. Medals of bronze decorated his breast. His gaze was fixed upon the casket. Other men in dark blue, who also carried medals, stood about in regular order like statues. Hardly a movement they made, and not a word broke the tomb-like stillness of the place. Flanking these, with military erectness, were men in gayer uniforms, who carried swords at their sides and wore upon their heads white helmets tipped with steel. At a greater distance policemen guarded every approach. Little change was there in the scene at any time.

As the hours wore on martial sounds came floating in through the barred gates and martial sights began to appear upon the broad plaza in front of the City Hall, upon which the silent watchers now and then looked out. The hosts were gathering at the various points to which they had been assigned. Strains of solemn music, to which the tramp of marching feet kept time, came from Broadway. Now and then a post of Grand Army men filed past, with colors draped and drooping and muffled drums. At intervals the sound of a far away discharge of artillery broke upon the ear, and mingling with all was the mournful tolling of the bell in St. Paul's Church tower. Fitting sounds were these. They seemed to voice a nation's sorrow, and were but the echo of other similar sounds that were going up from all parts of the land.

Now there was the measured tramp of feet upon the plaza, which ceases at the sharp word of command. Then the butts of a hundred muskets came to the pavement with one sound. The regulars had arrived—a company of the Fifth artillery and one of the Twelfth infantry—and taken up position facing the entrance to the hall. They compose the guard of honor. About the same time thirteen soldierly men marched up the steps in double file, and, dividing ranks, took up position on either side of the casket. This was the immediate body-guard from U. S. Grant Post, No. 327, men who took up their honored task on the summit of Mt. McGregor, who accompanied the body to Albany and who would not leave their charge until it had been laid in the tomb. Their comrades, who had been on duty since five o'clock, quietly withdrew, and after this momentary interruption the solemn hush once more fell upon the scene. It was nine o'clock, and in half an hour the start was made. Just preceding this there was a gathering of men in civilian's dress upon the City Hall steps. Quietly they arranged themselves in a group, facing the park, a baton waved and a soft strain of music was wafted in to the watchers. Then there was the low, gradually swelling sound of a hundred voices chanting a parting dirge. The Liederkranz was paying a last tribute.

Although at this time there was nothing to see but the front of the City Hall, everybody seemed to realize the solemnity of the occasion. Conversation was hushed, the crowd was almost motionless, and the silence was broken only by the twittering of the sparrows and the jingling of the street car bells. The plaza in front of the City Hall gates and the grass plots in a semicircle from the ends of the building extending as far as the fountain were kept cleared of the multitude by an unbroken line of policemen.

The impressiveness of the scene was deepened as the United States Infantry band from the depot at David's Island made the air throb with the strains of Sullivan's "Lost Chord." While this was being played the Liederkranz singers took their stand upon the steps. They sang, when the notes of the band had died away, the "Gesang der Geister über den Wassern" of Schubert—the song of the spirits over the water. The voices sounded clear and sweet in the bright morning air, and the walls of the building served to reflect the sounds, so that it is probable that nearly all, even of that vast assemblage, heard the music. After a short interval they sang again—the "Trauerchor der Pilger," the pilgrim's chorus, from "Tannhauser."

### CLERGYMEN AND PALL-BEARERS.

At a quarter to nine o'clock there was a pushing back of the crowds at the Park row entrance to the plaza, and a line of open carriages drove in. They contained the clergymen, the physicians and the pall-bearers. In the first carriage rode the Rev. Dr. Newman and Bishop Harris, representatives of the Methodist Church. The second carriage contained Bishop Potter, representing the Episcopalian communion, and the Rev. Dr. Field, the Presbyterian. The Rev. Dr. Chambers, of the Dutch Reformed Church, and Dr. West, of the Congregational, were in the third carriage. The fourth carriage attracted general attention. The Rev. Dr. Collyer, representing the Unitarian Church, was seen sitting there alone, while by its side and on foot walked the representative of the Jewish faith, which forbids its adherents to ride on their Sabbath. Father McGlynn, the Catholic clergyman, was in the next carriage, and by his side sat the Rev. Dr. Bridgman, the Baptist. The physicians—Drs. Douglas, Shrady, Sands and Elliott—were together in one coach.

Then came the pall-bearers. General Sherman, in cocked hat and gold lace, rode beside General Johnston, the Southern leader, in plain civilian's clothes. In the next carriage General Sheridan, also in uniform, talked with General Buckner, his old time adversary. George W. Childs and Anthony J. Drexel were in the succeeding coach, and Admirals Porter and Worden in the one following. Oliver Hoyt and George Jones and General Logan and Mr. Boutwell were in the last two carriages.

The carriages formed in two lines on the western half of the plaza and waited. Presently a wagon containing the flight of black covered steps used in mounting to the funeral car drove in, and then, at twenty-five minutes to ten, a way was opened at Park Row, and the nodding black plumes of the car were seen approaching. Twenty-four black horses, with black trappings and each led by a colored groom, moved slowly and impressively across the plaza and stopped with the catafalque directly in front of the entrance to the City Hall. The guard of honor marched across to the steps and formed in double lines facing each other and extending from the pillars of the vestibule down to the plaza and to the side of the funeral car. The artillery was on the west side and the infantry on the east. While the steps were being placed in position at the funeral car the clergymen, the physicians and pall-bearers left their carriages and entered the City Hall. Instinctively every head in the vast concourse was uncovered and everybody waited in perfect silence.

The hour had arrived. There was no bustle or confusion. The face of Dr. Newman appeared in the gateway. He announced that the clergy and the pall-bearers were in readiness. They were grouped just outside the gates, sashes of white caught up with black running from their shoulders to their waists. Senior Vice Commander John H. Johnson, of Grant Post, G. A. R., quietly gave the word to his twelve men. They took hold of the silver handles of the casket and raised it from its resting-place. Carefully they lowered it, and were ready for the transfer to the waiting funeral car. The little procession was arranged as follows, with the pall-bearers and clergy in advance and Commander Johnson heading his men:

| *Left of the Casket.* | *Right of the Casket.* |
|---|---|
| Comrade Corwin. | Comrade Tebbitts. |
| Comrade Howatt. | Comrade McKellar. |
| Comrade McDonald. | Comrade McKelvey. |
| Comrade Squires. | Comrade Brodie. |
| Comrade Knight. | Comrade Collins. |
| Comrade Guillam. | Comrade Barker. |

Comrades Downing and Ormsby, of Wheeler Post.

Representatives of the Loyal Legion of Honor, comprising General John J. Milman, General C. A. Carlton, Paymaster George D. Bartno, Lieutenant-Colonel Floyd Clarkson, Lieutenant-Colonel A. M. Clark and Captain E. Blunt.

While the band of the regulars played a funeral march the procession slowly moved down the steps. The hats of the great throng that lined the edge of the park were simultaneously removed, and two photographers caught the historic picture. Up the steps that led to the funeral car the Grand Army men moved with their burden. They deposited it upon its resting-place. The whole scene had occupied but five minutes.

The pall-bearers and the clergy and physicians walked back to their carriages, re-entered them, were driven slowly out into Broadway and halted. The army guard of honor, headed by the band, marched slowly around the funeral car to the end of the plaza, at carry arms, and stopped at Broadway. The Twelfth Infantry company was in the van, immediately behind the pall-bearers' carriages and the artillery battery followed. Then the members of Grant Post, who had been waiting on Broadway, entered the plaza and formed twelve files front immediately before the car. Some of the veterans bore small wreaths of evergreens in their hands. On either side of the funeral car stood the thirteen members of the Grant Post who had constituted the last guard at the City Hall. Directly behind the car walked the ten members of the Wheeler Grand Army Post who had attended the body from Mt. McGregor. Six veteran officers of the Loyal Legion stood shoulder to shoulder behind the car. Mayor Grace and the members of the Board of Aldermen in their carriages then fell into line.

There was a brief pause after this little procession had formed, and then the David's Island Band played the first notes of Beethoven's "Marche Funèbre." The army guard of honor moved as one man, with arms reversed and solemn tread; the sable plumes on the car nodded, and so the body of the dead General started upon its last march.

The crowd waited with uncovered heads and in solemn silence until the car had turned into Broadway, and then, with a decorum remarkable, considering the vast numbers, moved in a body out of the park into the street, and so on past the City Hall to Chambers Street.

All night long workmen had been preparing with saw and hammer for the march up Broadway. Hundreds of stands were hastily erected in all sorts of places. One, probably, with the permission of somebody in authority, had been erected on Pearl Street just off Broadway. It was so large that it filled the street from curb to curb, thus preventing the passage of teams. A board stuck in a barrel of sand bore this notice, " Street closed." Temporary balconies had been built over a store at Canal Street and Broadway. In front of the ruins of Harrigan & Hart's Theatre Comique speculators had erected a stand one hundred feet in length. The windows of many of the great warehouses along Broadway had been cleared of goods and the empty spaces filled in with chairs. At the hour set for the start of the procession the sidewalks were densely packed with people who had been flocking to the scene almost from dawn. On every side there was a sea of faces. Wherever the eye was turned it was met by thousands of other eyes.

The Grand Army organizations were deployed in line on the west side of Broadway from Duane Street up. On the east side, extending nearly as far as the Fifth Avenue Hotel, had been formed the various regiments of the National Guards of New York and other States, and all the armed military organizations comprising the military escort. It was a suggestive contrast. On one side of the way were the grizzled veterans of the great rebellion who had fought under Grant, and on the other the young and spruce looking members of the militia regiments. Here and there in the ranks of the old soldiers was to be seen a tattered battle flag, telling in silent eloquence its story of heroism. It was only a ragged bit of silk, but was as striking in its contrast to the bright new banners of the young guardsmen opposite as the plain and often shabby clothing of the veterans was to the showy uniforms of the youngsters.

### THE LAST SALUTE.

At a given signal the militia organizations had fallen into line ahead of the hearse, in compliance with the forms of a military funeral, which require that all armed soldiery shall precede the body. When the funeral car reached Chambers Street, therefore, the military organizations simply wheeled into the procession in the van. But all along the street for blocks and blocks could be seen the Grand Army posts still waiting, for to them had been justly awarded the honor of joining in the cortége immediately behind the body as mourners.

There was a delay at Duane Street, and the funeral car and its immediate escort stopped to permit the militia to get into line ahead. The procession soon started forward, however, and then an impressive sight was witnessed. The Grand Army posts, for blocks and blocks, as the car moved on, saluted the dead, each veteran standing, with his Grand Army medal covered with crape and with a mourning-knot upon the left arm, and raised his soft black hat from his head with the right hand, then bringing it to the left breast with the crown outward, and holding it there until the remains had passed. Then, as the guard of honor marched past, the Grand Army men wheeled into the line, marching not as separate posts, but consolidated into battalions and brigades.

And so the procession, swelling by the hundreds at every block, moved on up Broadway.

It would be too much to say that the hundred thousand people who massed themselves in and about Madison Square, packing the streets solidly, overflowing every window, obeying the slightest hint of the humblest policeman, footsore with long and weary waiting, had the faintest idea that the programme of the day would be executed to the letter, but when, at a few moments after ten, word was passed along the line that the column had turned from Fourteenth Street into Fifth Avenue it was as though an electric shock had been given to every person in the crowd. The scene was a picture. The façade of the Fifth Avenue Hotel, becomingly draped in heavy mourning, seemed alive with spectators. Every window on the Broadway side had its quota, its full complement of occupants, while on the roof men and women stood like bees in a hive.

Far up the line of march could be seen the floating plumes, the burnished weapons, the showy uniforms and the impatient steeds of the military waiting their turn to fall into line. Immediately in front, barring egress through Twenty-third Street, stood the Twenty-second as motionless as machinery at rest. Back of them stood a line of policemen, and back of them the multitude. A shrill blast from a bugle told the story of the commander's coming. Preceded by a well-kept line of mounted police came the army and the navy. Hancock on a magnificent horse looked every inch a soldier, followed at a respectful distance by his gorgeous and glittering staff. Nothing save respect to the memory of the dead—nothing but that subtle intuition which taught every heart in that crowd the delicacies of the occasion, restrained the multitude from an outburst of spontaneous recognition of the gallant bearing and noble presence of this superb cortége. Opera-glasses were brought into requisition by ladies in all the windows, and Hancock and his aides faced a battery more numerous in its charges than any he ever saw on the field of battle. To say that the regular troops marched well would be but a simple statement of fact, and to say that every eye in all that interested multitude rested with regard and admiration upon the soldiers and the sailors in that part of the division would be to tell the simple truth.

General Shaler had reason to be entirely satisfied with his command. The First and Second brigades fell into line, according to the official programme, with full ranks properly equipped and with a port and dignity of carriage that secured the admiration their appearance challenged. Immediately opposite to the main entrance to the Fifth Avenue Hotel, in the centre of the street, lay a small piece of paper, at which every line deployed from left to right, moving from the Broadway path into the Fifth Avenue thoroughfare. The movement was one calculated to test the military knowledge and expertness of the men, and it was interesting and curious to note the comments of the people in the crowd. When a company made a clean cut deploy there was a subdued but perceptible recognition, as when they made a ragged and unprofessional deploy there was a subdued but perceptible hum of dissatisfaction.

Between ten o'clock and one, at which time the President and the other dignitaries, whose headquarters were in the Fifth Avenue, joined the procession, the hotel was a centre of curiosity to a large crowd of people unable to get nearer Broadway than the Twenty-third Street entrance, where stood several open carriages for the President and his friends and two or three hundred other carriages for other people and their friends. The President looked remarkably well, pulled his hat well down over his forehead and wore a dark suit of broadcloth, the coat buttoned high in the breast. He held quite a levee, talking very earnestly and pleasantly with Secretary Bayard, who looks pale and wan.

Vice-President Hendricks held a little levee by himself, wearing most of the time his hat, apparently in the best of health and the best of spirits. Ex-President Hayes, with much thoughtful consideration, passed most of the time with the ladies of the bereaved family, with whom he is on the best of terms, and who appear to look to him to a certain extent for counseling aid and comfort. The most dignified, certainly the most graciously easy of the distinguished party in the hotel, was ex-President Arthur, who was cordially greeted by everybody and most respectfully treated wherever he moved.

The troops continued their onward march, each regiment preceded by a full band, the music of the occasion being, by the way, one of its most significant features. Probably out of deference to the fact that the family were stopping in the Fifth Avenue Hotel every band without exception during the entire day struck up at Twenty-first Street, and continued in full tide of successful operation along Broadway to the deploy line, and thence up Fifth Avenue as far as Thirtieth Street, and some still farther. This fact, added to the advantageous point for observation afforded by the open square and the large spaces referred to above, made the scene from this point particularly picturesque and noteworthy. Far in advance of each brigade rode its commander, followed at the proper distance by his staff. Then came the colonel of each particular regiment, followed by his staff, and then the music. It was noticed with particular pleasure that the officers were almost without exception admirably mounted.

One of the most interesting features was the appearance of the Old Guard, which wore the old time bear-skin cap, the old style white coat and the old style blue trousers. They were preceded by a superb band playing " Nearer my God to Thee." After the band followed the veteran George Washington McLean, walking like a chief mourner, far in advance of his handsome command. It was hard for the people to restrain themselves at that point. They wanted to applaud and to recognize the soldierly bearing of the gallant men who followed the gallant Major in his gallant tread. The oldest military organization in the country is the Governor's Foot Guard, of Hartford, Conn., which presented a unique and odd but interesting appearance as the men came along in their old style uniform, preceded by a particularly good band. The colored guards, it is pleasant to record, looked well, marched well and deserved well of their fellow-citizens.

Very great interest was excited by the appearance of the Southern troops—more especially the Gate City Guard of Atlanta, the Virginia State Troop and the Union Veteran Corps from the District of Columbia.

The New Jersey National Guard made a fine appearance. They turned out in great numbers, and added their full quota to the interest of the occasion and their full share to the magnificent music of the day.

Pennsylvania's quota soon came, and the gallant boys of the First Regiment, in their new blouses and white pantaloons, stepped forward, platoon after platoon, with the regularity of clockwork. At the head rode Colonel Theodore L. Wiedersheim and his staff. Lieutenant-Colonel Gilpin and Major Bowman rode on either flank. J. Houston Merrill acted as special aid, and Lieutenant C. F. Kensil took the place of Adjutant Groff. Quartermaster Roberts, Paymaster Taber, Surgeon O'Neill and Assistant Surgeons Muhlenberg and Smith were also present, as well as Sergeant-Major J. G. Post, Quartermaster-Sergeant T. H. Gallagher, Thomas A. Sergeant, G. L. Walker and Hospital-Steward Charles Ouram, who were present as the non-commissioned staff.

When the parade was over it was conceded that no body of militia had made anything near approaching the display of discipline and training shown by the First Regiment of Philadelphia. Colonel Wiedersheim, by his skillful handling of the men, showed his tact and ability as a commander during the day, and it was frequently commented upon by older heads acquainted with the management of veteran and volunteer troops. All along the line, as in Washington, the white pants and marching order knapsacks attracted marked attention, and the men would have received hearty applause had such an evidence of approval not been regarded as out of place on such an occasion. It was the only regiment in the line in heavy marching order, and it is, of course, understood that the smoothness of their movements was consequently so much the more creditable as compared with the marching of the men who carried nothing but their guns and accoutrements.

Many of these people, this vast crowd, this enormous aggregation, thousands and tens of thousands of them, had been there since very early in the morning, and some all night. Wearied and tired, impatient, they stood and waited and wondered and waited until the procession came, and then, as though aflame with interest and curiosity and with respectful determination and desire to know all about the tribute to the man they honored, they became creatures of impulse in act and look and gesture, so that from ten o'clock until one, a space of three hours, during which, with two exceptions, perhaps of five minutes each, when the troops were resting, they had been interested and satisfied.

Then came the sensation of the day.

Far down the line started that subtle something which told this great mass on Fifth Avenue, Broadway and Twenty-third Street that that for which all eyes were waiting was almost before them.

The catafalque was coming.

Grant's body would soon be with them.

Through all this crowd there ran a stir. People already packed to the verge of suffocation packed closer. The long quadruple line of carriages which stretched from Fifth Avenue through West Twenty-third Street beyond Seventh Avenue, moved restlessly.

Drivers got themselves into positions and distinguished guests took seats. Escorted by Marshal McMichael, the President, ungloved, entered his carriage, and by his side sat Secretary Bayard, also without gloves. The crowd pressed close, the footman took his seat by the side of the coachman and the six horses pranced and danced as though impatient for their opportunity to participate in the procession. Vice-President Hendricks, with his hat pulled down over his right eye, with a glove on his left hand, took a seat in the next carriage. Then came ex-President Hayes and ex-President Arthur, and following them the long list of dignitaries, as given, all took seats and waited, while with solemn step, keeping time to the measured music of a glorious band, came the chief feature of the procession. Bareheaded, young Mr. Merritt walked perhaps fifteen feet in advance of the leaders. There were twenty-four horses, covered with black netting, draped in mourning and led by colored grooms, to draw the enormous vehicle with its sacred burden. When the casket, covered with black, exposing its long silver handles only, came in full view, without a word, hint, sign or suggestion from any mortal hand, every person instantly removed his hat.

There was no flag about the coffin, no national insignia of any sort about the catafalque, no flowers, nothing whatever to detract from the simple grandeur of that solitary casket, raised high in air above the heads of all who saw it, containing all that remains of the man who in his time commanded ten times more armed men than followed him to his grave.

The long line of carriages instantly fell into place, and then there was a rush to see the family and relatives of General Grant, the old members of his staff, the ex-Cabinet officers, the clergy and physicians. A halt was called in the line of carriages going up Broadway, and from one of them stepped Mayor Grace, attended by Alderman Sanger and Comptroller Loew, who, escorted by Captain Williams, made hurried way to the Twenty-third Street entrance of the hotel, and gave official greeting to the President and the other distinguished guests. Resuming their seats in their carriages, a signal was given and the procession moved on. Dr. Newman and Bishop Morris sat together in the foremost carriage. Dr. Newman sits high, and his countenance wore not unnaturally a calmly satisfied expression as he moved along, part and parcel of this deliberate testimonial in honor of his friend and parishioner. Bishop Potter was recognized by many, and pleasantly returned their salutations. Dr. Collyer, being tired of riding, walked in the centre of the street, accompanied by the representative of the Hebrew faith, his huge form towering above his surrounding comrades. Curiosity was manifested in all the crowds to see Drs. Douglas and Shrady, and many manifestations of sympathy and respect were extended to them, more especially to Dr. Douglas, who is not in robust health. The face of Rear Admiral Worden isn't as well known as his services are, but he attracted much attention, as naturally did General Sherman, who never looked more rugged, never more interested, never more soldierly than on this occasion. Phil. Sheridan, too, is much less known than is the record of his deeds, but he was recognized by many and talked of by all.

The appearance of General Johnston and General Buckner was almost a signal for an outburst of applause, and it would have taken but little to draw from the vast host of interested and gratified spectators a tumultuous indication of their pleasure at seeing them as pall-bearers at the funeral of the Federal commander. Speaker Carlisle and ex-Speaker Randall are very well known in New York, more especially the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and when they came along, followed by Governor Long, of Massachusetts, and Randolph Tucker, of Virginia, and Wade Hampton, of South Carolina, and William M. Evarts, of New York, with Archy Bliss, of Brooklyn, and General Bingham, of Pennsylvania, and Horace Porter, with Rufus Ingalls and Comstock and Smith, of Grant's staff, followed by the copper-colored General Parker, who, as Grant's military secretary, was present at the meeting between Grant and Lee at Appomattox, the stir in the crowd became a push, and it was with difficulty that Captain Williams' men secured that perfect quiet which down to that moment had characterized the conduct of the crowd. The dashing staff of General Sheridan, followed by General Schofield and his staff, made a profound impression upon the popular mind, which lasted long enough to enable them to endure with some degree of patience the long, long line of carriages containing committees and governors and heads of bureaus and politicians and distinguished merchants and all that sort of men who then appeared.

The veteran division was under command of Major-General Sickles, who drove at the head of the line in a handsome victoria drawn by two spanking horses. He and his companion, in the full regimentals of their position, were picturesque, dashing and interesting to a degree. Then came the veterans, the retired officers and the societies of the several armies, each and all suggestive of fighting days and troublous times long since past, leading up to the coming of the Grand Army of the Republic, commanded by General Burdette. Every one of these posts had a band. Sometimes the band was a full military band, at others it was a simple drum and fife, at others a drum and fife corps, but every one according to its means had done what it could to honor the day and make memorable the funeral of the man who led them on to battle and to glory. As the Grant Post passed the Fifth Avenue Hotel every man lifted his hat in recognition of the mourners, and as they pushed along, marching like men accustomed to march, holding themselves erect, yet without strain, bearing themselves with a swinging dignity characteristic of the soldiers of the Republic, every eye in all that multitude fastened upon them ; and universal compliment was paid the organizations which came from Maine, from the Potomac, from Texas, from Iowa, from Connecticut and Maryland, from Illinois and Virginia and Indiana, from New Jersey, New Hampshire and Colorado, from Wisconsin, Missouri and Kansas, from the Old Bay State and the Empire State as well, thousands of them coming at great expense in the aggregate, that they might swell this enormous outpouring, this overwhelming demonstration in honor of the man whom they saw fit to honor most. It was a touching tribute, a beautiful sight—something long, long to be remembered. Then came General O'Beirne and staff, chief of the First Brigade of veteran organizations, first of which was the Seventy-ninth Regiment of Highlanders in their typical costume, followed by the old-time Fire Zouaves and the Duryea Zouaves, Garibaldi Guards and others, all with bands, all with banners, all with evident interest and sympathy for the occasion, leading up to the Second Brigade of Colonel Rafferty, in which were the famous Hawkins Zouaves and the volunteers, the veterans who ran out from this city quick to meet the foe in the troubled days of 1861 and on, and the Tammany Regiment, the old Forty-second of New York, with the Mexican War veterans, and they in turn followed by General Frank Spinola and staff at the head of the Third Brigade of veterans, recalling to the minds of many the day when the same General, at the head of some of the same troops, marched on to a ferry-boat leading from Brooklyn to New York and went away to the front, leaving politics and local issues behind.

General McMahon was an imposing figure on horseback, and as he rode along, followed by his staff, at the head of the civic division, his martial bearing and well-equipped appearance attracted comment on every side. His division rode in carriages and closed the procession, which moved along past the Worth Monument at three o'clock, followed by a vast concourse of interested people, whose companions and comrades sought quickly the elevated road on either side, hurrying homeward to the train or up town that they might catch a second look and participate in the final ceremonies of the Riverside interment.

A large force of mounted policemen had gone a few minutes before to clear the way, and the street was unobstructed from curb to curb as General Hancock rode forward in advance of his brilliantly-uniformed staff. Every eye was turned upon the commanding general who, besides his fame as a soldier, is notable as one of the handsomest officers in the service. His stalwart form and splendid carriage fully justified the encomiums that have been given to his appearance at the head of his troops. His aides were as follows:

Major-General J. G. Farnsworth, Rear-Admiral C. R. P. Rodgers, Brevet Major-Generals Rufus Ingalls, James B. Fry, Edward Ferrero, Henry A. Barnum; Brigadier-Generals Egbert L. Viele, Lloyd Aspinwall, Horatio C. King, Fitzhugh Lee, N. Gano Dunn; Brevet Brigadier-Generals John C. Tidball, C. B. Comstock, Theodore F. Rodenbough, Horace Porter, H. A. Bingham, Joseph S. Fullerton, Francis A. Walker, C. A. Carlton, Edward W. Serrell, W. G. Mauk, H. C. Barney, W. H. Penrose; General Lopez de Querralta and John B. Gordon, and Colonels John Hamilton, John P. Nicholson, Schuyler Crosby, Patrick M. Haverty, George W. Cooney, William E. Van Wyck, James M. Varnum, P. Lacy Goddard, Lewis W. Read, Thomas L. Watson, C. M. Schieffelin, J. B. Phillips, Robert Lenox Belknap, E. M. L. Ehlers, J. F. Tobias, B. Penn Smith, Brevet Colonel A. P. Green, Lieutenant-Colonel H. C. Hodges, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonels W. H. Harris, G. L. Gillespie, William Ludlow, James Farney, Frederick A. Sawyer, Finley Anderson and Edward Haight; Majors Jacob Hess, W. L. Skidmore, J. C. Paine, William H. Corsa, R. Livingstone Luckey, W. R. Mattison, Augustus S. Nicholson and Ivan Tailoff; Ensign Aaron Vanderbilt; Captains John H. Weeks, James H. Merryman, James W. Brinck, R. H. McLean, DeWitt Ward and T. J. Spencer; Lieutenants H. R. Lemly, A. M. Parker, John Schuyler, Jared L. Rathbone, R. H. Patterson and Charles G. Treat.

Following the staff came Battery F, of the Fifth Artillery, with four field pieces and caissons, under the command of Major Wallace F. Randolph. Nearly three hundred regulars from the Engineers' Corps at Willett's Point, under command of Brevet Major-General Henry L. Abbott, were next in line, and the army detail was completed by Batteries I, L, M, and H, of the Fifth Artillery, marching as infantry and commanded by Colonel Abram C. Wildrich. The regulars presented a fine appearance and marched well. Each command was accompanied by ambulances. But the "blue jackets," or sailors and the marines, presented a much more picturesque appearance. The sailors were dressed in blue trousers, with white leggings, white sailor shirts and white rimless round hats. The marines were in blue, with white helmets. The Navy contingent was in command of Commander Henry B. Robeson, and Lieutenant McLean, Passed Assistant Surgeons D. N. Bentollette and Howard E. Ames, and Ensign B. C. Dent as aides. Following the staff came twenty blue jacket sappers and miners from the steamer Omaha, under command of Ensign Guy W. Brown. Next came the Marine Band from Washington, preceding a battalion of about 300 marines, in seven companies, under command of Captain Edward P. Meeker and Frederick H. Corrie. A battalion of blue-jackets, of ten companies, sixteen files front, came next preceded by the band from the flagship Tennessee. They were in command of Lieutenant William H. Emory and Naval Cadets Joseph Strauss and Benjamin Wright. In the rear marched the hospital detail, with stretchers, to pick up the sick.

The rear of the Naval forces was composed of 196 blue-jackets, divided into six companies, each drawing a Gatling field gun. They were in command of Lieutenants William W. Kimball and Albert Mertz, and Naval Cadet Arthur H. Dutton.

The National Guard organization of New York and other States followed the army and navy as above represented. This section of the first division was remarkably rich in its color effects, and the skill of the several commands in all military evolutions would have won on any other occasion the hearty applause of all spectators. As it was, the people could hardly be restrained from applauding as such regiments as the Seventh of New York, First of Pennsylvania, Second of Connecticut, and First of Massachusetts, passed with measured tread. The first division of the National Guard of New York was in command of Major-General Shaler, with the following staff:

Colonel H. A. Gildersleeve, Colonel Carl Jussen, Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin S. Church, Lieutenant-Colonel E. H. Sanford, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Mitchell, Lieutenant-Colonel Cyrus Edson, Lieutenant-Colonel W. De L. Boughton, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward T. Wood, Lieutenant-Colonel H. B. Masters, Major Lawson B. Bell, Major F. S Colllns.

The regulars, leaving the City Hall at nine o'clock, marched between the deployed lines of National Guards and Grand Army Posts, and the last of the blue jackets had just passed the head of General Shaler's Division, near the Worth Monument, at 10.30. The National Guards were immediately wheeled into line and followed the regulars. The regiments of the First Division were as follows:

*First Brigade.*

First Battery, Captain Louis Wendel.
Brigadier General William G. Ward and staff.
Twenty-second Regiment, Colonel Joshua Porter.
Ninth Regiment, Colonel William Seward, Jr.
Eleventh Regiment, Colonel Stewart.
Twelfth Regiment, Colonel James H. Jones.

*Second Brigade.*

Second Battery, Captain F. P. Earle.
Brigadier General Louis Fitzgerald and Staff.
Seventh Regiment, Colonel Emmons Clark.
Sixty-ninth Regiment, Colonel James Cavanagh.
Eighth Regiment, Colonel George D. Scott.
Seventy-first Regiment, Colonel E. A. McAlpin.

### DIVISION OF VETERANS.

Colonel David E. Austen, commanding.

Old Guard, Major George W. McLean.
Governor's Foot Guard, of Hartford, Connecticut, Major J. C. Kinney.
Association of 165th New York Volunteers, Colonel Harmon D. Hull.
Veteran Zouave Association, Captain T. F. Sheenan.
Tenth Regiment New York Volunteer Veterans, Captain A. Chamberlin.
Fifth Regiment New York Volunteer Zouaves, Captain B. F. Finley.
Second Company of Washington Continental Guards, Captain J. G. Norman.
Columbo Guard, Captain J. Cavagnaro.
Italian Rifle Guard, Captain R. Sonnabello.
Garibaldi Legion, Captain E. Spazary.
Columbia Guards, Captain W. F. Kelly.
Three companies of Veteran Guards (colored), Captain H. R. Williams.

Many of these organizations derived special interest from their associations, and all turned out full ranks in rich uniforms. The prevailing color to the spectator was white, but this was relieved by brilliant patches of red and blue and gold. Viewed from a height the long line of moving color with the glistening weapons was an inspiring spectacle of singular beauty. Each regiment was headed by a good band of music, and the sense of hearing as well as that of sight was delighted by the harmonies that presented themselves as each command came within view and hearing distance. The Twenty-second and Seventh regiments were the strongest, and both presented a fine appearance in their full dress uniforms. Most of the other regiments were in the State uniform, but the Sixty-ninth, an Irish organization descended from war times, was in full dress, carrying the green above the red in the pompons on the helmets. Of the veteran organizations the Old Guard braved the hot sun in bear-skin hats; the Governor's Foot Guards, of Hartford, Conn., was conspicuous from its uniform, which is like that of the old Hessian grenadiers. The Zouaves in their picturesque uniforms were naturally objects of interest, as were the Italian organizations with their strange mixture of United States and Italian colors.

The second division of the National Guard of New York was under the command of Major General Edward L. Molyneux, with the following staff: Colonel William J. Denslow, A. A. G.; Lieutenant-Colonel Gustave A. Roullier, I. R. P.; Lieutenant-Colonel J. F Cowan, Ord. O.; Lieutenant-Colonel John Y. Cullyer, Engineer; Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. Skene, Surgeon; Judge Advocate Albert E. Lamb; Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Arthur, Q. M.; Lieutenant-Colonel John Foord, Com. of Sub.; Major Robert Herbert, A. D. C.; Major H. S. Kingsley, A. D. C.; Captain Howland D. Perrine, Signal Officer.

### *Fourth Brigade.*

Brigadier-General, William H. Brownell and staff.
Twenty-third Regiment, Col. R. C. Ward.

Thirty-second Regiment, Colonel L. Finkelmeir.
Forty-seventh Regiment, Col. E. F. Gaylor.

*Third Brigade.*

Third Battery, Captain H. S. Rasquin, Colonel James McLeer and staff.
Thirteenth Regiment, Colonel A. C. Barnes.
Fourteenth Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Harry W. Mitchell.
Seventeenth Separate Company, Captain Miller.
First Regiment Pennsylvania National Guard, Colonel T. E. Weidersheim.
Gray Invincibles, Captain John F. Kennard.
Gate City Guards, of Atlanta, Ga., Lieutenant William M. Camp.
Second Regiment Connecticut National Guard, Colonel W. J. Leavenworth.
First Regiment Massachusetts Infantry, Colonel A. C. Wellington.
Battalion of four companies Virginia State Troops, Lieutenant-Colonel M. S Spotswood.
First Company, Union Veterans, Captain H. E. Urell.
Union Veteran Corps, District of Columbia, Captain S. E. Thomason.
The Capital City Guards, Captain T. S. Kelly.
Company D, First Minnesota Guard, Captain Bean.
The Veteran Zouaves (Independent), Brigadier-General Drake.

The First Regiment, of Philadelphia, appeared to great advantage, although in fatigue caps and coats and white trousers. They carried knapsacks, with rolled-up blankets, and looked like veteran soldiers beside their gaily dressed associates. The Gray Invincibles, in State uniform, with fatigue caps, also looked and marched well. The Second Regiment, of Connecticut, and the First, of Massachusetts, were particularly fine organizations, and turned out with full ranks. Virginia and the District of Columbia sent representative companies, and the Gate City Guards, of Georgia, were also in this division.

New Jersey sent an entire division to take part in the procession. It was under command of Major General Plume, and was composed as follows:

*First Brigade.*

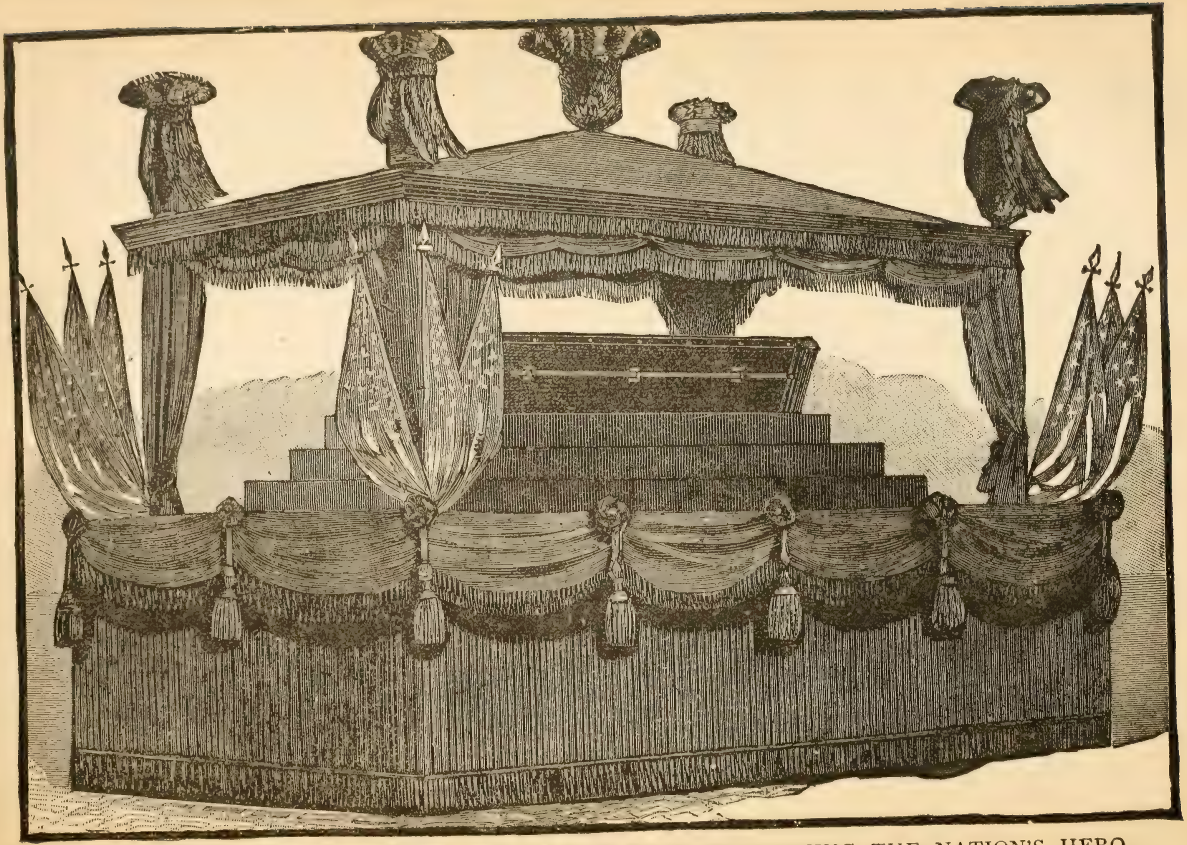
First Regiment, Colonel E. A. Campbell, Newark.
Fourth Regiment, Colonel Samuel D. Dickinson, Jersey City.
Fifth Regiment, Colonel Levi R. B. Bernard, Newark.
Ninth Regiment, Colonel B. Franklin Hart, Hoboken.
First Battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph W. Congdon, Paterson.
Second Battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel James B. Moore, Leonia.

*Second Brigade.*

Eighth Regiment.
Third Regiment, Colonel Elihu H. Ropes, Elizabeth.
Sixth Regiment, Colonel William H. Cooper, Camden.
Seventh Regiment, Colonel Robert A. Donnelly, Trenton.
Gatling Gun Company B, Captain R. R. Eckendorff, Camden.

The New Jersey troops presented an excellent appearance, and turned out about twenty-five hundred men.

This ended the military part of the display. The catafalque, with its guard of honor, the mourning family and friends and the distinguished guests were to form the next division, falling into line as the rear of the military passed Twenty-third Street. Early



FUNERAL OF GENERAL GRANT.—THE CATAFALQUE CONTAINING THE NATION'S HERO.

in the morning the clergymen, physicians and pall-bearers had been taken in carriages from the Fifth Avenue Hotel to the City Hall. At nine o'clock the Liederkranz Society, under Agricol Pauer, to trombone and horn accompaniment, sang Schubert's "Geisterchor" and Wagner's "Pilgrimchor," from the City Hall steps. At this moment General Hancock was putting the troops in motion, and as the sounds of the music died away, Colonel W. B. Beck, in command of the escort of regulars, prepared for the removal of the casket to the catafalque. Battery A, of the Fifth Artillery, and Company E, of the Twelfth Infantry, formed the military guard, and were drawn up in two lines to the steps of the hall. Mayor Grace, attended by President Sanger and Vice-President Jaehne, of the Board of Aldermen, and William L. Turner, the Mayor's secretary, advanced to the foot of the coffin, and in a few words transferred it from the control of the city to the custody of the Government, represented by Colonel Beck. The clergymen, physicians and pall-bearers having arrived, a short procession was formed, and the detail from the Grant Post, of Brooklyn, lifted the casket and carried it out to the catafalque in waiting outside. This was a richly-draped, canopied funeral car, drawn by twenty-four black horses, each decorated with black net-work drapery and led by a colored groom. Under the canopy and high above the heads of the people, the purple velvet casket, with its silver trimmings, was placed. There was no ornament on the coffin, save the children's wreath of oak leaves, and the only flags displayed were furled and so draped with crape as scarcely to show their colors.

As the pall-bearers moved from the hall, the David's Island Band on the plaza played a dirge, and the guard presented arms. The catafalque was immediately moved into Broadway, and, when the last of the New Jersey troops had been put in motion, followed in the line of parade. The formation was as follows:

Preceding the catafalque was the United States Military Band from David's Island and a delegation from Meade Post, of Philadelphia, appointed to hold Grand Army services over the grave.

Then followed the pall-bearers: General W. T. Sherman, U. S. Army, retired; General Joseph E. Johnston, member of Congress and ex-commander of Confederate forces; Lieutenant-General P. H. Sheridan, U. S. Army; General Simon B. Buckner, ex-commander of Confederate forces; Admiral David D. Porter, U. S. N.; Vice-Admiral S. C. Rowan, U. S. N.; Hon. George S. Boutwell, ex-Secretary of the Treasury; General John A. Logan, U. S. Senator; Anthony J. Drexel, Pennsylvania; George W. Childs, Pennsylvania; George Jones, New York; Oliver Hoyt, New York.

The physicians, Drs. Douglas, Shrady and Sands, were in carriages, as were the following clergymen: Bishop Harris, Methodist Episcopal; Assistant Bishop Henry C. Potter, Protestant Episcopal; the Rev. Dr. Chambers, Reformed; the Rev. Dr. Field, Presbyterian; the Rev. Dr. Bridgman, Baptist; the Rev. Dr. West, Congregational; the Rev. Father Deshon, Roman Catholic; the Rev. Robert Collyer, Unitarian; Rabbi Browne, Hebrew.

Here followed the catafalque. The members of the guard of honor from the Grant Post, of Brooklyn, marched on either side of the hearse, their commander in the rear with two comrades of Wheeler Post, of Saratoga. This guard of honor was flanked by the two companies of regulars, marching with reversed arms. At the rear was a guard of honor from the Loyal Legion.

Then came a long line of carriages, occupied as follows: In the first carriage were Colonel and Mrs. F. D. Grant, his daughter, son and Mrs. Sartoris. A wreath of white flowers, in the centre of which was the word "Grandpapa," encircled the head of Colonel Grant's daughter. Harrison, the colored servant, sat by the driver. Next came U. S. Grant, Jr., wife, daughter and Senor Romero. Hawkins, the coachman of the White House, sat by the driver of this carriage. They were followed by Jesse R. Grant, his wife and daughter and W. W. Smith. In the next carriage was ex-Minister M. J. Cramer, his wife and daughter, and they were followed by ex-Postmaster-General Creswell and wife and Lockwood Honoré, of Chicago. Next came Mr. and Mrs. Potter Palmer and Mrs. F. T. Dent and daughter. Major Sharpe, General Beale and W. J. Arkell were in the next carriage and George P. Johnson, of Cincinnati, Grant Cramer and Jennie Grant, a niece, came next. They were followed by J. W. Drexel and Levi P. Morton in one carriage, and H. Honoré, V. K. Honoré, S. F. Moriarity and Otis Gove in another. Then came Mrs. Jennie Holman and Stenographer Dawson. The Aztec Club of officers of the army in Mexico, of which General Grant was vice-president when he died, were represented by General Z. B. Tower, General C. P. Stone, General Schuyler Hamilton and General O. L. Shepherd.

In the following carriages came General Horace Porter, General C. P. Comstock, General Rufus Ingalls and General Sooy, of General Grant's field staff, and General George H. Sharpe, Colonel Eli S. Parker, Colonel O. H. Ross and Colonel A. B. Baxter, also of General Grant's staff. The following represented former Cabinets of General Grant: Chief Justice Richardson, ex-Secretary of the Treasury Benjamin H. Bristow, and James N. Tyner, ex-Postmaster-General, in one carriage; Columbus Delano, ex-Secretary of the Interior, and W. W. Belknap, ex-Secretary of War, in another; George M. Robeson, ex-Secretary of the Navy, and Edwards Pierrepont, ex-Attorney-General, in a third, and in the fourth ex-Postmaster-General Gresham and ex-Secretary Lincoln.

A considerable delay followed the appearance of the ex-Cabinet officers, but at 10.25 o'clock President Cleveland, accompanied by Secretary Bayard, walked from the hotel and seated himself in a carriage drawn by six bay horses. Immediately behind this carriage was another drawn by four bay horses, in which sat Vice President Hendricks. He was accompanied by Senator Blair and General Hughes East. In the following carriage, all alone, was Justice Woods, of the Supreme Court. The Cabinet officers followed in three carriages, as follows: Messrs. Manning and Endicott, Messrs. Whitney and Vilas, and Messrs. Lamar and Garland. The next carriage contained Colonels Lamont and McMichael.

Sergeant-at-Arms Canaday headed the Senatorial representation, which appeared in the following order: Senators Morrill and Cockrell, Sherman and Ransom, Ingalls and Harris, Hampton and Manderson, Evarts and Brown, Miller and Palmer, Eustis and Dawes, and Teller and Spooner. The order of the Congressional committee was ex-Speakers Carlisle and Randall, Messrs. Reed and Hiscock, Messrs. Tucker, Long, King and Butterworth, Messrs. Wheeler, Lowery, Clark and Bingham. Other members and ex-members of Congress in carriages were John T. Heard, Mo.; A. M. Bliss, Brooklyn; Geo. West, New York; J. S. Pindar, New York; Charles H. Vorhis, New Jersey; Charles O'Neill, Pennsylvania; A. H. Pettibone, Tennessee; Stephen C. Millard, New York: William E. English, Indianapolis; A. X. Parker, New York; N. Goff, West Virginia; John B. Gilfillan, Minnesota; C. H. Grosvenor, Ohio: William J. Stone, Missouri; T. R. Merriman, New York; W. H. Sowden, Pennsylvania: W. G. Stahlnecker, New York; James D. Ward, Chicago; H. G. Burleigh and H. W. Slocum, New York; Gen. J. Negley, Pennsylvania; John A. Heistand, E. S. Osborn, A. Herr Smith, and Leonard Myers, Pennsylvania; Benjamin Le Fevre, Ohio.

Then came Governor Hill and his staff, Col. Gillette, Adjt. Gen. Farnsworth, Inspector General Briggs, Brig. Gen. Wylie, Brig. Gen. George E. Field, Surgeon General Bryant, Paymaster General Reed, Commissary General Lathrop, Inspector of Rifle Practice Gen. Robbins, Col. Frost, Col. Townsend, Col. Cassidy, Col. Tilden and Col. Miles. The following carriages were occupied by Senators Otis, Keenan, Daggett, Murphy, Campbell, Daly, Cullen, Plunkitt, Lowe, Van Schaick, Thacher, Coggeshall, Thomas, Esty and Baker. Senator Gibbs was in the party, acting as Lieutenant Governor. Then followed the members of the Assembly, as follows: Messrs. Arnold, Bailey, Barager, Barnes, Barnum, Brennan, Byrne, Cantor, Carlisle, Connelly, Curtis, Cutler, Dibble, Driess, Earl, Eiseman, Farrell, Greene, Henry Haggerty, James Haggerty, Hardin, Haskell, S. S. Hawkins, W. M. Hawkins. Heath, Hendricks, Hogeboom, Horton, Hubbell, Johnson, Kenny, Kunzenman, Liddle, Lindsay, Livingston, McClelland, McEwen, McGolrick, Murray, Myers, Oliver, Osborne, Raines, Reilly, Roche, Rockefeller, Rosenthal, Shoemaker, Chas. Smith, Thos. A. Smith, Storm, Tynan, Van Allen, Van Duzer, Whitmore, Williams, Windolph and ex-Speaker Sheard and Speaker Erwin, and Department Clerks Bullock and Barker and Sergeant-at-Arms Talbot.

Ex-Presidents Hayes and Arthur occupied the following carriage, and after them came the foreign Ministers and Consuls in three carriages, as follows: The Japanese Minister, Jushu Kuki Rinachi; the Chinese Minister, Au Cheng Ming; the Consul from Japan, S. K. Takashi, and K. Misaki, Secretary of the Legation; Antonio Flores, Minister of Ecuador; J. G. do Amaral Valente, Minister of Brazil; Oswald Ygarza, Secretary of the Peruvian Legation; J. Frederico Elmore, Minister of Peru; Cleto Gonzales Viquez, Chargé d' Affaires of Costa Rica, and A. M. Soteldo, Minister of Venezuela.

The following carriages were assigned to the diplomatic and consular officers under Gen. Grant, as follows: Charles T Gorham, Minister to The Hague; William A. Pile, Minister to Venezuela; E. D. Bassett, Minister to Hayti; R. C. Shannon, Chargé d' Affaires in Brazil; W. A. Burrington, Chargé d' Affaires in Brazil; Julius A. Skilton, Consul-General in Mexico; J. Augustus Johnson, Consul General in Beyrout, Syria; Gen. E. Parker Scammon, Consul to Prince Edward's Island—the first tutor of General Grant at West Point; David B. Sickels, Consul to Siam; Mahlon Chance, Consul to Nassau; James Milward, Consul to Ghent; N. J. Newwitter, Consul to Hioga and Osaka, Japan; James M. Trimble, Consul to Milan, and William D. Barrington, Consul to Dublin.

The next part of the carriages was devoted to the representatives of different States. Delaware was represented by Gov. C. C. Stockley and the Rev. James C. Kerr. Then followed Gov. Pattison, of Pennsylvania, and his staff; Adjt. General P. M. Guthrie, Assistant Adjt. Gen. A. Stanley Hassinger, Inspector General Col. P. Lacey Goddard, Inspector of Rifle Practice Col. E. O. Shakespeare, and Judge Advocate General Col. John I. Rogers. Gov. Leon Abbett, of New Jersey, was accompanied by Adjt. Gen. William S. Stryker, Inspector General Willoughby Weston; Inspector of Rifle Practice Bird W. Spencer, and the following aides: Cols. Hendrickson, Moore, Thomas, Stevens, Agnew, Romaine, Bechtel, Happenheimer, Taylor and Perrine. Ex-Governor Joel Parker and a delegation of the New Jersey State, officers also occupied carriages. Gov. Henry B. Harrison, of Connecticut, had as escort, Adjt. General Stephen, R. Smith, Quartermaster General Arthur L. Goodrich, Surgeon General Henry P. Geib, Paymaster General Henry C. Dwight, Commissary General Frederick Barton, Executive Secretary Arthur S. Osborne, and several aides.

The representatives of Massachusetts were Governor Robinson, Lieutenant Governor Ames, General Dalton, General Holt, General Nettleton, Colonel Runneley, Colonel Greenwich, Colonel Whipple, and the Governor's Council. With Governor Moody Currier, of New Hampshire, were Adjutant General A. D. Ayling, Brigadier General Charles Williams, Brigadier General Philip Carpenter President of the Senate Pike; Senators Bingham, Stevens, and Davis, Speaker Aldrich, General Morrison, General J. W. Sturtevant, and Stilson Hutchins, of the Assembly. The contingent from Rhode Island included Governor George Peabody Wetmore, Adjutant General Elisha Dyer, Quartermaster General Charles K. Dennis and Judge Advocate General George L. Tower and ten aides, and that from Vermont Governor Samuel E. Pingree, Adjutant General T. S. Peck, Quartermaster General H. K. Ide, Judge Advocate General C. L. Marsh, and Surgeon General W. C Sherwin and four aides.

Illinois was represented by Governor Richard Oglesby, Lieutenant-Governor Smith, Adjutant-General J. W. Vance, General E. B. Hamilton, Colonel V. Warner, Colonel A. B. Wiggins, Colonel W. L. Distin, Colonel Potter, Colonel Bogardus, Colonel Madden, Colonel Sexton, General John McNulty, Senator Rogers, Auditor Swigert, Assistant Secretary of State Smith, Dr. Rausch, the Hon. M. M. Matthews, Chaplain Wilkins, Chaplain of General Grant's old Illinois regiment; General T. S. Mather, who gave General Grant his commission as Colonel; Robert G. Oglesby, the Governor's private secretary, and the Hon. Samuel Jones. In the next carriages were Governor Robie, of Maine; Adjutant-General S. G. Gallagher, Inspector General John J. Richards, Brigadier General John Marshal Brown, commanding First Brigade Maine Volunteer Militia, and the Hon. Joseph S. Locke, of the Executive Council. Michigan was represented by Governor R. A. Alger, Adjutant-General Joseph H. Kidd, General George A. Hart, Colonel A. T. Bliss, Colonel J. S. Rogers, Colonel Henry Duffield, and Major R. Osman; and Iowa by Governor Sherman, Secretary of State Jackson, General W. F. Robertson, Colonel J. M. Curtis, and Colonel B. F. Callender.

Wisconsin had the next carriages in line, and was represented by Governor J. M. Rusk, Ernst J. Timme, Secretary of State; E. C. McFetridge, State Treasurer; L. F. Frisby, Attorney General; Robert Graham, State Superintendent; N. P. Hougen, Railroad Commissioner; P. L. Spooner, Jr., Insurance Commissioner; the Hon. William P. Lyon, Associate Justice United States Supreme Court, and Governor Rusk's staff, which included Colonel Charles King, Acting Chief of Staff; Brigadier General Henry Palmer, Brigadier General E. M. Rogers, Colonel W. C. Bailey, Colonel W.

S. Stanley, Colonel C. E. Morley, Colonel N. R. Nelson, Colonel John Hicks, Colonel F. J. Borchardt, Lieutenant-Colonel F. A. Copeland, and Colonel Henry P. Fischer. From Minnesota had come Governor L. F. Hubbard, Adjutant-General McCarthy, Surgeon General J. H. Murphy, Quartermaster General T. J. Wilson, Judge Advocate H. E. Hicke, Colonel Joseph Bobletter, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles W. Johnson, and Captain William Blakely.

The Citizens' Committee of One Hundred of the City of New York, led by ex-Governor A. B. Cornell and ex-Collector Robertson, occupied the carriages next in line. Following them came the Heads of Bureaus of the War Department, Adjutant-General Drum, Surgeon-General Murray, Quartermaster-General Holabird, Inspector-General Newton, General Macfeeland, General Rochester, Chief of Ordnance Whitmore, General Seibert, Chief Signal Officer Jones and the Heads of Bureaus of the Navy Department, Commodore Sicord, Commodore Schley, Chief of Construction Wilson, Surgeon Van Riper, Engineer Snyder, and Lieutenants Kelly and Dyer. The next carriage was occupied by three members of General Sheridan's staff, General McFeely, Colonel Davis and Colonel Sheridan, and the next by General Schofield and Mayor Sawyer. General Merritt and staff, of West Point, were next, followed by Admiral Jouett and staff. General John C. New, General J. S. Williams, Captain Faunce, Clinton B. Fisk, William H. Lyon, Albert K. Smiley and E. Whittlesey, the Indian Commissioner, rode next. The carriages following were occupied by United States District Judge Brown, United States Commissioner Shields, United States District Attorney Dorsheimer, Collector Hedden, and Surveyor Beattie. Then came the Board of Managers of the Soldiers' Home—General W. B. Franklin, General T. W. Hyde, General Charles Negley, and Arthur Sewell. Then followed more than a score of carriages occupied by Mayors of cities and other municipal officers.

Although the carriages were driven four abreast (except those near the head of the line) this part of the parade was very wearying to the tired spectators; but it contained a larger proportion of distinguished public men than is usually gathered together, and the monotony of the procession was relieved by the recognition of these and the hurried passing of the word down the line that thronged the sidewalks. General Hancock, at the head of the procession, reached Fiftieth street on Fifth avenue at eleven o'clock. Three hours afterwards the President's carriage had just passed, and in a few minutes thereafter thousands of spectators left the streets. Some of them only sought shade and a temporary rest; others were homeward bound, satisfied that they had seen enough, and still others, numbered by thousands, hurried to the elevated railroad stations to get transported to Riverside Park.

The crowds were greatly reduced, therefore, when the third grand division appeared. This was composed of veteran organizations, as follows:

Commander, General Daniel E. Sickles; Staff, Major General Daniel Butterfield, chief of staff and senior aide; Brigadier Generals Henry E. Tremaine, James S. Frazer, Samuel K. Schwenk, U. S. A.; Colonels Joel Wilson, H. L. Potter; Lieutenant Colonels, Henry C. Perley, A. d'Oorville; Brevet Captain Edward Brown; Captains, Matthew Stewart, J. M. Semler; Lieutenant John A. Nickels, U. S. N.; Major J. J. Comstock, Brevet Major General Charles H. T. Collis, Brevet Brigadier General T. R. Tannatt, Lieutenant Colonel J. R. Leslie, Major Joseph Forbes, Captain B. F. Jackson, U. S. A., Captain Thomas J. Robinson, Captain Jack Crawford and James J. Keenan.

Following the staff was a mounted escort from his old command, the Third Army Corps.

Next followed Major General J. C. Robinson, U. S. A., and the retired officers of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps in carriages. Among them were many aged veterans. The Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States were next in line. Their delegation was not a large one. Many of them were on duty as staff officers, and many marched with other organizations of veterans to which they were attached. At their head was their draped banner of blue, on which, in gilt letters, were written the words: "The Order instituted April 9, 1865. Commandery of New York." In their ranks were many officers who had come from a distance to march at the funeral of their old commander. Sixteen officers of the Sixth Maryland Regiment, dressed in Confederate gray, marched behind these, attracting much attention.

After them came the Army societies—the Army of the Potomac, Army of the Tennessee and the Army of the Cumberland. These were not largely represented, many of their members being in the ranks of the Grand Army.

The Grand Army of the Republic followed. At its head was its commander-in-chief, Major General S. S. Burdette, of Washington, with a brilliant staff, constituted as follows:

Selden Connor, of Maine, Senior Vice Commander; T. H. Stewart, of Ohio, Chaplain; John Cameron, of Washington, Adjutant-General; John Taylor, of Pennsylvania, Quartermaster-General; Fred. Brackett, of Washington, Assistant Adjutant-General, and General C. H. Grosvenor, Judge Advocate. Aides—Harrison Dingman, Senior Aide; Winfield S. Chase, George McGown, H.

M. Gartlan, W. L. Scott, F. M. Edgerton, Charles Richardson, John Morrison, L. H. Stafford and Robert Wilson.

A delegation from Eben N. Ford Post, No. 336, of Pennsylvania, then followed, 200 strong, and after them came William Downing Post, No. 435, of 500 men. The Connecticut G. A. R. men, commanded by Frank D. Sloat and W. H. Stowes, adjutant, marched behind in brilliant array to the number of 500, including a band of thirty pieces. Then followed 500 Massachusetts men, commanded by John W. Hersey, with Alfred C. Monroe as adjutant. The New Jersey men, 3500 strong, commanded by H. M. Nevins and John L. Wheeler as adjutant, immediately followed the Massachusetts men. Then came the Kit Carson Post of the District of Columbia, with 300 men, commanded by Junior Vice Commander J. Wisner. A delegation of 100 men from Illinois, commanded by W. W. Berry, followed. Then came 20 Wisconsin veterans, Commander Davison; Iowa, Phil. Kearney Post, 10 men; Kansas, 10 men, Commander J. McCarthy; Ohio, 100 men, Commander R. B. Brown; Maine, 25 men, James A. Hall, Commander; Virginia, 20 men, commanded by H. De B. Clay; California, 10 men, Commander W. A. Seamans; 20 men, commanded by M. M. Collis, from New Hampshire; a delegation from Vermont of 10 men; a delegation of 50 men from Maryland, Wilson Post, No. 1, commanded by Past Senior Vice Commander Ross, came next, followed by a delegation of 15 men from Minnesota, a delegation from Indiana of B. J. Crosswart Post, No. 150, and Ruth Post, No. 13; from Colorado, 10 men, commanded by A. V. Bohn; from Delaware, 10 men; from Missouri delegations from Frank P. Blair Post, No. 1, and Ransom Post, No. 131; 25 men from Texas; 10 men from Tennessee, and Georgia Maynard Post, 10 men.

The Posts of the Department of New York followed. At their head rode Commander H. Clay Hall with the following staff:

William R. Stoddard, Senior Vice Commander; William J. Cronyn, Medical Director; E. L. Allen, Chaplain; C. P. Clarke, Assistant Adjutant General; John H. Walker, Assistant Quartermaster General; Joseph Egole, Inspector General; Joseph I. Sayles, Judge Advocate; General Frank Z. Jones, Chief Mustering Officer, and twenty aides.

In this command there were over 10,000 men. The out-of-town Posts commanded by Senior Vice Department Commander Charles W. Cowtan, assisted by his aides, Louis L. Robbins, J. H. Nason, Max Reece, J. S. Cavendy, R. S. Swan and James T. Burdick, marched first, in the following order:

O'Rourke Post, No. 1, of Rochester; L. O. Morris Post, No. 121, Albany; Shaw's Lawrence Post, No. 378, Portchester; Richmond Post, No. 524, Mariner's Harbor; R. G. Shaw Post, No. 112, Stapleton; Lenhart Post, No. 163, Tottenville; Ringgold Post, No. 283, Long Island City; George Huntsman Post, No. 50, Flushing; Adam Worth Post, No. 451, College Point; R. J. Marks Post, No. 500, Newtown; D. B. Mott Post, No. 527, Freeport; Moses Baldwin Post, No. 544, Hempstead; Morrell Post, No. 144, Sing Sing; W. P. Burnett Post, No. 496, Tarrytown; Howland Post, No. 48, Fishkill; Abram Vosburg Post, No. 95, Peekskill; Hamilton Post, No. 20, Poughkeepsie; Cromwell Post, No. 466, White Plains; F. M. Cummins Post, No. 176, Goshen; W. W. Hoyt Post, No. 276, Corning.

The second division then followed, with F. Cocheu as marshal.

These Posts were also from out of town, and came in the following order:

Abel Smith Post, No. 435; Harry Lee Post, No. 210, R. C. Stearns, commander; Mansfield Post, No. 35, Martin Short, commander; Charter B. Doane Post, No. 499, T. C. McKean, commander; T. S. Dakin Post, No. 206, Chas. G. Hall, commander; Rankin Post, No. 10, W. P. Wild, commander; Mallery Post, No. 84, T. M. K. Mills, commander; German Metternich Post, No. 122, Charles Fredericks, commander; Frank Mead Post, No. 16, John Moeser, commander; C. D. McKenzie Post, No. 399, Alex. Thompson, commander; Barbara Fritchie Post, No. 11, James Freelan, commander; G. K. Warren Post, No. 286, John W. Cunningham, commander; James H. Perry Post, No. 89, H. W. Hughes, commander; L. M. Hamilton Post, No. 152, John W. Fox, commander; N. S. Ford Post, No. 161, Alexander J. Fisher, commander; S. F. Dupont Post, No. 187, David Acker, commander; Devin Post, No. 148, L. E. McLaughlin, commander; Kerswell Post, No. 149, John Young, commander; Thatford Post, No. 3, Edward Beck, commander; Cushing Post, No. 231, C. H. Smith, commander; W. L. Garrison Post, No. 207, John Little, commander; Winchester Post, No. 197, A. M. Clark, commander; B. F. Middleton Post, No. 500, R. W. L'Hommedieu, commander; G. C. Strong Post, No. 534, Charles C. Curtis, commander; Caspar Tripp Post, No. 537, J. H. Sprenger, commander; William Gurney Post, No. 538, W. W. Hulse, commander.

Bennett W. Ellison commanded the New York City posts which came next. His staff was as follows:

George F. Hopper, adjutant-general and chief of staff; Gregory W. O'Neill, assistant adjutant-general; Benjamin F. Finley, assistant adjutant-general; Elbert O. Smith, quartermaster-general; Frederick S. Gibbs, inspector-general; Stephen G. Cook, M. D., surgeon-general; Charles Gunther, paymaster-general; Rastus S. Ransom, judge-advocate-general; Benjamin J. Levy, commissary-general; Thos. Graham, chief of engineers; the Rev. Thos. W. Conway, chaplain; J. H. Green, chief of cavalry; Henry A. Beatty, chief of ordnance; Wm. E. Van Wick, chief signal officer; J. Searing, assistant inspector-general; Jos. H. Stiner, assistant judge-advocate; Francis A. Utter, M. D., assistant surgeon. Aides de-camp—C. J. Cambrelling, Frank Bury, C. H. Hankinson, Geo. P. Osborn, Ed. Burns, Hugh M. Gartland, Geo. Pfitzer, George M. Dusenbury, Charles M. Granger, Benjamin Van Riper, Robert J. Clyde, Fred. W. Ritschy, Patrick McKenna, William Clancy, James Bryan, E. P. Lippincott, Louis Schlamp, Daniel McDonald, Sylvester Hegeman, Lehman Israels, Richard P. Wheeler, Joseph H. Meredith, Henry S. Sprall, John Dwyer, M. D., William O'Meagher, Barclay Gallagher, James McConnell, Martin Sadler, Theodore S. Dumont.

The four sub-divisions of this command were respectively commanded by James B. Horner, Clarke H. McDonald, Michael Duffy and Samuel H. Paulding. They marched as follows:

*First Division*—Phil. Kearney Post, No. 8, James W. Brinck, commander; Abraham Lincoln Post, No. 13, Benjamin J. Levy, commander; Sumner Post, No. 24, James B. Black, commander; James C. Rice Post, No. 29, George R. Bevans, commander; George G. Meade Post, No. 38, A. Franklin Lawson, commander; Robert Anderson Post, No. 53, Joseph B. Lord, commander; Wadsworth Post, No. 77, James P. Rogers, commander; Oliver Tilden Post, No. 96, J. Wesley Smith, commander; E. A. Kimball Post, No. 100, James M. Folan, commander; John A. Dix Post, No. 135, Thomas B. Odell, commander; Lafayette Post, No. 140, D. J. Mallon, commander; Judson Kilpatrick Post No. 143, E. J. Atkinson, commander; Alexander Hamilton Post, No. 182, James A. Colvin, commander.

*Second Division*—George Washington Post, No. 103; Sedgwick Post, No. 186, John Kerill, commander; John A. Andrew Post, No. 234, James B. Lee, commander; Thaddeus Stevens Post, No. 255, Charles W. McKie, commander; E. D. Morgan Post, No. 307, Samuel Minnes, commander; H. B. Hidden Post, No. 320, Jerome Bell, commander; A. S. Williams Post, No. 894, John F. Nesbitt, commander; John E. Bendix Post, No. 432, John Humphreys, commander; Fred. Hecker Post, No. 408, Albert Fest, commander; Veteran Post, No. 436, William J. Holmes, commander; U. L. Farnsworth Post, No. 458, Charles McK. Leoser, commander; E. H. Wade Post, No. 520, John A. Blair, commander; Post No. 557.

*Third Division*—Koltes Post, No. 32, Henry Klaeber, commander; William D. Kennedy Post, No. 42, John C. Limbeck, commander; Reno Post, No. 44, W. Vredenburgh, commander; J. L. Riker Post, No. 62, John Schmidling, commander; Ellsworth Post, No. 67, Jacob Wilcox, commander; General James Shields Post, No. 69, John Beattie, commander; Cameron Post, No. 79, John S. Phillips, commander; John A. Rawlins Post, No. 80, Hugh M. Gartlan, commander; Joe Hooker Post, No. 128, Philip Ascher, commander.

*Fourth Division*—Dahlgren Post, No. 113, William McEntee, commander; Vanderbilt Post, No. 136, John D. Terry, commander; Steinwehr Post, No. 192, W. Krzyzanowski, commander; Gilsa Post, No. 264, Christian Heentz, commander; Andrew Jackson Post, No. 300, C. H. Lutjens, commander; Adam Goss Post, No. 330, John P. Lonergen, commander; Michael Corcoran Post, No. 427, William De Lacy, commander; Musicians' Post, No. 452; Naval Post, No. 516, Elbert M. Warne, commander; Post No. 559.

### VETERAN ORGANIZATIONS OF MANY KINDS.

The veteran regimental organizations from this and other States to the number of 1500 men formed in three brigades, commanded respectively by Brigadier-General James R. O'Beirne, Colonel Rafferty, and Brigadier-General F. B. Spinola. The First Brigade was led by the 79th Regiment Highlanders New York Volunteers, dressed in Highland suits, to the number of 150 men. The 2d Veteran Fire Zouaves (4th Excelsior) followed, 50 men, preceded by a drum corps of forty pieces. Then came the Anderson Zouaves, 62d New York Volunteers, in uniform, 75 men; the 69th Veteran Corps, 70 men; 5th New York Volunteers, 50 men, all in uniform. The 1st and 10th Veteran Associations, New York Volunteers, followed in citizens' clothes with appropriate badges of mourning on their coats, and immediately after them were the Garibaldi Guards, 39th New York Volunteers, and the Continental Guards of New York, containing respectively 40 and 25 men. The Chicago Union Veteran Club of 30 members brought up the rear of the First Brigade.

The Second Brigade, commanded by Colonel Thomas Rafferty, followed, led by Hawkins' Zouaves, 9th New York Volunteers, 150 men. Following them came the United Association, New York Volunteer Veterans, 50 men; 36th New York Volunteers, 40 men; and the 40th New York Volunteers, Mozart Regiment, accompanied by Kilpatrick's Drum Corps of fifty pieces. The Tammany Regiment, 42d New York Volunteers, came next. Following them were these associations: 90th New York Volunteer Veterans, 80 men; 133d New York Volunteer Veterans, 70 men; 139th New York Volunteer Veterans, 60 men; 45th New York Volunteer Veterans, 70 men; four associations of Mexican war veterans in uniform. The Sons of Veterans, Department of New York, brought up the rear of the Second Brigade with 70 men.

The Third Brigade, commanded by General B. F. Spinola, followed. The Union Veteran Association, First New Jersey Volunteers, commanded by George N. Tibble, 300 men, led the brigade followed by the National Veteran Association of Chicago, 30 men;

New Bedford Veteran Association, 25 men; Philadelphia Veteran, Association, 11 men, and the Veterans of the Regular Army, 150 men. After them came the 7th Regiment Veterans, 100 men, Colonel L. W. Winchester, commanding; 22d Regiment Veterans, 150 men, Colonel George W. Laird commanding; 14th Regiment Veteran Association, 70 men; 9th Regiment Veterans, 50 men. The Soldiers and Sailors' Union of Brooklyn, and the Soldaten-und-Matrossen Union of the same city, E. M. Crossant, commander, followed next. The War Veteran Association, 14th Regiment of Brooklyn, Colonel E. B. Fowler commander, brought up the rear.

The Civic Division was formed as follows: Major General M. T. McMahon. Aides—General Anson G. McCook, Frederick S. Gibbs, Colonel John W. Jacobus, Colonel John K. Perley, Senator Michael C. Murphy, ex-Coroner Jacob Hess, Colonel Alfred Wagstaff, Colonel Charles Freicbel, Colonel Henry C. Perley, ex-Judge Solon B. Smith, Captain John C. Calhoun, Colonel A. J. Dickinson, Colonel William C. Boone, Colonel Robert L. Bennett, Colonel Samuel Truesdale, General James R. O'Beirne, Major William Quincy, Captain William A. Kirtland, Colonel John W. Marshall, Colonel John O'Byrne, Captain James M. Brady, Major Thomas Jackson, Colonel Henry Huss, Surgeon David D. Teal, John A. Shields, Hans S. Beattie, Colonel George F. Hopper, Coroner Ferd. Levy, Captain Johnston Briggs, Colonel Charles G. Otis, General M. T. Donohue, Colonel John Tracy, Mr. F. U. Shepard, Colonel Henry Watterson, Mr. Charles P. Tower and Mr. Henry M. Dickinson.

### FIRST SUBDIVISION.

Colonel W. C. Church, commanding.
Society of the Cincinnati.
Chamber of Commerce.
New York Historical Society.
Union League Club.
Aztec Club.
United States Christian Commission.
Ex-Diplomatic and Consular Officers.
Citizens' Law and Order League, Boston, Mass.
Chamber of Commerce, New Haven, Conn.

### SECOND SUBDIVISION.

Colonel John W. Marshall, commanding.
New York Stock Exchange.
New York Cotton Exchange.
New York Produce Exchange.
New York Board of Trade and Transportation.
New York Mercantile Exchange.
Maritime Association, Port of New York.
New York Metal Exchange.
New York Real Estate Exchange.
New York Board of Fire Underwriters.

### THIRD SUBDIVISION.

Colonel Charles G. Otis, commanding.
Republican County Committee.
Young Men's Republican Clubs, of New York.
Kings County, Jersey City and Baltimore.
Lincoln League.
Third Ward Lincoln Club.

### FOURTH SUBDIVISION.

Colonel John W. Jacobus, commanding.
Association of Exempt Firemen.
Sons of Veterans.
Highland Guard.
Knights of Pythias.
Knights of Sherwood Forest.
Excelsior Council, No. 14, O. U. A. M.
Valley Forge Council, No. 2, O. U. A. M.
Societa del Fraterna Amore.
Excelsior Association of Jersey City.

This division contained many distinguished men in carriages. The society of Cincinnati was represented as follows:

John Schuyler, Alexander J. Clinton, Edward W. Tapp, Thomas W. Christie, James S. Van Cortlandt, William Linn Keese, J. B. Westbrook, H. T. Drowne, John W. Greaton and F. J. Huntingdon, of New York; Henry W. Holden and D. B. Kirby, of Rhode Island; and Dr. Hermann Burgin and William C. Spencer, of New Jersey. In the first carriage was borne the silk banner of the society, heavily draped with black crape.

The United States Christian Commission was represented as follows: George H. Stuart, President; James Grant, Secretary; Thomas K. Cree, Secretary of the International Committee; the Rev. George J. Mingins, of New York; the Rev. Dr. Fernley, the Rev. Dr. McLaughlin, John Patterson, Arthur M. Burton, the Rev. Dr. Murphy, and William L. Mactier, all of Philadelphia; also Count Edward Grass Pückie, of Berlin.

Following is a list of the ex-Confederate soldiers who rode in carriages: General Robert D. Lilley, of "Stonewall" Jackson's Corps; General W. W. Loring, of Florida; Colonel John E. McCaull, of the Virginia Scouts; Major W. H. Quincey, of North Carolina; Major William Hancock Clark, of General Ewell's staff; Colonel W. L. Duff, of the Eighth Mississippi; Private Joseph H. Francis, of Morgan's old regiment, Alabama; Sergeant A. M. Davies, of the Thirty-fourth Virginia; Major Thomas A. Young, of Mahone's Brigade, Virginia; Lieutenant H. E. Kimberly, of the First Maryland; Lieutenant W. H. Montague, of the Confederate steamship Rappahannock; Private John T. Clark, of the Wirt Adams Cavalry; Colonel John Anderson, of the Forty-ninth North Carolina; Colonel W. B. Sterritt, Missouri State Guards; Captain

W. M. Conner, Dr. G. E. Sussdorff, surgeon on duty at Richmond, and John Halburt, Washington Artillery, of Augusta, Ga. The badge worn by the ex-Confederates was of a peculiarly neat design, consisting of blue and gray ribbons folded over crape and surmounted by a white and black shield in silk, with the word "Grant" woven in a diagonal bar.

Following the political organizations came the fourth subdivision of the civic division. Colonel John W. Jacobus was in command. First came the Association of Exempt Firemen, two hundred strong. It was composed of men who did service forty odd years ago. Prominent in the ranks was Harry Howard, once chief of the old volunteer Fire Department. There were also in the ranks Zophar Mills, President, and David Milligan and John R. Platt, Vice-Presidents, James T. Walkins, George W. Wheeler, Francis Hoggeborn, J. DeCosta, George W. Cook, Joseph Miles, Thomas Montgomery, M. J. Fogarty, Jacob Berge and James Elknes were also in line.

The Volunteer Firemen's Association, some 300 strong, with John Decker, the last of the chiefs of the Volunteer Fire Department, acting as marshal, came next. They walked along with the solemn tread of men who had faced death but did not fear it. Among their numbers were Charles Brice, Patrick McGonegal, William Searing, Isaac Brush, W. R. W. Chambers, William Forman, W. J. Coffman, J. W. Hudson, E. P. Durham and Thomas C. Cornelius.

The firemen were followed by eleven camps of the Sons of Veterans. There were over 700 men in line. Each camp was in full uniform and had its drum corps. The whole division was under command of Raphael Tobias, assisted by Adjutant General S. M. Bower. The camps were commanded as follows:

New York Division, William Brennan; Camp No. 3, Captain G. Hatfield; Camp No. 7, Captain J. D. O'Brien; Camp No. 8, Captain William Brocklaw; Camp No. 9, Captain J. F. Madden; Camp No. 11, Captain F. B. Couch; Camp No. 15, Captain G. A. Buncker; Camp No. 17, from Portchester, N. Y., Captain F. Knott; Camp No. 25, Captain S. P. Ely; Camp No. 26, Captain W. A. Flagger; Camp No. 8, Captain J. Kearnes; Camp No. 14, Lieutenant J. Daly.

Following the Sons of Veterans came the Highland Guards of the New York Caledonian Club. They were about fifty strong and arrayed in full Highland costume. There were many different plaids represented, signifying from what particular Scottish family the wearer came. Their appearance added variety to the procession. Their funeral march was played upon bagpipes. The guard was commanded by Colonel C. Nicholson, of the Sword Battalion, and Sergeant J. S. MacGillwray.

The Knights of Pythias turned out two hundred men dressed in full regalia and accompanied by a brass band. There were representatives not only from the lodges in this city, but also from lodges in various sections of New Jersey and from Brooklyn. Colonel J. Hearnes was in charge. Among the number were:

Sir Knight Johnson, Captain Philip Ewing, Lieutenant McLean and Lieutenant John E. Greenfield of the Unity Lodge; Captain P. F. Thomas and Lieutenant Sutterly, of the Ashland; Captain A. V. P. Bush and Lieutenant Hoyt, of the Brooklyn; Captain Thorn Hicks, of the Allegheny; Captain Rodger, of the Black Prince, and Captain William Pintard, of the Monmouth County (N. J.) Lodge.

The Knights of Sherwood Forest turned out 150 men in full uniform. The Supreme Commander of the United States was in charge. His aids were Past Commander W. A. Desborough and Commanders T. F. Gaffney and C. F. Hughes. There were delegations from Jersey City and New Haven. Excelsior Council, No. 14, of United American Mechanics, marched 100 strong. They wore the paraphernalia of their society. S. L Reeve acted as marshal.

Then came the Valley Forge Council, No. 2, of the I. O. U. A. M. They mustered a hundred strong. John W. Cull was in charge, assisted by F. M. Preut and G. H. Adams.

The head of the procession reached the grave at 1.15, the catafalque three hours later, at 4.25, and the organizations drew up in order on the hillside. At One Hundred and Fifth Street General Hancock's horse was overcome, and the General from there drove in a carriage to the tomb.

As the head of the procession reached the tomb the sky was overcast with clouds. Shadows and patches of unrestrained sunlight made a checkered surface over the broad gravel-surfaced plaza. The Hudson was a strip of blue seen through a wavy mist of green made by the moving leaves of the trees on the bluff. Specks of bright color were furnished by waving flags and in the dresses of the ladies who formed a portion of the solid wall of humanity that hemmed in the noble burial-place. The dull gray of the newly-gravelled drives died out on the borders of green banks. Everywhere were the contrasts of light and shadow; of black clothed officials and gray-coated park officers; of the newly-made tomb and the crowded "grand stands." The men-of-war in the river were firing funeral guns, and the tolling of the Harlem church bells came up out of the valley, but mixed with these sounds was the hum of ten thousand subdued voices.

A view from the summit of the little knoll, in the west bank of which the temporary tomb had been built, disclosed on the north the heavily draped Claremont Hotel, black from roof to cellar. On the west you looked out upon the Hudson, where were anchored the fleet of Government ships. On the south extended the Riverside Drive, black bordered with sight-seers and dotted with the figures of the mounted police, and on the west two enormous stands arose crowded with people. At your feet, as you stood facing the west, was the homely tomb—a barrel-shaped brick structure. Just in front were a few rows of wooden benches. There was but one occupant of these seats, a lady in a white muslin dress, who it was said had been sitting patiently there in the sun since 8 o'clock in the morning.

It was now past 1 o'clock. Suddenly there was an uplifting of a cloud of dust on the drive to the south, and out of it presently issued a company of mounted men. They were police officers under command of Sergeants Revelle and Wallace. As they galloped up the broad road the spectators on the grand stands arose in their seats and the multitude that was scattered promiscuously through the Park rushed to the edge of the drive. The mounted officers reined in their horses at a point just east of where the tomb was situated, and as the dust subsided the red and yellow plumes of the officers of the commanding General's staff were seen nodding down the road. As the head of the procession drew near it was seen that an open carriage led the way. It was drawn by two bay horses and driven by a coachman in green livery. It halted under an oak tree at the southern edge of the plaza, and then arose from the cushioned seat the imposing figure of General W. S. Hancock, who, standing in the carriage, surveyed the field for a moment or two, and then resuming his seat, gave orders for the line to advance.

Following General Hancock were the members of his staff and numerous aides. General Fitz Hugh Lee, wearing civilian's clothes, rode at the bridle hand of General Gordon. Making a detour from the main line, the General and his staff slowly approached the tomb, the regular troops led by a battery of artillery continuing along the Riverside avenue and skirting the hill between the tomb and the Claremont Hotel. General Hancock was received as he alighted from his carriage by Superintendent Murray, Inspector Dilks and President Crimmins, and was conducted to the tomb, which he critically inspected. Meanwhile the troops were moving up from the south. First came, after the artillery, three companies of regulars, the dull blue of their uniforms made more dingy by contrast with the splendid scarlet-coated Marine Band, of Washington, that followed them. Next came the marines, and after them the "sailor bovs" of the navy, white to their waists. By this time the artillery had traversed the circular drive which sweeps around the Claremont inn and had reached a point on the west roadway of the Park immediately opposite the tomb. The blue-clad infantry and the flaming Washington band had taken a position on the knoll a little way to the north. It was a splendid massing of color under the great green oak trees. A bugle call set the military men in motion. Guns were unlimbered and red-trimmed officers darted hither and thither. General Hancock had completed his inspection of the tomb, and stood looking on in silence and on foot. The members of his staff and his mounted aides moved back away out of sight among the trees at the north of the bluff. There was a momentary lull in the movements of the military, and presently General Shaler, accompanied by a mounted aide, came sweeping over the plaza. A hasty conference with a member of Hancock's staff was followed by an order for the removal of the artillery from the post which they had taken. Again the bugle sounded, again there was a dashing here and there of mounted officers, and then the guns of the artillery were dragged away to a point on the bluff north of the Claremont.

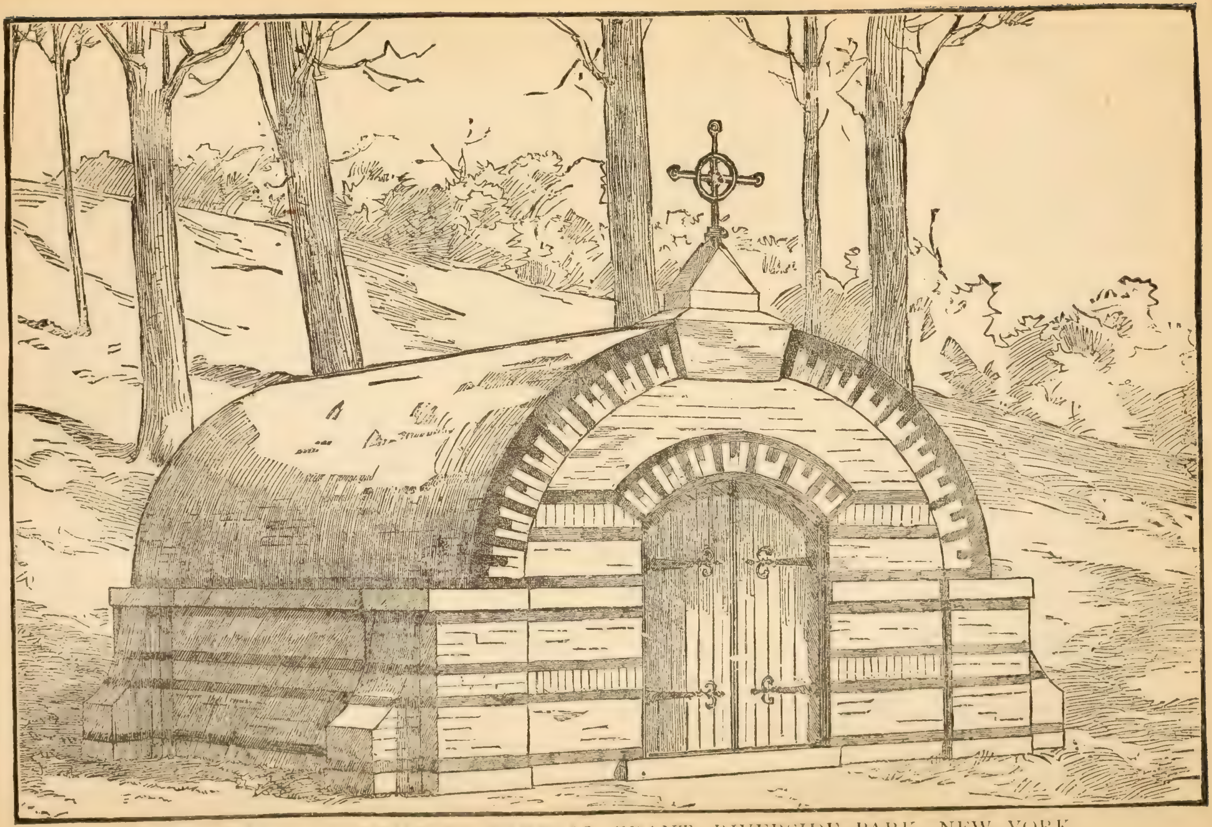
The head of Shaler's command now came into view down the drive. Gilmore's band, led by a drum-major who sweated beneath an enormous bear's hat, Mr. Gilmore himself holding an E-flat cornet in the first rank, preceded the Twenty-second Regiment. The men were evidently tired, and their march was ragged. They moved along the western roadway, past the knoll on which were grouped the regulars, and were massed close by the artillery. After them came the splendid Seventh. There was no music, the red-plumed bandsmen carrying their brass baggage listlessly in their hands. The only sound, as they moved up towards the tomb, was the swish, swish of their feet on the loosely-gravelled road and the noisy blasts of the ships in the stream. The Seventh halted when the centre of the column was directly opposite the vault, and facing to the right formed a splendid solid wall of gray and white between the open plain and the grass-covered river bluff. As far as Colonel Clark and his command were concerned the funeral ceremonies might begin at any moment.

But the funeral ceremonies did not begin. There was an unaccountable delay; it lasted through minutes and dragged into hours. For a time the Seventh stood patiently at attention, but compassion for the wearied men finally led to an order to break ranks, and the several companies, stacking their guns, took refuge under the trees and waited for a call to arms. General Hancock went up from the hot plaza and sat down on a bench under the trees on the knoll at the back of the tomb, where he was presently joined by Mayor Grace, President Sanger of the Board of Aldermen, and General Fitz John Porter and other members of the Board of Police Commissioners. The people on the grand stands on the opposite side of the drive impatient of the delay left their seats and endeavored to overrun the drive. There was an incessant struggle between the people and the police, above the confusion of which rose the shrill voices of enterprising peddlers and hucksters. There was near by a rudely erected stand, the benches upon which had for some reason not become occupied. It was draped, as were they all, in black and white rags, and contained across its face the motto, "We Mourn our Loss." This motto was taken by the idle crowd to refer to the mental condition of the owners of the luckless stand, and served as a source for many jests. Solemn as should have been the scene, it was impossible to lose sight of many amusing features. These were the incidents and accidents inseparable from the collection of a large crowd.

It lacked just five minutes of half-past four o'clock when the necessarily slow moving catafalque with its immediate cortege came in sight. It had about the appearance of a civic funeral as it turned from the broad drive into the roadway that led to the tomb. Its military aspect was nearly lost in the stream of carriages which constituted its vanguard. There were twenty or more of these vehicles, which, massed together as they approached the tomb, shut out for a time all view of the uniformed men who followed behind. Music was heard but the band was unseen. The music was Chopin's regal funeral march.

The leading carriages became jumbled together in the scant space between the tomb and the seats which had been prepared for distinguished guests. It was necessary to halt the funeral car when within a few rods of its destination in order to secure a disentanglement of these carriages. To add to the confusion the Marine Band, of Washington, which was stationed on a knoll just north of the tomb, began to play a dirge while the other band was still playing the Chopin march. The effect was that of utter discord, which robbed the moment of much of its solemnity. Neither band would desist of its own accord, and no one was found to give orders for a restoration of harmony.

It was amid this discordant and unnatural din of clashing and unattuned instruments that the funeral car drew up in front of the tomb. It had been intended by the Park Commisioners that the President and other distinguished persons should take their places on the platform at the west of the drive, but either through a misunderstanding of orders or a natural desire to be as close to the tomb as possible, they all, upon alighting from their carriages, congregated about the open door of the little vault. President Cleveland and the members of his Cabinet found themselves engulfed in a stream of lesser dignitaries. The pall-bearers forced their way with difficulty to the door of the tomb, and ranged themselves in two lines on either side of the cedar box which was waiting to receive the casket. Grand Army officers crowded thickly in upon



THE TEMPORARY TOMB OF GENERAL GRANT, RIVERSIDE PARK, NEW YORK.

the distinguished group, and when the procession of Senators came to take their places at the door of the tomb it could with difficulty force its way through the assembled crowd. Senators Sherman, Morrill, Ransom and Ingalls were in the front. Meantime the sons of General Grant, with the heavily veiled ladies of the family, were waiting patiently on the outskirts of the throng for an opportunity to approach nearer to the door of the sepulchre. Superintendent Murray cleared the way and opened a passage for these intimates of the deceased, who were crowded in upon the narrow space directly in front of the President and the members of his Cabinet, there being no other place for them to stand. The casket containing the remains of General Grant was meantime being removed from the funeral car, and was carried by a few members of the Meade Post and tenderly placed in the cedar case at the door of the tomb.

The impressive burial services, according to the rite of the Grand Army of the Republic, were then begun. Just at this moment ex-Presidents Arthur and Hayes drove up to the tomb, and a way was opened for them by Inspector Dilks. Nobody in the body of mourners at the tomb seemed to notice their arrival, and they stood side by side with uncovered heads behind the officious undertaker and his assistants, without recognition from the distinguished gathering about them.

The commander of the Meade Post stood at the head of the coffin, the chaplain at the foot and the others were ranged about it. When all was ready Post Commander Alexander Reed said: "Assembled to pay the last sad tribute of respect to our late commander and illustrious comrade, U. S. Grant, let us unite in prayer. The chaplain will invoke the divine blessing." Rev. C. Irvine Wright, the Post Chaplain, then offered the following prayer:

"God of battles! Father of all! amidst this mournful assemblage we seek Thee with whom there is no death. Open every eye to behold him who changed the night of death into morning. In the depths of our hearts we would hear the celestial word, 'I am the Resurrection and the Life; he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live.' As comrade after comrade departs and we march on with ranks broken, help us to be faithful unto Thee, and to each other. We beseech Thee, look in mercy on the widows and children of deceased comrades, and with thine own tenderness console and comfort those bereaved by this event, which calls us here. Give them the 'oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness.' Heavenly Father, bless and save our country, with the freedom and peace of righteousness, and through thy great mercy, a Saviour's grace, and the Holy Spirit's favor, may we all meet at last in joy before thy throne in heaven, and to thy great name shall be praise forever and ever."

The Post Commander next spoke and said:

"One by one, as the years roll on, we are called together to fulfil the last sad rites of respect to our comrades of the war. The present, full of the cares and pleasures of civil life, fades away, and we look back to the time when, shoulder to shoulder, on many battle-fields, or around the guns of our men-of-war, we fought for our dear old flag. We may indulge the hope that the spirit with which, on land and sea, hardship, privation and danger were encountered by our dead heroes, may never be blotted out from the history or memories of the generations to come—a spirit uncomplaining, obedient to the behest of duty, whereby to-day our national honor is secure and our loved ones rest in peace under the protection of the dear old flag. May the illustrious life of him whom we lay in the tomb to-day prove a glorious incentive to the youth who, in the ages to come, may be called upon to uphold the destinies of our country. As the years roll on we, too, shall have fought our battles through and be laid at rest, our souls following the long column to the realms above, as grim death hour by hour shall mark its victims. Let us so live that when that time shall come those we leave may say above our graves, 'Here lies the body of a true-hearted, brave and earnest defender of the republic.'"

Comrade Lewis W. Moore, senior vice-commander, then stepped forward and laid a wreath of evergreen upon the coffin, saying: "In behalf of the post I give this tribute, a symbol of undying love for comrades of the war." Junior Vice-Commander John A. Weidersheim laid a white rose upon the coffin, saying: "Symbol of purity, we offer at this sepulchre a rose. May future generations emulate even the lowliest of our heroes." Past Post Commander A. J. Sellers placed a laurel wreath upon the coffin, saying: "Last token of affection from comrades in arms, we crown these remains with a symbol of victory."

Rev. J. W. Sayers, Chaplain-in-Chief, Department of Pennsylvania, G. A. R., followed with a short address, as follows:

"The march of another comrade is over, and he lies down after it in the house appointed for all the living. Thus summoned, this open tomb reminds us of the frailty of human life and the tenure by which we hold our own. 'In such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh.'

"It seems well we should leave our comrade to rest where over him will bend the arching sky, as it did in great love when he pitched his tent, or lay down weary by the way or on the battle-field, for an hour's rest. As he was then so he is still—in the hands of the Heavenly Father. 'God giveth his beloved sleep.'

"As we lay our comrade down here to rest, let us cherish his virtues and try to emulate his example. Reminded forcibly by the vacant place so lately filled by our deceased brother, that our ranks are thinning, let each one be so loyal to every virtue, so true to every friendship, so faithful in our remaining march, that we shall be ready to fall out here to take our places at the great review, not in doubt, but with faith; the merciful captain of our salvation will call us to that fraternity which, on earth and in heaven, may remain unbroken. Jesus saith, 'Thy brother shall rise again. I am the Resurrection and the Life.' Behold, the silver cord having been loosed, the golden bowl broken, we commit the body to the grave, where dust shall return to earth as it was, and the spirit to God who gave it. Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, looking to the resurrection and the life to come, through our Lord Jesus Christ."

Rev. H. Clay Trumbull, Past Post Chaplain of Meade Post, and Chaplain-in-Chief, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, commandery of Pennsylvania, followed with a short prayer, after which the bugler of Jennings's Band, of Camden, N. J., sounded taps—lights out—and the beautiful and impressive service was brought to a close.

Bishop Harris stepped forward and read the first portion of the Methodist burial service; the concluding portion of the service was read by Dr. Newman. There were no other words spoken. The undertaker and his assistants then made fast the lid of the burial case, and without further ceremony it was borne into the tomb and deposited in the steel receptacle that there awaited it. The iron gate of the vault was closed and locked, and the key handed by the undertaker to Gen. Hancock, who in turn gave it to Mayor Grace. The Mayor subsequently handed the key to President Cummins, of the Park Department, in whose possession it will doubtless remain. As the coffin entered the door of the tomb, the muskets of the Seventh Regiment sent forth a volley, the regulars followed with another, and the Randolph Light Battery, stationed north of the tomb, on the face of the bluff, fired three salvos. General Sherman turned to where Col. Grant, with Mrs. Sartoris, was standing, and took the former affectionately by the hand. The heads of the ladies of the Grant household were deeply bowed. It was with this tableau that the funeral closed. President Cleveland and Secretary Bayard were the first to leave the tomb, and were driven to the pier at Manhattanville, where they were joined by other members of the Cabinet, and boarding the U. S. steamer Dispatch, were taken up the river.

The troops fell in within a few moments afterwards, and taking various cross streets were soon scattered throughout the avenues leading down town. The people dispersed with as little confusion.

Finally, it may be said that the great body of men in the funeral procession was formed and carried to the end of the line with a clocklike precision that was marvellous, and could have been effected only by the thorough, careful and disciplined efforts of Gen. Hancock and his regular army staff, aided by ex-officers of the army appointed as chiefs of divisions; that the police under Supt. Murray, his Inspectors and Captains, were admirably placed, and preserved perfect order without undue violence or severity, and that the vast throngs of spectators were quiet and reverent to a degree unparalleled in the history of such crowds in this city.

A guard of Federal soldiers remained at the tomb.

Under the stars that spangled all the sky the soldiers kept their night watch at the tomb. Under the stars the bayonets gleamed, the sentinel's measured footbeat sounded and the relief guard passed like a troop of spectres in the shadowy landscape.

The white tents gleamed in the darkness of the trees; fitfully glittered the starlight on sword hilt and musket barrel. The great river stretching underneath was dark and silent, and the sails of the few laggard craft dropping down with the tide dashed only a moment and were gone.

So quiet and solemn was it all that fancy might well believe it a bivouac of the dead over the resting place of their old commander.

For long the stir and bustle of the day had lasted, but with the setting of the sun had passed away the pageantry of the troops, the flash of arms and the hubbub of the onlooking thousands. Under the greenish sky which ushered in the summer night all the stirring sounds had melted away, and from the summit of the hill where the dead was laid to rest the pomp and splendor of that august burial were effaced.

And yet a throng lingered. Prompted by curiosity or perhaps by veneration they crowded about the vault and choked the way to it. So when at seven o'clock came Undertaker Merritt and his men to place the casket in its steel burial case they had to elbow a passage to the entrance. Patrick T. Cregan, the patentee of the "ghoul proof" receptacle as it is called, had a force of assistants with him, who raised the cedar box in which the casket lay and placed it in the metal sarcophagus. The latter, half an inch in thickness and weighing 3,800 pounds, rests on a pedestal of marble from which it is separated by a sheet of plumbago. It is believed to be proof against atmospheric and other influences and cannot be opened by any ordinary method.

Soon the vault resounded with the hammers of the workmen, and the creaking of the fancy screw driver engraved with the name of "General Grant" on one side and "Merritt" on the other, which is to be treasured as a souvenir. In the dim recess, lighted by candles, were Messrs. R. M. Walters, Jacob Ruppert and Beyer Sharpman, the sub-committee of the Committee of One Hundred. Outside the throng restrained by Captain Beattie and a force of Park policemen had dwindled away, and the melancholy radiance showed only a cluster on the dark path.

Down from the mound overhead came the call, "Number one. Ten o'clock and all's well." It was the sentinel passing the word. Still the group sat in the vault, and now it was a painter, who, with pot and brush, covered with a new dark coat the burial case which had been scratched.

"Number two. Ten o'clock and all's well!" sounded away in the darkness, and was caught up and repeated by each of the six soldiers on guard. And now Captain Josiah A. Fessenden, in command of H Battery, Fifth artillery, appeared. His men, thirty-six in number, had been chosen to keep watch for thirty days over the General under whom they had fought at Shiloh in the Army of the Cumberland. They had pitched their tents in a hollow near the mound and, provisioned for five days, had already begun their melancholy duty of guarding the vault in bodies of six men, with a corporal and sergeant.

A cluster of them stood outside, musket in hand, and, the final work upon the burial case concluded, the committee and workmen passed into the air. Then Undertaker Merritt turned the great brass key in the lock and gave it into Captain Beattie's keeping.

"Fall in," cried the latter, and with him at their head the gray-coats passed away, while Sergeant Barrett and Corporal Thornton marched up their men. All was over. The sentries mounted guard. The onlookers passed away and the place was left to silence and to darkness.

The warrior had found rest at last. The night winds which sighed through the leafage of the park were soft and low. The rattle of the elevated railroad trains, heard only for a moment and then expiring in the distance, was dull and muffled. The lonely martial figures standing around the tomb were mute. The warrior had found rest, and God's starlight shone upon the hill and suffused the melancholy vault like an assurance of His peace.

# CHAPTER XXXIII.

## CONCLUSION.

The Bereaved Family—Johnston and Gordon on the New Era of Peace—Parades and Orations—General Ben. Butler's Eulogy at Lowell, Massachusetts—Blaine's Eulogy—Conclusion—Former Presidents and the Circumstances under which they have Died.

THE curtains of the rooms on the parlor floor of the north side of the Fifth Avenue Hotel were raised shortly before eight o'clock. The Grant family, who occupy that entire suit, descended to the private dining hall, where they were joined at breakfast by Senor Romero and Senator Chaffee. After the meal the ladies retired to their rooms to prepare for the funeral, while Colonel Fred. Grant conferred with one of General Hancock's aides. At ten o'clock the hallway was cleared and the family left their rooms, crossed the east corridor and followed the south hall to the Twenty-third Street entrance. The steps and sidewalk were filled with the crowd. Men, and even women, had climbed upon the iron railing about the door, and stood on tiptoe in the street. When the family arrived at the inside door of the side entrance they were compelled to wait for the crowd to be parted.

Captain Williams, with a body of police, opened a passage and lined the approach to the carriages with policemen. Mrs. Colonel Fred. Grant appeared, leaning upon the arm of her husband. They were followed by Mr. and Mrs. Jesse Grant and a little child; they entered the first carriage, which moved ahead and took position immediately behind the catafalque. Mr. and Mrs. U. S. Grant, Jr., with Mrs. Sartoris and Senor Romero occupied the second carriage, which was also driven to a place behind the funeral car beside the first carriage. Next to the Grant family were the President and Cabinet, who were followed by several hundred carriages.

The number of vehicles behind the Grant family pushed so near to their carriages that they were several times forced almost on to the funeral car. The drivers, however, instituted a system of signals, and when a sudden stop was made it was signalled along the line, and each carriage remained in its position. The lines were preserved until the procession entered Riverside Park. There the carriages in the rear drove by the regular line and attempted to crowd near the funeral car. At one time there was a seemingly inextricable tangle, with the carriages of the Grant family in the centre.

The prompt action of the police relieved the press, and the procession again moved on.

At the Park the catafalque was driven to the entrance of the tomb and was immediately followed by the carriages containing the Grant family. The ladies, heavily veiled and attired plainly in crape and Henrietta-cloth dresses, were escorted to the tomb. They remained standing near the entrance during the exercises and then at once returned to their carriages.

For some reason the drivers had disappeared, and the party were compelled to wait for several minutes. During this time the infantry were discharging volley after volley of salutes, which drew the attention of the crowd from them. When the carriages finally arrived, the family at once left for the hotel. They were not recognized as they quietly entered the side door on Twenty-third Street. The crowds were scattered about the main entrance awaiting the arrival of the Presidential party. The Grant family at once retired to their rooms, and at seven o'clock dined in company with Senor Romero and Senator Chaffee.

The family were much fatigued by the long journey, and were in constant apprehension lest something should occur to mar the exercises. The ladies of the party were several times much worried by the movements of the ambulances as they passed with soldiers who had been overcome by the heat.

At various times since the close of the war there has been talk about "an era of good feeling" having set in. Men have "clasped hands across the bloody chasm," and as hand was clasped in hand there have been mutual assurances that there was no longer any occasion for the men of the South and the men of the North who had stood up against each other with drawn swords to feel that they came from different sections of the country, between which there had been the shedding of blood.

But probably never since the war closed has there been such a fusion of feeling as that which has taken place within the last few days. The bier of Grant has served to be the tangible chasm over which the men of the North and the men of the South have taken each other by the hand and agreed that bygones were bygones. This feeling has already been given utterance to in the columns of the New York *Herald*, through what has been said by the men on either side in their casual meetings. Last night, however, this sentiment stood out in a more pronounced way than it ever has done before.

The Fifth Avenue Hotel, where old time federals and confederates came in contact with each other, was the scene of it. Together they had marched behind Grant's body during the day. They had each uncovered as his remains were laid away in the tomb, they had all, during the interchange of sympathetic feeling that took place about the tomb, become more firmly than ever convinced that there was no longer any North or South, any East or any West.

And last night they talked it over in the corridors of the hotel. The lower floor was filled with men who wore the federal uniform, or Grand Army badges upon their breasts, and with other men who had come from south of Mason and Dixon's line, and between them all there was a fraternity of feeling. General Phil. Sheridan came down the central stairway and was at once surrounded. General Sherman followed him, and the two became the centre of a throng composed of men who were anxious to forget that they had ever been enemies. But when General Joe Johnston appeared, accompanied by General Buckner, there was an outburst of applause that had hardly died away before it was renewed by something that General Sheridan said, as, standing a couple of steps higher than the crowd, he looked over their heads. It was only half a dozen words that he gave utterance to, and just what they were nobody but those who stood near by could hear; but they were evidently in sympathy with the occasion. The cheers showed that, and immediately afterward the crowd surged about the two Confederate generals and insisted upon shaking them by the hand. And so it was throughout the evening.

General John B. Gordon, of Georgia, was the centre of a throng during the entire evening.

"I have no doubt," said he, "that the circumstances attending the death of General Grant must of necessity obliterate the last vestige of anything like sectionalism in this country. It cannot exist in the face of the present situation, and then another thing that must strike the Northern mind is that the universal expression of good feeling throughout the South must necessarily be an honest and sincere one, because there is no temptation to anything else. The government is already in the hands of the people with whom we sympathize, and therefore it is impossible to charge that for any political motive the South has taken the action it has with reference to General Grant. It is simply an expression of the honest sentiments of the Southern people. The scene that has been witnessed here to-night, it seems to me, should be sufficient of itself to wipe out forever any lingering feeling of a shade of animosity that may still find a lodging place in the breast of any man of the North or of the South."

In speaking of the events of the day General Johnston, in conversation, said:

"I think it was the grandest demonstration that was ever made in this country. It was certainly the greatest manifestation of popular affection that I ever witnessed. I was especially pleased at the opportunity of adding my tribute to the universal evidence of respect and affection in which the memory of General Grant is held."

"Have you been pleased at your own reception in the North?"

"I have been greatly pleased with the hospitality and kindness which I find on all sides. I have had a great deal of intercourse with Northern men since the war, but this occasion seems to illustrate in a marked degree the unity and good will between all sections of the country. I don't know whether it increases this good feeling, but it certainly illustrates and sympathizes it."

"You knew General Grant well, did you not?"

"Yes; I knew him and respected him. He had a great many fine and noble qualities. He was always steadfast in support of his friends, and that is a royal quality."

"General Grant's conduct immediately after the war did more than anything else to heal the scars of defeat and the bitterness between the sections. He aroused in the South a feeling of gratitude and respect by his generosity in victory. The terms of surrender that he offered to Lee were such as to make a great change in the feeling of the Southern people. There was an apprehension throughout the South after the death of Lincoln that President Johnson intended to deal harshly with the defeated leader. It may have been a mistaken idea, but that was the impression. It was believed that Johnson intended to make an example of some of the Southern leaders, and particularly of General Lee. But General Grant, you may remember, declared that General Lee was under the protection of the government of the United States. That protection I gave him, said General Grant, in substance, when I was vested with the authority to do so, and I mean that he shall be protected. That incident did much to change the whole course of feeling in the South.

General Logan said the procession was a great event and was well managed so far as he could see. The day was propitious, but the weather warm. Those who were at the funeral would long remember it.

Mr. George W. Childs, proprietor of the *Public Ledger*, said that although he imagined he knew the strong hold that General Grant had upon the popular heart, he was amazed at the character of the day's demonstration. He had never witnessed anything like it and never expected to again see anything that would equal it. All along the line not only was the crowd noticeable for its vastness, covering as it did many miles, but the manner in which the people acted and the evidences of sincere affection which they betrayed were something marvellous. There was a universality of sentiment among the hosts of onlookers, and he was particularly struck with the unquestionable sincerity of the mourning of the people in their love for General Grant. Riding, as he did, with the other pall-bearers, very near the funeral car, he could not help observing the temper of the people. Another thing that struck him was the good feeling that was manifested towards the Southern generals. Wherever the carriages stopped during the parade, in consequence of any temporary obstruction, the people crowded around to shake hands with General Johnston, General Buckner and the others; and while it was evident that General Sherman and General Sheridan were both extremely popular, yet the people were undeniably anxious to go out of their way to make the Southerners feel at home, and at many points half-suppressed applause greeted the appearance of the Southern generals.

Mr. A. J. Drexel, of Philadelphia, who was a pall-bearer in place of Hamilton Fish, who was ill, went back to Philadelphia early in the evening, being himself indisposed. He was filled with surprise and gratification at the evidences of good-will that he had observed as he rode in the funeral procession, and which were increased many fold as the men of the two armies met each other socially in the hotel corridor. It was an augury, he thought, of much good to both sections of the country.

## BLAINE'S EULOGY.

Appropriate Grant memorial services were held at Augusta, Me. At the exercises held in Granite Church the following eulogy was delivered by Mr. James G. Blaine:

"Public sensibility and personal sorrow over the death of General Grant are not confined to one continent A profound admiration for great qualities, and still more profound gratitude for great services, have touched the heart of the people with true sympathy, increased even to tender emotions by the agony of his closing days and the undoubted heroism with which he morally conquered a last cruel fate. The world in its hero-worship is discriminating and practical, if not, indeed, selfish. Eminent qualities and rare achievements do not always insure lasting fame. A brilliant orator enchains his hearers with his inspired and inspiring gifts; but, if his speech be not successfully used to some popular recollection, his only reward will be in the fitful applause of his forgotten audience. A victorious general in a war of mere ambition receives the cheers of the multitude and the ceremonial honors of the government; but, if he brings no boon to his country, his fame will find no abiding-place in the centuries that follow. The hero for the ages is he who has been chief and foremost in contributing to the moral and material progress, to the grandeur and glory of the succeeding generation. Washington secured the freedom of the colonies and founded a new nation. Lincoln was the prophet who warned the people of the evils that were undermining our free government and the statesman who was called to leadership in the work of their extirpation. Grant was the soldier who, by victory in the field, gave vitality and force to the policies and philanthropic measures which Lincoln defined in the Cabinet for the regeneration and security of the Republic.

"The monopoly of fame by the few in this world comes from an instinct, perhaps from a deep-seated necessity of human nature. Heroes cannot be multiplied. The gods of mythology lost their sacredness and their power by their numbers. The millions pass into oblivion; the units only survive. Who asked the great leader of Israel to conduct the chosen people over the sands of the desert and through the waters of the sea into the promised land? Who marched with Alexander from the Bosphorus to India, and who commanded the legions of Cæsar in the conquest of Gaul? Who crossed the Atlantic with Columbus? Who ventured through the winter passes of the Alps with the conqueror of Italy? Who fought with Wellington at Waterloo? Alas! how soon it may be asked, Who marched with Sherman from the mountain to the sea? Who with Meade on the victorious field of Gettysburg? Who shared with Thomas in the glories of Nashville? Who went with Sheridan through the trials and triumphs of the blood-stained valley? General Grant's name will survive through the centuries, because it is indissolubly connected with the greatest military and moral triumph in the history of the United States. If the armies of the Union had ultimately failed, the vast and beneficent designs of Lincoln would have been frustrated, and he would have been known in history as a statesman and philanthropist, who, in the cause of humanity, cherished great aims which he could not realize, and conceived great ends which he could not attain; as an unsuccessful ruler, whose policies distracted and dissevered his country; while General Grant would have taken his place with that long and always increasing array of great men who were found wanting in the supreme hour of trial. But a higher power controlled the result. God in his gracious mercy had not raised those men for works which should come to naught. In the expression of Lincoln, "No human counsel devised nor did mortal hand work out those great things.' In their accomplishment those human agents were sustained by more than human power, and through them great salvation was wrought for the land. As long, therefore, as the American Union shall abide, with its blessings of law and liberty, Grant's name shall be remembered with honor. As long as the slavery of human beings shall be abhorred and the freedom of man assured Grant shall be recalled with gratitude, and in the cycles of the future the story of Lincoln's life can never be told without associating Grant in the enduring splendor of his own great name.

"General Grant's military supremacy was honestly earned, without factitious praise and without extraneous help. He had no influence to urge his promotion except such as was attracted by his own achievements. He had no potential friends except those whom his victories won to his support. He rose more rapidly than any military leader in history, from the command of a single regiment to the supreme direction of a million of men, divided into many great armies and operating over an area as large as the empires of Germany and Austria combined. He exhibited extraordinary qualities in the field. Bravery among American officers is a rule which has, happily, had few exceptions; but, as an eminent general said, Grant possessed a quality above bravery. He had an insensibility to danger, apparently an unconsciousness of fear. Besides that, he possessed an evenness of judgment to be depended upon in sunshine and in storm. Napoleon said, 'The rarest attribute among generals is two o'clock in the morning courage. I mean,' he added, 'unprepared courage; that which is necessary on an unexpected occasion, and which, in spite of the most unforeseen events, leaves full freedom of judgment and promptness of decision.' No better description could be given of the type of courage which distinguished General Grant. His constant readiness to fight was another quality, which, according to the same authority, established his right as a commander. 'Generals,' said the exile at St. Helena, 'are rarely found eager to give battle. They choose their positions, consider their combinations, and their indecision begins. Nothing,' added this greatest warrior of modern times, 'nothing is so difficult as to decide.' General Grant, in his services in the field, never once exhibited indecision, and it was this quality that gave him his crowning characteristic as a military leader. He inspired his men with a sense of their invincibility and they were thenceforth invincible. The career of General Grant, when he passed from military to civil administration, was marked by his strong qualities.

"His Presidency of eight years was filled with events of magnitude, in which, if his judgment was sometimes questioned, his patriotism was always conceded. He entered upon his office after the angry disturbances caused by the singular conduct of Lincoln's successor and quietly enforced a policy which had been for four years the cause of embittered disputation. His election to the Presidency proved in one important aspect a landmark in the history of the country. For nearly fifty years preceding that event there had been few Presidential elections in which the fate of the Union had not in some degree been agitated, either by the threats of political malcontents or in the apprehension of timid patriots. The Union was saved by the victory of the army commanded by General Grant. No menace of its destruction has ever been heard since General Grant's victory before the people. Death always holds a flag of truce over its own. Under that flag friend and foe sit peacefully together, passions are stilled, benevolence is restored, wrongs are repaired, justice is done.

"It is impossible that a career so long, so prominent, so positive as that of General Grant should not have provoked strife and engendered enmity. For more than twenty years, from the death of Lincoln to the close of his own life, General Grant was the most conspicuous man in America—one to whom leaders looked for leadership, upon whom partisans built their hopes of victory, to whom personal friends by tens of thousands offered their sincere devotion. It was according to the weakness and the strength of human nature that counter-movements should ensue; that General Grant's primacy should be challenged; that his party should be resisted; that his devoted friends should be confronted by jealous men in his own ranks and by bitter enemies in the ranks of his opponents. But all these passions and all these resentments are buried in the grave which to-day receives his remains. Contention respecting his rank as a commander ceases, and Unionists and Confederates alike testify to his powers in battle and his magnanimity in peace. The controversy over his civil administration closes, as Democrat and Republican unite in pronouncing him to have been, in every act and every aspiration, an American patriot."

### BUTLER'S EULOGY.

At Lowell, Mass., General Benjamin F. Butler bore the prominent part in the Grant memorial services, pronouncing the eulogy on the dead hero. He said:

Of the soldier who has performed with fidelity, unflinching courage and determination, with every measure of success, every duty imposed upon him by his country in the years of her deadliest peril, in a war of most gigantic proportions, most sturdily fought out with millions of men in arms, wherein the very life of his country was at stake; with a patriotism never doubted, which shone forth with an effulgence which illuminated his life; of the statesman who received from the people the highest powers and honors twice conferred, and after being tried in such a position, the second time almost with unanimity, broken only by those whom, as a soldier, he had conquered and unanimously forgiven—what need is there for words of praise?

Is it not better for us who gather here, as if around his tomb, to take part in the last honors that can be paid to the mortal man, to pause for the brief time allotted to us and recall not only what he was, but, for the benefit of those who shall come after us, to bring to our minds the causes which have made a great people quite universally love him, and all admire him and revere his memory. Looking upon his career, do we not find that Grant's life and character are necessarily the outgrowth of our free institutions, which they together illustrate, adorn and glorify.

Grant was educated as a soldier and served with distinction in the Mexican War. Apparently disgusted with the lazy ease of military life in time of peace, he resigned his commission and turned his attention to business pursuits, in which he was not successful, probably because they were not adapted, as evidently they were not, either to his taste or his faculties. His political predilections had been, as were those of many others in his party, on the side of slavery as an institution imbedded in the constitution; but his heart was right, and when the Southern States, their people, forgetful of their patriotism and their constitutional obligations, attempted to sever themselves from the Union and found a new empire whose corner-stone should be slavery, he offered his services in behalf of right and the true principles of democracy, and with unwavering fidelity followed the flag from victory to victory until the Union was saved. See how completely he was the outgrowth of our institutions! Educated under a provision of the government that allows a son of the humblest citizen the best teaching that can be devised, fostered and sustained by her bounty, he stood ready when the occasion demanded to do battle, as did Washington, for liberty and country; and when his strategy of obstinate determination had subdued the rebellion his instincts of statesmanship showed him that the country—nearly one-half of which had needed to be conquered—ought to become united again; and therefore the generous stipulations of surrender at Appomattox, which, if the hates engendered by the war had permitted the South to receive with true love of country and with the understanding of what the future, sooner or later, must bring—a united people—would have long since obliterated all former dissensions and divisions of party springing from the rebellion.

From the hour of Lee's surrender the Presidency of General Grant was inevitable. As a soldier he had won the admiration and gratitude of the people, and by a single act of statesmanship he had convinced them that he might be as capable in public affairs as in the field, although uninstructed in the minutiæ of government. The pistol of Booth and the tergiversation of Johnson made Grant President as soon as it could be done under constitutional forms. He took the reins of government into his hands under the most difficult of all conditions. The contest between Johnson and Congress as to the reconstruction of the government of the several

Southern States, wherein he attempted to accomplish that impossibility at once by executive order, but which could not be done without considerable lapse of time if Congress had most cordially concurred in the endeavor, had caused Congress to go much further in interfering with the unkindly passions of the South, and the action of the President had stimulated conflicting and dangerous organizations against the laws of Congress, so that only a wise and patient waiting was open to Grant's administration for proper reconstruction, using the heavy hand only when great wrongs and outrages were perpetrated upon the unoffending citizens, so that Grant's first term upon this topic was, in fact, but a firm grasp holding either section from unduly interfering, irritating or exasperating the other.

Grant was a second time elected by a united North, his messages and declarations to Congress, direct and simple in their announcement of his purposes and at the same time tender toward the South, where leniency was a virtue, enabling the reconstruction to begin on such a basis as alone it was possible to work it out. The union of the several portions of the country slowly progressed, it being for the interest of one political party to maintain the South in its entirety as an opposition.

We now come to the saddest part of his life. The fact that on his retirement he had but a bare competence, and that by the result of contributions from his friends in admiration of his character and deeds, stamps out the idea of any corruption in his methods or purposes. With a strong desire to establish his family after his death in such position that they might not be tempted to any course which should tarnish his great name and fame; unused to business methods and enterprises; trustful to the last degree of those who won his confidence; surrounded by schemers and speculators, who brought to his attention every possible speculative business, he was tempted into more than one enterprise with which his friends could well wish he had not concerned himself in any way. He was no better business man after he had ceased to be soldier and President than he was before he began his public career. West Point does not make business men. It sometimes leaves one without unmaking him, but that is rare. Grant had heard fabulous tales of the riches which might be made in the banking business in the metropolis of the country. That he ever knew anything about it, or took any part in it, is now beyond all cavil or question. The only two business transactions that he is said to have had with it were to borrow of a friend a very large sum of money when the banking concern with which he connected himself with was entirely rotten, and after it was evident that he was stripped of everything to pledge all that he had, the tributary gifts of kings and princes, every relic and reminder of his great deeds, and even the sword he wore at Appomattox, to pay an honest debt.

Soon after, seized with his fatal disease, he lived in pain and acute misery, ending only with the last sad hour—at peace with God and the world.

For more than ten years I knew Grant the general and Grant the President, well and intimately. There was once a strong personal difficulty brought about by lying statements to each, of the acts, motives and opinions of the other. He first learned of their untruthfulness, and at his request, conveyed through a friend, we met, and a few words explained all, apologized for all and healed all ; and that friendship, thus renewed, has ever continued.

I have given you my own estimate of Grant's character ; I have given some of the facts upon which I have founded that estimate. I hold him to have been as substantially worthy as mortal man may be of the love, admiration and plaudits of this great people ; that there is due for him all over this land the heartfelt sorrow, the trusting love and the reverent appreciation with which the nation now weeps at the portals of his tomb. He will and ought to go down to our children and our children's children, as long as memory lasts or records endure, as the soldier, the hero, the statesman and patriot. If he had other attributes less worthy they will be forgotten and pass away into the earth as will his mortal remains, because they are of the " earth, earthy." But these great qualities of his nature, leading to conduct so honorable, so glorious to him and useful to mankind, will remain, as will his immortal spirit, for they are of the " heavens, heavenly."

## THE OBSEQUIES.

Such a public funeral has never been witnessed in this country. Those of Lincoln and Garfield were wholly different. The tragic taking off of both inevitably colored the honor paid to their ashes. Lincoln died before the country had even entered upon the era of pacification—Garfield leaving hosts of enemies. The mourning in each case owed its universality less to the regret with which the dead was lamented than to the august office of Chief Magistrate supremely insulted and the fortuitous martyrdom of one whom the nation had chosen to preside over it. Those who followed the bier of General Grant in New York, and those who in all portions of the country were there present in spirit, were animated by different feelings. They felt deeply and sincerely the personal qualities as well as the public services of the dead. They felt not only that a hero was being laid to his rest, the last of the epoch-marked heroes of the Civil War, as we have said, but that this hero had been endowed by Providence with those personal qualities which add a human interest to heroism and ennoble in a peculiar degree the fame which the greatest soldier may win. His charity to all, his absolute absence of malice, his chivalry towards a fallen enemy, his love and tenderness for his family, above all, his sturdy simplicity and quiet dignity of bearing under all circumstances—it was the thought of these qualities that united Buckner and Sherman, the President and the humblest citizen in his funeral train.

There is, however, still another distinction which marks General Grant's obsequies. It is that this magnificent pageant, equal to any which modern times have seen, has been the result of the calmest deliberation. It has not been at all an effort of impulse, nor has pure emotion presided in its arrangements. It reflects in this way equal honor upon the dead and the people who thus honor the dead. Had there been a dissenting voice in all the States, it would have made itself heard, and discord would have marred the perfect harmony of the tribute paid, not only by unanimous consent, but by unanimous desire. General Grant had been for months dying. The country had become wholly habituated to the idea of his death. There was, therefore, naturally no great ebullition of emotion to be expected when the news finally came. But in place of emotion we have witnessed the power of perfectly equable conviction, and his funeral becomes thus a witness to American appreciation of American great men, which confers eminent credit upon us as a nation. Whatever other republics have been, we, at least, are not ungrateful. We not only spontaneously and universally lament ,the great Hero of our life and death struggle for national greatness, we not only pay a national tribute to his eminent personal qualities in so doing, but we do so in sobriety and with express intent, whereby we consecrate the nation as well as do honor to one of its greatest chieftains.

# CHAPTER XXXIV.

## HOW FORMER PRESIDENTS DIED.

IN view of the peculiar circumstances of General Grant's last illness, the following facts in relation to the deaths of former Presidents will be of general interest:

GENERAL WASHINGTON, the first President, took cold during a five hours' ride over his plantation on the 12th of December, 1799, during the last two hours of which he was exposed to a severe storm of snow, hail and rain. The cold developed itself next evening, when he was very hoarse, but he made light of it. "I never take anything for a cold," he said; "let it go as it came." At two o'clock next morning he awakened his wife, but would not let her rise to send for a physician lest the latter should take cold. When Washington's secretary was called at daybreak he found him breathing with difficulty. Physicians were sent for, and meanwhile he was bled and a gargle was prepared, but on attempting to use it he was convulsed and nearly suffocated. The remedies of the physicians were also without avail, and at 4.30 P.M. he sent his wife for his two wills, had her destroy one and entrusted the other to her keeping, giving her instructions as to his letters, papers and accounts. Between five and six o'clock, when assisted to sit up, he said to the physicians, "I feel I am going. I thank you for your attentions, but I pray you to take no more trouble about me; let me go off quietly—I cannot last long." Further remedies were tried without avail in the evening. "About ten o'clock," writes his secretary, "he made several attempts to speak to me before he could effect it." At length he said: "I am just going; have me decently buried, and do not let my body be put into the vault in less than three days after I am dead." I bowed assent, for I could not speak. He then looked at me again and said: "Do you understand me?" I replied: "Yes." "'Tis well," said he. About ten minutes before he expired (which was between ten and eleven o'clock) his breathing became easier. He lay quietly; he withdrew his hand from mine and felt his own pulse. I saw his countenance change, and spoke to Dr. Craik, who came to the bedside. The general's hand fell from his wrist; I took it in mine and pressed it to my bosom. Dr. Craik put his hands over his eyes, and he expired without a struggle or a sigh. The body was buried on the 18th, a schooner being stationed off Alexandria to fire minute-guns while the procession moved from the house to the vault. The troops, horse and foot led the way; then came four of the clergy; then Washington's horse, with his saddle, holsters and pistols, led by two grooms in black; then the body, borne by the Masonic order (of which he was a member) and officers, followed by the family and several old friends and the corporation of Alexandria. At the tomb the Rev. Mr. Davis read the funeral service and delivered a brief address, after which the body was deposited in the vault with Masonic ceremonies. Washington's remains were deposited in their present receptacle at Mount Vernon in 1837. The vault was built in accordance with the provisions of his will, and is of brick, with an arched roof.

John Adams, the second President, died on July 4, 1826, the semi-centenary of American independence. Adams at ninety-one preserved a remarkable activity of mind, though his sight was impaired so that he could neither read nor write. By April, 1826, it was evident that he was failing, though his neighbors in Quincy, Mass., hoped fondly that he would be able to attend the local 4th of July celebration. When, however, it became apparent that he could not attend in person, a delegate was appointed to visit him and beg a last word or cheerful message. On June 30th the delegate called on Mr. Adams and " spent some few minutes with him in conversation, and took from him a toast to be presented on the 4th of July as coming from him." "I will give you," said he, " Independence Forever!" "Unceasing shouts," we are told, greeted the toast offered at the Quincy banquet, but as the guests left the hall news came of the death of its author. He had passed away calmly and without suffering at the sunset of that brilliant and memorable day. " Thomas Jefferson still survives," were the last words he uttered, so far as could be gathered from his failing articulation. He was buried in the family vault in the cemetery, but upon the completion of the Unitarian Church of Quincy, in 1828, the body was removed from the vault into the room beneath the church, where John Quincy Adams was also buried in 1848. Their wives are buried with them. The bodies lie in leaden caskets, placed in cases hewn from solid blocks of stone.

Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, and the third President, died only a few hours before John Adams. On the third of July he dozed hour after hour under the influence of opiates. Rousing occasionally, he fervently expressed a desire to live until the day he had assisted to consecrate fifty years before. At 11 o'clock at night he whispered to Mr. N. P. Trist, his grandchild's husband, who sat by the bed, " This is the Fourth?" Mr. Trist remained silent, being unwilling to say " Not yet!" " This is the Fourth?" again whispered Jefferson, and when the watcher nodded, "Ah!" he sighed and sunk into sleep with an expression of satisfaction upon his countenance. His watchers thought him dying, but he lingered until 12.40 in the afternoon, occasionally indicating a desire by words or looks. "I resign my soul to God and my daughter to my country," is a popular version of his latest utterances. On the fly-leaf of an old account-book Jefferson wrote this: "Choose some unfrequented vale in the park, where is no sound to break the stillness but a brook that, babbling, winds among the woods—no mark of human shape that has been there, unless the skeleton of some poor wretch who sought that place out to despair and die in. Let it be among ancient and venerable oaks; intersperse some gloomy evergreens. Appropriate one-half to the use of my family, the other to strangers, servants, &c. Let the exit look upon a small and distant part of the Blue Mountains." His wishes have been well carried out, His remains lie in a little inclosure to the right of a road leading from Charlotteville, Va., to Monticello. An obelisk nine feet high marks the spot.

James Madison, the fourth President and the last survivor of the signers of the United States Constitution, died June 28, 1836. During his last illness, when the family and doctor were dining, his voice was heard feebly from the adjoining chamber: "Doctor, are you pushing about the bottles? Do your duty, doctor, or I must cashier you." He is buried at Montpelier, four miles from Orange Court-House, Va. The grave is in the centre of a large field, in a lot about one hundred feet square, surrounded by a brick wall. On the gate is a sign, "Madison, 1820." Four graves are here. Over one of them rises a mound twenty feet high. A granite obelisk bears the inscription: "Madison. Born March 16, 1751." By its side is a smaller shaft of white marble, inscribed: "In memory of Dolly Payne, wife of James Madison, born May 28, 1768; died July 8, 1849."

James Monroe, the fifth President and the third to die on Independence Day, died July 4, 1831. He passed away in New York City, at the residence of his son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur. His remains were deposited with public honors in the Marble Cemetery on Second Street, in New York, where they reposed until 1858, when they were removed, under the escort of the Seventh Regiment, to Hollywood Cemetery, at Richmond, Va. The remains rest on a beautiful site overlooking the James River Falls above Richmond, in a vault of brick and granite.

John Quincy Adams, the sixth President and the "old man eloquent," was found by death where he could have wished its approach —in the halls of Congress. On February 21, 1848, he ascended the steps of the Capitol with his accustomed alacrity and took his place in the House. While petitions were being presented suddenly there was a cry of "Mr. Adams!" and a rush of members towards his seat. He was rising with a number of petitions in his hand when he was struck with apoplexy and sank down, catching at his desk and falling into the arms of the member who sprang across the aisle to his assistance. He was carried into the rotunda, then into the Speaker's room. He attempted to speak, but his voice was a mere murmur, low and indistinct, though Mr. Ashman, who was placing him on the sofa, heard him say: "This is the last of earth. I am content." He became insensible at once, and lingered, faintly breathing, till ten o'clock on the morning of the 23d, when he expired. Mr. Adams's body was removed on the car drawn by six white horses that had served for Harrison's funeral, and after lying in state in Faneuil Hall, Boston, was buried under the Unitarian Church at Quincy, Mass.

Andrew Jackson, the seventh President, died on Sunday, June 8, 1845, at the Hermitage, his famous home. For months he had suffered with disease of the lungs, dropsy and diarrhœa. Almost to the last he was pestered by office-seekers and hero-worshipers. His last writing was a statement to help his old friend and fellow-soldier, Robert Armstrong, to a pension. On the 30th of May he gave Mr. Healy, the artist, his last sitting for the portrait designed for Louis Philippe, of France. Nightly he blessed and kissed each member of his family, bidding each a farewell as if for the last time, and then offered an earnest prayer for them and for his country. His Bible was always near him. On the Friday previous to his death he gave directions concerning his funeral, and dictated a letter, his last, to the President, bidding him act promptly and resolutely in the affairs of Texas and Oregon. On the morning of his death, a brilliant, hot day, he bade farewell to his family, friends and servants, whom he addressed with calmness, strength and even animation on the subject of religion, concluding: "I hope and trust to meet you all in Heaven, both white and black," words he repeated again in the afternoon as the end was coming on. Hearing the servants on the piazza weeping, he spoke again: "What is the matter with my dear children? Have I alarmed you? Oh, do not cry! Be good children, and we will meet in heaven." At six he died without a struggle or a pang. His funeral was attended by three thousand people on the Tuesday following. He is buried at the Hermitage, on the Lebanon pike, eleven miles from Nashville, Tenn. A massive monument of Tennessee granite marks his grave and that of the wife he had loved so well.

Martin Van Buren, the eighth President, died at Kinderhook, Columbia County, N. Y., on July 24, 1862, of asthma that developed into a painful catarrhal affection of the throat and lungs. One of his last distinct utterances was to his clergyman: "There is but one reliance." He is buried in the little village cemetery at Kinderhook, in the family lot. A granite shaft fifteen feet high marks his grave.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, the ninth President, died in Washington City, April 4, 1841. He rode on horseback to his inauguration and stood bareheaded and without an overcoat to deliver his inaugural, contracting pneumonia, which was aggravated by subsequent imprudences. His last words, heard by Dr. Washington, were: "Sir, I wish you to understand the true principles of the government. I wish them carried out. I ask nothing more." A procession two miles in length escorted the body, which was conveyed on a funeral car, drawn by six white horses, to its temporary resting-place in the Congressional burying-ground. His present resting-place is at North Bend, Ohio. The grave is a simple mound, unfenced, on a little knoll, and is shaded by beeches and other trees. There is no monument and no inscription anywhere to tell the story of the life of the departed hero of Tippecanoe.

JOHN TYLER, the tenth President, was taken ill on Sunday, January 12, 1862, while at breakfast at the Ballard House, at Richmond, Va., and died at midnight of the 17th. "Let me give you some stimulant," said his doctor. "I will not have it," replied the dying man, and closing his eyes, he passed away quietly. His body lay in state at the Capitol. He was a member of the Confederate Congress, and was interred at Hollywood Cemetery on the 21st, by Bishop Johns. His grave is a little mound covered with bushes. Near by are the graves of President Monroe; Dr. Lawrence Roane Warren, the philanthropist; Jas. M. Mason, the Confederate envoy to England; a son of Jefferson Davis, and Lieutenant General A. P. Hill, of the confederate army.

JAMES K. POLK, the eleventh President, died at Nashville, Tenn., June 15, 1849, three months after his retirement from the Presidency. He had suffered from diarrhœa on the journey home, and a recurring attack proved fatal. On his death-bed he received the rite of baptism at the hands of a Methodist clergyman. He is buried at the old family homestead, at Nashville, Tenn. The monument is a block twelve feet square by twelve in height.

GENERAL ZACHARY TAYLOR, twelfth President, attended the Fourth of July ceremonial in Washington City in 1850, when the dust from Kosciusko's tomb was deposited in the Washington monument, and endured for several hours the heat of a day which he declared was worse than any he had experienced in Mexico or Florida. Going home, he insisted on eating freely of unripe cherries and drinking cold water and iced milk, despite the remonstrances of his servant. This brought on an attack of cholera-morbus, followed by typhoid, of which he died on the 9th. An imposing procession accompanied his remains to the Congressional Cemetery, the Episcopal service having previously been read in the East room of the President's mansion by Dr. Butler and Dr. Pyne. His remains have been moved three times, and now repose in a public spot at Frankfort, Ky. After the burial in the Congressional Cemetery at Washington the body was removed to a lot on the Taylor Homestead, five miles back of Louisville, and then taken to Cave Hill Cemetery, Louisville. In 1878 the remains were placed in the beautiful Cemetery at Frankfort, where they are in the company of many illustrious dead, including Vice-President Richard Mentor Johnson.

MILLARD FILLMORE, the thirteenth President, died at Buffalo, N. Y., on March 8, 1874, and after lying in state in St. Paul's Cathedral, the remains were buried on the 12th at Forest Lawn Cemetery, three miles from Buffalo. A tall monument bears the inscription: "Millard Fillmore. Born January 7, 1800; died March 8, 1874."

FRANKLIN PIERCE, the fourteenth President, died on Friday, October 8, 1869, at the residence of Mr. Willard Williams, Concord, N. H., of dropsy and inflammation of the stomach. For the last three days of his life he was nearly unconscious, and died without pain. His body lay in state at Doric Hall, and was buried in the Minot Cemetery, on Main Street, on the 11th. The Pierce lot is at the northwestern corner of the old cemetery, and contains about an acre of ground. The monument is of Italian marble, surmounted by a draped cross, and its total height is fourteen feet eight inches.

JAMES BUCHANAN, the fifteenth President, died at Wheatland, near Lancaster, Pa., on June 1, 1868, after an illness of one month, though he had been failing for nearly a year. His last hours were peaceful and nearly painless. On the night before his death he gave detailed directions for his funeral and the erection of his monument. dictating the inscription, a blank to be left for the date of death, "which cannot be distant," he said. In the morning he asked for a drink of water from the spring, saying to the medical attendant, "Doctor, if disembodied spirits ever come back, I believe that mine will be found about that spring." His last authentic words, as he sank into the sleep in which he died, were: "Oh, Lord God Almighty, as Thou wilt." His funeral took place on the 4th, the exercises being conducted by Dr. Nevin, President of Franklin and Marshall College, an immense concourse being present. He is buried at Woodward Hill Cemetery, Lancaster, on the banks of the Conestoga. The lot is enclosed by a neat iron fence. All around the fence is a hedge of blooming roses, and rose-bushes are planted in the inclosure. A fine marble sarcophagus marks the grave.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, the sixteenth President, died by the hand of

John Wilkes Booth, in Washington, April 15, 1865. Nine of the persons supposed to be implicated suffered condign punishment. The funeral honors paid to the deceased Chief Magistrate were of the most elaborate character. His remains are buried at Oak Ridge Cemetery, in Springfield, Ill. A fine pile of marble, granite and bronze marks the spot. It bears the single word, "Lincoln."

ANDREW JOHNSON, the seventeenth President, died suddenly at Greenville, Tenn., on Saturday, July 31, 1875, and was buried with Masonic ceremonies on the 3d of August. His grave is at Greenville, Tenn., on a spot selected by himself. The monument is of marble upon a base of granite, nine and one-half feet by seven feet. The tomb was erected by the President's three surviving sons.

JAMES A. GARFIELD, the twentieth President, was assassinated in the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad depot in Washington City, on July 2, 1881, by Charles Guiteau, and died of his wound September 19, at Elberon, near Long Branch, N. J. During his illness a popular movement was inaugurated to raise a fund of $250,000, to be invested for Mrs. Garfield and her children. The sum was partly raised while the President lived, and after his death additional contributions swelled the amount to over $365,000. On the 21st of September the President's remains were conveyed from the Francklyn cottage, where he died, to Washington. Every city in the Union was draped in mourning. The body was laid in state in the Capitol. Funeral services took place there on Friday, September 23, and the remains were then transferred to Cleveland, Ohio, where they were entombed September 26. A handsome mausoleum for their reception is now in course of erection at Cleveland.

# CHAPTER XXXV.

## MEMORIES OF GRANT.

Mr. George W. Childs' personal reminiscences of his famous friend—Twenty-five years' intimacy—What happened in Mr. Childs' office the day after the Presidential election of 1876—How the Electoral Commission was brought about—General Grant and Senator Conkling—The Ex-President's opinions of famous soldiers—Personal traits, etc.

General Grant I first met after the victory of Vicksburg, in 1863. The General and Mrs. Grant came to Philadelphia to make arrangements to put their children at school in Burlington, N. J. From that time our intimacy grew until his death. There were three characteristics that were prominent in his life, justice, kindness, and firmness. He was the most modest of men. Seeing him, as I did, for nearly twenty years, or such portions of the year as he was in the country, I had ample opportunity to notice these qualities. We lived on adjoining properties on the same land without any division, and I might say there never was a day when we were at Long Branch together but what I was in his house or he in mine. I never saw him in the war and never saw him in the field. I corresponded with him during that time, and every opportunity he would get he would come on to Philadelphia for the purpose of seeing his family, and in that way he made a great many friends. That was as early as 1863. George H. Stuart was a great friend of his. He always seemed to enjoy his visits there, as they gave him rest during the time he was in the army, and also when he was president.

Much has been published about General Grant, but there are some things I have not seen stated, and one is that he had considerable artistic taste and talent. He painted very well. One of his paintings twelve by eighteen inches, perhaps, he gave to his friend the Hon. A. E. Borie, of Philadelphia, who was Secretary of the Navy. That picture is, I believe, the only one that he painted which is known to be in existence. Of the others there is no trace. He stood very high with his professor of drawing at West Point, and if he had persevered in that line might have made a good artist. He was always apt in mathematics and drawing. The picture I referred to was of an Indian chief at a trading post in the Northwest, exchanging skins and furs with a lot of traders and trappers. The Indian stood in the foreground, and was the central object.

He was a noble figure, and was well painted in full and correct costume. I have seen the painting often, which has been very much admired, and he took a good deal of pride in it himself. He gave it to Mr. Borie, as that gentleman was, perhaps, one of his dearest friends, and the intimacy kept up until the latter's death.

### HIS VIEWS OF SHERMAN'S BOOK.

General Grant was not an ardent student. Early in life he was somewhat of a novel reader, but more latterly he read biography and travels. He was a careful reader and remembered everything he read, but he had nothing which could be distinctly called literary taste. He was a great reader of newspapers. I remember once his coming down here when Sherman's work had just been published and I asked him if he had read the work. He said "no," he had not had time to read it, and one of the persons present observed, "Why, General, you won't find much in it about yourself. He doesn't seem to think that you were in the war." The General said, "I don't know; I have read some adverse criticisms, but I am going to read it and judge for myself." After he had read the book over carefully and attentively, I asked him what he thought of it. "Well," he said, "it has done me more than justice; it has given me more credit than I deserved. Any criticism I might make would be, that I think he has not done justice to Logan, Blair, and other volunteer generals whom he calls political generals. These men did their duty faithfully, and I never believe in imputing motives to people." I told him that General Sherman had submitted the proof sheets of that part of the book to me, and it struck me in the same way. General Sherman had sent the proof sheets of that to me before the full book was published, and asked if I had any suggestions and if I thought it was just to the General. It will be seen by this that General Grant was always magnanimous to every one he came in contact with, particularly his army associates. He was a man who rarely ever used the pronoun I in conversation when speaking of his battles.

There is one amusing little incident I recall, apropos of a large, full-sized portrait of General Sherman on his "March to the Sea," which hangs in my hall, and which was painted from life by Kaufmann. Sherman sits in front of the tent in a white shirt, without coat or vest. The picture shows a camp-fire in front, and the moonlight in the rear of the tents. The criticism of General Grant when he first saw it was: "That is all very fine. It looks like Sherman, but he never wore a boiled shirt there, I am sure."

While living in Long Branch there was hardly a Confederate officer that came to the place without visiting the General He was always glad to see them, and with those men he invariably talked over the war. The General had a very high opinion of Johnston, and always spoke of him as being one of the very best of Southern generals; and, at a dinner, I had the pleasure of getting Johnston, Grant and Sherman together.

### POLITICAL FORESIGHT.

In regard to election matters, General Grant was a close observer, and had a wonderful judgment in regard to results. One particular case may be cited. During the canvass of his second term (toward the latter part) there began to be doubts throughout the country about the election. Vice-president Wilson, who was then running on the ticket, who was a man of the people, and had a good deal of experience in election matters for forty years, made an extensive tour through the country, and he came to my house just after the tour, very blue. He went over the ground and showed that the matter was in a good deal of doubt. I went to see General Grant, and I told him about this feeling, particularly as coming from Senator Wilson. The General said nothing, but he sent for a map of the United States. He laid the map down on the table, went over it with a pencil, and said: "We will carry this State, that State and that State," until he nearly covered the whole United States. It occurred to me he might as well put them all in, and I ventured the remonstrance,—"I think it would not be policy to talk that way; the election now is pretty near approaching." When the election came, the result of it was that he carried every State that he had predicted, and that prediction was in the face of the feeling throughout the country that the Republican cause was growing weaker, and in spite of the fact that the Vice-president, who was deeply interested in the election, had visited various parts of the country, South and West, and had come back blue and dispirited.

He was staying with me during the canvass of the election between Tilden and Hayes, and on the morning of the momentous day he accompanied me to my office. In a few moments an eminent Republican senator and one or two other leading Republicans walked in, and they went over the returns. These leaders said, "Hayes is elected," an opinion in which the others coincided. General Grant listened to them, but said nothing. After they had settled the matter in their own minds he said: "Gentlemen, it looks to me as if Mr. Tilden was elected." He afterwards sent for me in Washington and said, "This matter is very complicated, and the people will not be satisfied unless something is done in regard to it which will look like justice. Now" he continued, "I have spoken of an electoral commission, and the leaders of the party are opposed to it, which I am sorry to see. They say that if an electoral commission is appointed you might as well count in Mr. Tilden. I would sooner have Tilden than that the Republicans should have a president who could be stigmatized as a fraud. If I were Mr. Hayes I would not have it unless it was settled in some way outside of the Senate. This matter is opposed by the leading Republicans in the House and Senate and throughout the country."

### THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION.

President Grant invited the leading senators to dine with him that day to get their sentiment. He said to me, " You see the feeling here. I find them almost universally opposed to anything like an electoral commission." I named a leading Democrat in the House, who was, perhaps, one of the most prominent men in the country, a man of great influence and of great integrity of character, whom it would be well for General Grant to see in the matter, and the suggestion was acted on. I sent for this gentleman and put the dilemma to him in President Grant's name as follows: It is very hard for the President and very embarrassing as to men on his own side that this matter does not seem to find favor with them as well as to have Democratic opposition. Republicans think you might as well count Tilden in, but as the feeling throughout the country demands as honest a count of the thing as possible, this Electoral Commission ought to be appointed.

The answer at once was that the Democrats would favor it, and it was through that gentleman and General Grant that the matter was carried through. Grant was the originator of the plan. He sent for Mr. Conkling and said, with deep earnestness: " This matter is a serious one and the people feel it very deeply. I think this Electoral Commission ought to be appointed." Conkling answered: " Mr. President, Senator Morton (who was then the acknowledged leader of the Senate) is opposed to it and opposed to your efforts; but if you wish the Commission carried I can do it." He said: " I wish it done." Mr. Conkling took hold of the matter and put it through. The leading Democrat I have spoken of took the initiative in the House and Mr. Conkling in the Senate. General Patterson, of Philadelphia, who was an intimate friend of General Jackson and a life-long Democrat, was also sent for. He had large estates in the South and a great deal of influence with the Democrats. General Patterson then was upwards of 80, but he came down there and remained one or two weeks, working hard to accomplish the purpose in view. After the bill had passed and was waiting for signature General Grant went to the State fair in Maryland the day it should have been signed, and there was much perturbation about it.

General Grant acted in good faith througout the whole business. It has been said that the changing of the complexion of the court threw the matter into Hayes' hands, and, if the court had remained as it was, Tilden would have been declared president. General Grant was the soul of honor in this matter, and no one ever accused him or ever hinted that he was untruthful in any way. I, for one, don't believe that he could possibly tell a lie or act deceitfully. There is another point of politics not generally known. During Garfield's canvass, Garfield became very much demoralized. He said that he not only did think that they would not carry Indiana, but he was doubtful if they would carry Ohio. During that emergency strong appeals were made to General Grant and he at once threw himself into the breach. He saw his strong personal friends and told them they must help. There was one very strong man, a senator, whom General Grant sent for and told him that he must turn in, and, though he first declined, at General Grant's urgent solicitation he entered the field and contributed handsomely to the victory. General Grant went into the canvass with might and main. The tide was turned and it was through General Grant's personal efforts, seconded by his strong personal friends, who did not feel any particular interest in Garfield's election, that he was elected.

### CONCERNING THE THIRD TERM.

As to General Grant's third term, he never by word or by any letter ever suggested to any one that he would like to be nominated for a third term. Neither Mr Conkling, General Logan nor Senator Cameron had any assurance from him in any way that he would even take the nomination if it was tendered him, and they proceeded in that fight without any authority from him whatever. His heart was not on a third term at all. He had had enough of it After his second term he told me, "I feel like a boy out of school." The three men mentioned above were the leaders in that matter. Neither of them had ever had a hint from him in any way or shape indicating that he would have liked to have had a third nomination. These men are living and they can answer for themselves. At first Grant intended to decline. In his conversation with me he said: "It is very difficult to decline a thing that has never been offered;" and when he left the country for the West Indies I said: "General, you leave this in the hands of your friends." He knew I was opposed to a third term; and his political friends were in favor of it, not merely as friends, but because they thought he was the only man who could be elected. There is not a line of his in existence where he has ever expressed any desire to have that nomination. Towards the last, when the canvass became very hot, I suppose his natural feeling was that he would like to win. That was natural. But he never laid any plans. He had never encouraged or abetted anything towards a third term movement.

He was very magnanimous to those who differed from him, and when I asked him what distressed him most in his political life he said: "To be deceived by those I trusted." *He had a good many distresses.*

Apropos of his power of thinking and of expressing his thoughts, he wrote with great facility and clearness. His centennial address at the opening of the Exhibition in 1876 was hastily prepared at my house, and there were only one or two corrections in the whole matter. When he went to England he wrote me a letter of fourteen pages, giving me an account of his reception in England. The same post that brought that letter contained a letter from Mr. John Walter, proprietor of the London *Times*, saying that he had seen our mutual friend, Gen. Grant, on several occasions, and wondering how he was pleased with his reception in England. The letter which I had received was so apropos that I telegraphed it over that very day to the London *Times*; fourteen pages of manuscript without one word being altered, and the London *Times* next morning published this letter with an editorial. It happened that the cablegram arrived in London the very night the General was going through the London *Times* office to see the establishment. He said he thought the English people admirable; the letter was written to a friend, not supposing that it would ever be put in print, and not one word had to be altered. I cite this to show General Grant's facility in writing.

### FINANCIAL WISDOM.

In illustration of his perception of financial matters I remember an instance. On one of the great financial questions before Congress he was consulting with Mr. A. J. Drexel, of Philadelphia, whom he regarded as one of his strongest personal friends, and the General expressed certain views, saying that he had contemplated writing a message. Mr. Drexel combated his views, and the General reconsidered the matter and wrote a veto, showing that he was open to conviction. There was a matter he had considered, he thought, fully, and when this new light was given to him by Mr. Drexel he at once changed and wrote a veto instead of favoring it. A great many people had an idea that General Grant was very much set in his opinions; but while he had his opinions, at the same time he was always open to conviction. Very seldom in talking with him he wouldn't often make an observation, and when you had got through it would be difficult to tell exactly whether he had grasped the subject or not, but in a very short time, if you alluded to that matter again, you would find that he had grasped it thoroughly. His power of observation and assimilation was remarkable. There was no nonsense about him. He was always neat in his dress, but not fastidious. He said he got cured of his pride in regiments when he came home from West Point.

Speaking on one or two occasions of the burial of soldiers, he observed that his old chief, General Scott, was buried at West Point and that he would like to be buried there also. This was several years ago and mentioned merely in casual conversation. That was a number of years ago, and I think once or twice afterwards; it might have been alluded to incidentally since.

There was a paragraph in the newspapers recently referring to the speech of Hon. Chauncey Depew, that Grant had saved the country twice. I don't know what could have been meant by that paragraph. In the Electoral Commission he saved a great deal of trouble, but whether he saved the country or not is another question. I don't know whether or not that could be the implication. What I have said about the Electoral Commission, I have said of my own knowledge.

### HIS LAST PUBLIC SPEECH.

General Grant, surrounded by those he knew well, always did two-thirds of the talking. He was a reticent and diffident man in general company, and it was not until he was out of the presidency that he became a public speaker. He told a story that he was notified once that he was expected to make a speech in reply to one which was given him, and he looked it over and wrote his answer carefully; but when he got up he was stricken dumb. He utterly lost himself and could not say a word. After that he did not want to hear what was going to be said, and never prepared anything. A gentleman told me that in going to Liverpool and Manchester, a committee came down to meet him and brought an address of what they were going to say, to show it to him. He said, "No, I have had one experience. I don't want to see it." The last speech he ever made, the last time he ever addressed the public, was last Summer, a year ago this month, at Ocean Grove. Governor Ogilvie was staying with him at his cottage, and George H. Stuart came up to ask him if he would not come down to Ocean Grove, being the first time he appeared in public since his misfortune. He was then lame, and was compelled to use his crutches. He found 10,000 people assembled. They cheered him and he arose to make a few remarks. After saying a few words he utterly broke down, and the tears trickled down his cheeks. That was the last time he ever appeared in public.

A year ago this month attention was first directed to his disease. He told me he had a dryness in his throat, and it seemed to trouble him. I said Dr. Da Costa, one of the most eminent physicians of the country, was coming down to spend a few days with me. He was an old friend, and would be glad to look into the matter. Dr. Da Costa, on arriving, went over to the General's house, examined him carefully, gave a prescription, and asked the General who his family physician was. General Grant said Fordyce Barker, and he was advised to see him at once. I could see that the General was suffering a good deal, though uncomplaining, and during the Summer several times he asked me if I had seen Da Costa, and seemed to want to know exactly what was the matter with him. General Grant, after he got worse, said to me, "I want to come over and see you, and have a talk with Da Costa." He was not afraid of the disease after he knew all about it, and the last time I saw him, just before he went to Mt. McGregor, he said, "Now, Mr. Childs, I have been twice within a half a minute of death. I realize it fully, and my life was only preserved by the skill and attention of my physicians. I have told them the next time to let me go."

### A GREAT WILL-POWER.

The General had great will-power, and the determination to finish his book kept him up. He quickly made up his mind that it was a fatal disease, but he was resolute to live till his work was done. He said,—"If I had been an ordinary man, I would have been dead long ago," and he seemed to appreciate very warmly the kindness and attention of his physicians.

In good health, General Grant would smoke a dozen very large, strong segars a day; but he could stop smoking at any time. He told me that toward the latter part of last summer, he got smoking fewer and milder segars, perhaps two or three a day. In February of this last year he expected to pay me a visit. He wrote, saying, —"The doctor will not allow me to leave until the weather gets warmer. I am now quite well in every way, except a swelling of the tongue above the root, and the same thing in the tonsils just over it. It is very difficult for me to swallow enough to maintain my strength, and nothing gives me so much pain as to swallow water." I asked him about that, and he said,—"If you could imagine what molten lead would be going down your throat, that is what I feel when I am swallowing." In that letter he further said, —"I have not smoked a segar since about the 20th of November; for a day or two I felt as though I would like to smoke, but after that I never thought of it."

### MEMORY OF PERSONS.

I remember a year ago this month, a number of the scientists wrote that they would meet in Montreal from all parts of the world. Sir William Thompson and others asked whether I would present them to General Grant. Some of them had met him. Of course, I was very glad to present them. I said to him in the morning:

"General, the scientists from Canada are coming down here, and they are very anxious to pay their respects to you." "Oh," he replied, "I have met some of those people abroad; I will be very glad to see them." They came to my house, and we walked across the lawn to the General's. He sat on the piazza, and could not stand alone, but was on his crutches and was presented to every one of them, shaking hands with them. He would say to one gentleman, "How are you, Professor? I met you in Liverpool;" and to another, "Why, how are you? I met you in London," and "I am glad to see you, I met you in Manchester." So he recognized each of these visitors as soon as he laid eyes on them, and they told me afterward, "Why I only met him casually once with a party of people." This power of recognition was remarkable. I asked him afterwards whether he had lost the power. He answered: "No, I have not lost the power. If I fix my mind on a person I never forget him, but I see so many that I don't always do it."

I can illustrate an instance of his memory of persons During one of the times he was staying in Philadelphia we were walking down Chestnut Street together, and in front of a large jeweller's establishment a lady came out of a store and was entering her carriage. General Grant walked up to her, shook hands with her and put her in the carriage. "General, did you know that lady?" "Oh yes," he replied; "I know her." "Where did you see her?" "I saw her a good many years ago out in Ohio and at boarding-school. She was one of the girls there." "Did you never see her before or since?" He said "No." The lady was the daughter of a very prominent Ohio man, Judge Jewett, and the next time she saw me she said: "I suppose you told General Grant who I was." I said I did not. "Why that is very remarkable," she answered in a surprised tone; "I was only one of two or three hundred girls, and I only saw him at school. I have never seen him since."

### CONFIDENCE AND FRIENDSHIP.

I need hardly say he sometimes placed his confidence in those who did not appreciate it. The man who was, perhaps, nearer to him than any one in his Cabinet was Hamilton Fish. He had the greatest regard for the latter's judgment. It was more than friendship, it was genuine affection between them, and General Grant always appreciated Mr. Fish's staying in his Cabinet. Mr. Fish, if he had been governed by his own feelings, would have left the Cabinet, but he remained purely as a matter of kindness and friendship to Grant, which Grant always appreciated.

*Apropos* of the Indian matter he told me that as a young lieutenant he had been thrown among the Indians, and had seen the unjust treatment they had received at the hands of the white men.

He then made up his mind if he ever had any influence or power it should be exercised to try to ameliorate their condition, and the Indian Commission was his idea. He wished to appoint the very best men in the United States. He selected William E. Dodge, Felix Bruno, of Pittsburg, Colonel Robert Conklin, of St. Louis, and George H. Stuart, of Philadelphia. They were a portion of the Indian Commission which he always endeavored to establish, and they always could count upon him in aiding them in every possible way. He took that great interest always and never lost that interest. Even to his last moments he watched the progress of the matter, but it was a very difficult matter to handle at any time, and then especially as there was a great Indian ring to break up.

He was of a very kindly nature, generous to a fault. I would often remonstrate with him and say: "General, you can't afford to do this," and I would try to keep people away from him. In the case of one subscription, when they wanted him to contribute to a certain matter which I did not think he was able to do, I wouldn't let them go near him. Some injudicious person went there and he subscribed a thousand dollars.

General Grant always felt that he was badly treated by Halleck, but he rarely ever spoke unkindly of any one. In fact, I could hardly say he spoke unkindly, but he did feel that he was not fairly treated by Halleck. During one of my last visits to him he showed me his army orders, which he had kept in books. He had a copy of everything he ever did or said in regard to army matters. He was very careful about that, as he had written all the orders with his own hand. He pointed to one of this large series of books and said that it was fortunate that he had kept these things, because several of the orders could not be found on any record at the War Department. But during my long friendship I never heard him more than two or three times speak unkindly of Halleck, although he was very unjustly treated by him—a fact which I think will be borne out by the records. I told him of something that occurred to me in connection with one of the parties in charge of the records at Washington. He had been a strong friend of Halleck, and prejudiced against General Grant in the office where all these things passed through his hands. But, after twenty years of examination, he said that there was not a line relating to Grant that did not elevate him in the minds of thinking people.

### LIFE AT LONG BRANCH.

It was through me that General Grant first came to Long Branch. He always enjoyed being here. He was totally unspoiled by all the honors conferred upon him. He was, simple, unaffected, and attached all the people to him. He drove out twice a day, and knew every by-way within twenty miles. It was his habit to drive out every morning after breakfast for a long distance, and then he would come home and read the papers or any books he might have in hand. He was very careful in answering his correspondence. Most of his letters were begging letters of some kind or other, and I remember an incident showing his justness and tenderness of heart. Once he had two cases of petition. He said, "I did a thing to-day that gave me great pleasure. There was a poor Irish woman who had a boy in the army that came down from New York and had spent all her money. She had lost several boys, and this one she wished to get out of the service to help support her. I gave her an order and was very glad to do it." In contrast to that, there was a lady of a very distinguished family of New York, who came here and wanted me to remove her son from Texas. He was an officer in the army, and I told her I could not do that. My rich petitioner then said, 'Well, could you not remove his regiment?' at which, you can guess, I could hardly help laughing in her face." Grant didn't hesitate a moment to refuse a rich woman's unreasonable request, but it gave him pleasure to grant the petition of a poor Irish woman.

He was very kind to the poor, and, in fact, to everybody, especially to widows and children of army officers. He gave the names of quite a number of army officers' sons for appointment in the navy or army. He said, "I am glad to have those. I like to appoint army and navy men's children, because they have no political influence." One-tenth of his appointments were the children of deceased officers, young men without influence, to get into West Point. There never was an army man, Confederate or Union, who was not a friend of General Grant. He never excited the jealousy or enmity of these people, he was so just. When he was mistaken there was no man more ready to acknowledge a mistake. He showed a great tenacity in sticking to friends longer than he ought to have done. When I spoke to him about this he would answer, "Well, if I believed all I hear, I would believe everybody was bad." He had some good men around him as well as bad, Hamilton Fish, for instance. General Grant would say there was nobody who came in contact with him but that he was traduced, and secondly he very often had to depend upon his own judgment in the matter. One of his expressions was, "Never desert a friend under fire."

## AT PEACE WITH THE WORLD.

General Grant rarely alluded to those who had abused his confidence, even to his most intimate friends. No matter how much a man had injured him, he was wont to say that he felt to the end what he might have felt in the outset. If any man ever died at peace with all the world, why he did.

Grant had the greatest admiration for Joseph Johnston, and Johnston for him; and when it was proposed to bring up the retiring bill, Johnston was to take the initiative in the matter. The passage of that bill gave great gratification to the General. I happened to be with him on the 3d of March, and was talking with him, and said: "General, that bill of yours will pass to-day." "Well, Childs," he said, "you know that during the last day of a session everything is in a turmoil. Such a thing cannot be possibly be passed." "Well," I said, "Mr. Randall assured me that that thing would be passed." He answered: "If anybody in the world could pass that bill I think Mr. Randall could. But I don't think it is at all likely, and I have given up all expectation." While I was talking (that was about 11 30 A. M.) I got a telegram from Mr. A. J. Drexel, saying the bill had passed, and the General seemed exceedingly gratified. I remarked, "General, the part that some of the men took in that matter was not justified." "Oh, perhaps they thought they were right. I have no feeling at all; I am only grateful that the thing has been passed," he answered. Mrs. Grant came in and I said, "Mrs. Grant we have got good news the bill is passed." She cried out, "Hurrah! our old commander is back" In answer to a remark that it would be very good if it could be dated from the time of going out, he said, "Oh, no; the law is to date from the time one accepts. In the early part of the war I saw in the newspapers that I was appointed to a higher rank, and I wrote on at once and accepted on the strength of the newspaper report. In about two months' time, through red tape, I got my appointment, but I got my pay from the time I wrote accepting the newspaper announcement, and I saved a month's pay by that."

As to Fitz-John Porter, I spoke to him during the early stages of it at a time when his mind had been prejudiced by some around him, and he was very busy. Afterwards, when he looked into the matter, he said he was only sorry that he had so long delayed going at the examination as he ought to have done. He felt that if ever a man had been treated badly Porter was. He had examined the case most carefully, gone over every detail, and he was perfectly well satisfied that Porter was right. He wanted to do everything in his power to have him righted, and his only regret was that he should have neglected so long and have allowed him to rest under injustice.

### THE PORTER CASE.

There are few men that would take a back track as General Grant did so publicly, so determinedly and so consistently right through. I had several talks with him, and he was continually reiterating his regrets that he had not done justice to Porter when he had the opportunity. He never ceased to the day of his death from his right to speak and write in favor of Porter. He ran counter to a great many of his political friends in this matter, but his mind was absolutely clear. Not one man in a thousand would go back on his record in such a matter, especially when he was not in accord with the Grand Army or his strong political friends. Grant went into the matter most carefully, and his publications show how thoroughly he examined the subject, but he never wavered after his mind was fixed. Then he set to work to repair the injury done to Porter. If Grant had had time to examine it while he was president he would have carried it through. That was his great regret. He felt that while he had power he could have passed it and ought to have done it. When Grant took pains and time to look into the matter no amount of personal feeling or friendship for others would keep him from doing the right thing. He could not be swerved from the right.

Another great trait of his character was his purity in every way. I never heard him express or make an indelicate allusion in any way or shape. There is nothing I ever heard that man say that could not be repeated in the presence of women. If a man was brought up for an appointment, and it was shown that he was an immoral man, he would not appoint him, no matter how great the pressure brought to bear upon him.

General Grant would sit in my library with four or five others talking freely and doing perhaps two-thirds of the talking. Let a stranger enter whom he did not know, and he would say nothing more during that evening. That was one peculiarity of his. He wouldn't talk to people unless he understood them. At a dinner party with a certain set that he knew all well he would lead in the conversation but any alien or novel element would seal his tongue. This great shyness or reticence sometimes, perhaps, made him misunderstood.

George W. Childs.

Colonel A. K. McClure, the distinguished and talented editor of the Philadelphia *Times*, writes as follows, under the heading—"Grant and the Electoral Commission."

"Mr. Childs was probably the most intimate personal friend General Grant had during the last ten or fifteen years of his life, and it is known that in grave political complications, Mr. Childs was often privately and unreservedly consulted by the General.

"In Mr. Childs' recollections of General Grant, given over his own signature, he throws some new light on Grant's view of the

Presidential contest of 1876. He recites a conversation between General Grant and several leading Republicans, who declared that Hayes was elected, to which Grant answered—'Gentlemen, it looks to me as if Mr. Tilden was elected.' This was on the 'morning of the momentous day,' as Mr. Childs states it. To this General Grant added—"I would sooner have Tilden than that the Republicans should have a President who could be stigmatized as a fraud.'

"Mr. Childs might have given another conversation of General Grant's on the subject in corroboration of the view he presents. Just before Grant started on his journey around the world, the writer hereof heard him discuss the same question in Mr. Childs' presence. General Grant reviewed the contest for the creation of the Electoral Commission and the contest before and in the Commission, very fully and with great candor, and the chief significance of his view was in the fact, as he stated it, that he expected from the beginning until the final judgment, that the Electoral vote of Louisiana would be awarded to Tilden. He spoke of South Carolina and Oregon as justly belonging to Hayes; of Florida as reasonably doubtful, and of Louisiana as for Tilden.

"In point of fact, General Grant doubtless influenced Congress to create the Electoral Commission, and he did it believing that the certificate of election would be given to Tilden. He did not urge the Electoral Commission because he desired Tilden's election, but because he desired a fair adjudication of the dispute, and he did not conceal his conviction that such an adjudication would make Tilden President. Being President, however, and sworn to execute the laws, had there been revolutionary action to inaugurate Tilden after the final judgment of the law by the Electoral Commission, to whose arbitrament both sides had appealed, he would have sternly suppressed it. He would have maintained the right of Hayes to the office with exactly the same earnestness of purpose that he would have maintained the right of Tilden to the Presidency, had the decision been in his favor."

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